This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

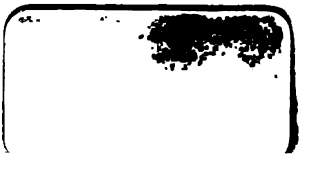
+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

P.I. 3977, c. 19



THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

OR

CRITICAL JOURNAL:

FOR

JANUARY, 1876 . . . . . APRIL, 1876.

TO BE CONTINUED QUARTERLY.

JUDEX DAMNATUR CUM NOCENS ABSOLVITUR.
PUBLIUS SYRUS.

VOL. CXLIII.

LONGMANS, GREEN, READER, AND DYER, LONDON.
ADAM AND CHARLES BLACK,
EDINBURGH.

1876.

LONDON: PRINTED BY
SPOTTISWOODE AND CO., NEW-STREET SQUARE
AND PARLIAMENT STREET

CONTENTS OF No. 291.

Page

ART. I.—1. Memoir of Sir James Dalrymple, First Viscount Stair. A Study in the History of Scotland and Scotch Law during the Seventeenth Century. By J. G. Mackay, Advocate. Edinburgh: 1873.

1. The Stair Annals. By John Murray Graham. Edinburgh: 1875.

3. William Carstares. A Character and Career of the Revolutionary Epoch. By Robert Herbert Story, Minister of Rosneath. London: 1874, . . . 1

II.—1. Army Facts from Official Data. Lord Elcho's Speeches, April 20, May 19, June 5, 1875.

2. No. LXXX. Vol. XIX. 'Journal of the Royal United Service Institution,' 36

III.—1. Journal et Correspondance de André-Marie Ampère. Publiés par Mme. H. C. Paris: 1872.

2. André-Marie Ampère et Jean-Jacques Ampère. Correspondance et Souvenirs (de 1805 à 1864). Recueillis par Madame H. C. Paris: 1875.

3. Madame Récamier; with a Sketch of the History of Society in France. By Madame M * * *. London: 1862, ... 74

IV.—1. History of England from the Accession of James I. to the Disgrace of Chief Justice Coke, 1603–1616. By Samuel Rawson Gardiner. In two volumes. London: 1863.

2. Prince Charles and the Spanish Marriage, 1617–1623. A Chapter of English History. By Samuel Rawson Gardiner. In two volumes. London: 1869.

3. A History of England under the Duke of Buckingham and Charles I., 1624–1628. By Samuel Rawson Gardiner. In two volumes. London: 1875, . . 101

V.—1. Richard Wagner and the Music of the Future: History and Æsthetics. By Franz Hüffer. London: 1874.

2. The Music of the Future: A Letter to M. Frederick Villot. By Richard Wagner. Translated from the original German by E. Dannreuther. London: 1873.

3. History of Music from the Christian Era to the present Time; in the form of Lectures. By Frederick Louis Ritter, Professor of Music at Vassar College. London: 1876.

4. Rienzi, der Letzte der Tribunen: grosse Tragedie Oper in 5 Acten. Von Richard Wagner. Dresden, 141

[And other Works.]

Page

VI.—1. First and Second Reports from the Committee of Public Accounts, together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, and Appendix. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 9th July, 1873.

2. Seventeenth, Eighteenth, Nineteenth, Twentieth, and Twenty-first Reports of the Postmaster-General on the Post Office (1871–5). Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.

3. An Account of Receipts and Payments by the Postmaster-General in respect of Telegraph Undertakings, Extensions, &c., for Six Months ended the 30th of September, 1873; also for Six Months ended 31st March, 1874, together with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor-General thereon. Presented pursuant to Act c. 83. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 31st May, 1875.

4. Report of a Committee appointed by the Treasury to Investigate the Causes of the Increased Cost of the Telegraph Service since the Acquisition of the Telegraphs by the State; with Correspondence thereon. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty, 17th July, 1875, ... 177

VII.—1. Isaac Casaubon, 1559–1614. By Mark Pattison, Rector of Lincoln College. 8vo. London: 1875.

2. Ephemerides Isaaci Casauboni, cum Præfatione et Notis. Edente Johanne Russell, S.T.P. Canonico Cantuarensi, Scholæ Carthusianæ olim Archididascalo. Tomi II. 8vo. Oxonii: 1851, ... 189

VIII.—1. Ultima Thule, or a Summer in Iceland. By Richard F. Burton, with Historical Introduction, Maps, and Illustrations. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1875.

2. Unpublished Journals of two Journeys in Iceland in the Summers of 1861 and 1862, ... 222

IX.—1. Acte de Concession et Cahier des Charges pour la Construction et l'Exploitation du Grand Canal Maritime de Suez et Dépendances. Signed 5th January, 1856.

2. Statuts de la Compagnie Universelle du Canal Maritime de Suez. Paris et Alexandrie: 1856.

3. Rapport de M. Ferdinand de Lesseps à l'Assemblée Générale des Actionnaires. Paris: 29th July, 1875.

4. Documents Diplomatiques. Affaire du Canal de Suez. Novembre 1875. (Livre jaune déposé à l'Assemblée Nationale), ... 250

[And other Works.]

CONTENTS OF No. 292.

Page

ART. I.—Charges delivered by Connop Thirlwall, D.D., Bishop of St. David's. London: 1842 to 1872, . . . 281

II.—1. Passages in the Life of Mrs. Margaret Maitland of Sunnyside. Written by herself. 1850.

2. Merkland: a Story of Scottish Life. By the Author of 'Passages in the Life of Mrs. Margaret Maitland.' 1851.

3. Harry Muir: a Story of Scottish Life. 1853.

4. Katie Stewart. By Mrs. Oliphant. 1852.

5. The Minister's Wife. By Mrs. Oliphant. 1869.

6. The Story of Valentine: and his Brother. By Mrs. Oliphant. 1875.

7. David Elginbrod. By George Macdonald. 1863.

8. Alec Forbes of Howglen. By George Macdonald.

9. Robert Falconer. By George Macdonald. 1868.

10. Malcolm. By George Macdonald. 1875.

11. A Daughter of Heth. By William Black. 1871.

12. A Princess of Thule. By William Black. 1873, . 317

III.—1. General Report by Captain Tyler in regard to the Share and Loan Capital, the Traffic in Passengers and Goods, and the Working Expenditure, and Net Profits from Railway Working of the Railway Companies of the United Kingdom, for the year 1873: Idem for the year 1874. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty.

2. Du Régime des Travaux Publics en Angleterre. Par Ch. de Franqueville, maître des requêtes au Conseil d'État, secrétaire de la Commission Centrale des chemins de fer au Ministère des Travaux Publics. Paris: 1875.

3. Annuaire Officiel des Chemins de Fer. Paris: 1873, 352

IV.—A Life of the Earl of Mayo, Fourth Viceroy of India. By W. H. Hunter, B.A., LL.D., of Her Majesty's Bengal Civil Service. 2 vols. 8vo. 1875, . . . 387

V.—1. History of Merchant Shipping and Ancient Commerce. By W. S. Lindsay. Four Volumes. London: 1874–75.

Page

2. The Black Book of the Admiralty. Edited by Sir Travers Twiss, Q.C., D.C.L. Vols. I.–III. 8vo. London: 1871–74.

3. Storia della Marina Pontificia nel medio evo dal 728 al 1499. Per il P. Alberto Guglielmotti, dell' Ordine dei Predicatori, Theologo Casanatense. 2 vols. small 8vo. Firenze: 1871, ... 420

VI.—Fifty Years of my Life. By George Thomas, Earl of Albemarle. 2 vols. 8vo. 1876, ... 455

VII.—Storia della Repubblica di Firenze da Gino Capponi. Firenze: 1875, ... 474

VIII.—1. First, Second, and Third Reports of the Royal Commissioners appointed to inquire into Endowed Schools and Hospitals. (Scotland.) 1873–5.

2. Report on the State of Education in the Burgh and Middleclass Schools in Scotland. By Thomas Harvey, M.A., and A. C. Sellar, M.A., Assistant Commissioner appointed by the Royal Commission on Education in Scotland. Vol. II. Special Reports, 1868.

3. The Higher Education of Scotland. An Address delivered in the New Hall, Oban, on Wednesday, November 3, 1875, under the auspices of the Oban Scientific and Literary Association. By Alexander Craig Sellar, M.A., Advocate, one of the Endowed Schools (Scotland) Commissioners.

4. The Art Faculties in the Scottish Universities. An Address delivered to the Graduates in Arts in the University of Edinburgh, on Wednesday, April 21, 1873. By W. Y. Sellar, Professor of Humanity in the University.

5. Our Secondary Education and some of its recent Critics: being Remarks on Entrance Examinations. In substance delivered at the Meeting of Glasgow University Council, October 27, 1875. By John Hutchison, M.A., one of the Classical Masters in the High School of Glasgow.

6. Suggestions as to Amendment of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872. A Paper read at the Educational Congress, held in Glasgow, Dec. 29, 1875. By the Rev. John Stark, Duntocher, ... 511

IX.—The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay. By George Otto Trevelyan, Esq., M.P. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1876, ... 544

INDEX TO VOL. CXLIII., ... 583

THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

JANUARY, 1876.

No. CCXCI.

ART. I.—1. *Memoir of Sir James Dalrymple, First Viscount Stair. A Study in the History of Scotland and Scotch Law during the Seventeenth Century.* By J. G. MACKAY, Advocate. Edinburgh: 1873.

2. *The Stair Annals.* By JOHN MURRAY GRAHAM. Edinburgh: 1875.

3. *William Carstares. A Character and Career of the Revolutionary Epoch.* By ROBERT HERBERT STORY, Minister of Rosneath. London: 1874.

SCOTLAND has not been fertile in great statesmen. During what may be called the kingly period of her history—from the accession of Robert II. to the death of James V.—the one thing essential to the well-being of the people, and to the defence of the country against English invasion, was to curb an overgrown, turbulent, and treacherous nobility; a task to which no man was found equal. At the great uprising of the Reformation a wider field was opened; nobler ends came into view. Knox, though not in the strict sense of the word a statesman, yet did the work of the greatest: he awoke a national life; he called into political existence the middle-classes of his countrymen. From various causes Scotland, in his time, took a place in the politics of Europe out of all proportion to her real power. But her statesmen, with the single exception of Murray, were unworthy of their opportunities. Maitland of Lethington has a great but undeserved reputation. He was a man, as Mr. Burton has shown, rather crafty than wise; he seems to have studied the subtleties of Italian politicians beyond the powers of his own brain; he fought with armour which he had not proved, and the result of all his tortuous devices was hopeless failure.

On the accession of James to the English throne Scotland sank into insignificance and degradation. From this she was, for a brief season, raised, not by any efforts of Scotch statesmanship, but by the wholesome stimulus of the tyranny of the Stuarts, wanton with prosperity; and strong, as they thought, with the strength of England. The Covenant, the abjuration of prelacy by the Assembly of 1638, the invasions of England, were bold and vigorous measures. It is not too much to say that to the conduct of Scotland at this juncture England probably owed her freedom. But the end was unworthy of such beginnings. The fervour of popular feeling which had supported Knox blazed up again for a time, but could not long endure. The national life of the Reformation period had died away. The people had been crushed by civil war, by poverty, by the utter misrule which followed upon the Union of the Crowns. 'The gentry of that nation,' writes one of Cromwell's officers, 'have such influence over the 'commonalty that they can lead them which way they please.' Unhappily no one was found who could lead them wisely. The needy nobles and mercenary soldiers who led the Scottish army into England were animated by no higher motive than a love of English quarters and English money; the spirit of resistance to ecclesiastical tyranny, which at first stimulated the people, soon degenerated under evil guidance into a fierce intolerance, a determination to impose Presbyterianism upon all men, which found its fitting conclusion in the acceptance of Charles II. as a Covenanted King. During the Usurpation Scotland was preserved from native rule; under the restored authority of her 'native princes,' the wisdom of Ahithophel could have availed nothing to any upright Scottish politician, except in so far as it might have counselled the necessity of a speedy retreat to Holland.

At the Revolution dawned a day bright with a fairer promise for Scotland than for any portion of the British dominions. The oppression from which she was then set free had been greater than the oppression of England; she could look to the future with a better hope than the most sanguine could entertain for Ireland. Unlike the case of England, so utter had been the disregard of law, so entire the overthrow of every cherished institution, that the whole constitutional fabric had to be re-constructed. Unlike the case of Ireland, enmities of race and creed were not so deeply rooted as to render such re-construction hopelessly beyond the reach of wisdom and honest purpose. Again the leaders, by position, of the Scottish people failed in the time of need. If, as Mr.

Arnold thinks, the virtue of an aristocracy lies in openness to ideas, never was a body less worthy of the name than the nobility of Scotland. Happily, influences were now at work which opened a career to 'new men.' It is our purpose, with the aid of the books which are at the head of this article, to give some account of the foremost of these—the two Dalrymples, father and son—founders of a family which, through several generations, produced men eminent in literature, law, arms, and diplomacy.

Mr. Graham's work, with the least pretension, is the most valuable of the three. It embraces the life of the founder of the house, of his son, the first Earl of Stair, and of his grandson, the Field-marshal and diplomatist—the 'magnanimous 'Stair' of Carlyle's Frederick. He has published, for the first time, many letters of importance and interest. He has done his own part with taste and judgment. His narrative is brief but clear; his candour and impartiality beyond praise. Mr. Mackay's book is a more elaborate effort. It is, as he calls it, 'a study in the history of Scotland and Scotch law.' And, as such, it has many merits. But it is confused and without method. Hence it leaves no vivid impression on the reader's mind—a fatal defect in a biography. We shall have occasion, also, in the course of this article, to note instances of bad taste, of over-confidence, of one-sided judgment, in Mr. Mackay's volume. And we are, therefore, the more anxious now to recognise his considerable research, his liberality of thought, and the freshness and vigour which animate his pages. Of Mr. Story's labours we cannot speak so favourably. That the book is a dull book is not altogether the author's fault. Assuredly Carstairs was no common man. Equal in astuteness and sagacity to the Master of Stair himself, he was in honesty and fidelity superior perhaps to all the politicans of his age and nation. There is reason to believe, with some degree of certainty, that he rendered good service to the State, in forwarding, against ignorance and prejudice, the true interests of Scotland. But those services, during the most important part of his career, took the shape of private counsel to William. Circumstances, together with his profession, excluded him from public life. Hence his biography wants interest—a want not supplied by his guarded correspondence. But Mr. Story's book has graver faults than the fault of dulness. It is marked by a tone of loftiness which the reader finds nothing to justify. There is little evidence of research; interest is not awakened by novelty of material or originality of thought. Historical insight is wanting; there are grievous mistakes in judgments

of character—as in a rhapsody about Claverhouse, and the praises of that unscrupulous turn-coat Sir James Stewart. It is difficult not to be offended by the ungenerous spirit which finds pleasure in the repetition of the idle slander that William encouraged Monmouth's adventure in order to rid himself of a rival; it is impossible not to smile at the taste which can find in the position of Carstairs at William's death a parallel to Diocletian at Salona and Charles V. at Yuste. Inaccuracy is shown even in the slipshod way the references are noted;* the style, level enough as a rule, is disfigured by frequent and vain attempts at effect.† Worst of all, there are not a few traces of that bitterness towards any who chance to differ from Mr. Story—especially on matters ecclesiastical—which so painfully characterises the school to which he belongs. But we pass gladly from the duty of criticism to the more pleasing portion of our task.

The greatest of Scottish jurists was born in Ayrshire in the year 1619, of a family by no means so obscure as his enemies in after days were prone to allege. He was educated at the University of Glasgow, where he graduated in 1637; and four years later was appointed, after a competitive examination—as was the wont then—a Professor or Regent in Philosophy. In 1648 he resigned this position for the more stirring profession of the bar, to which he was called in his twenty-ninth year. Almost immediately thereafter he was appointed Secretary to the Commissions which went to Holland seeking a virtuous Covenanter in Charles II. He is known during these visits to have formed the acquaintance of Salmasius, and he may be reasonably supposed to have profited by intercourse with the many eminent Dutch jurists then living. Sagacity, far inferior to that of Dalrymple, would have forbidden any more active support of Charles' fortunes; the future President, for about ten years, pursued in safe insignificance his professional

* As thus: 'Burnet, vol. iii.' 'Fountainhall, Wodrow,' p. 148.

† The following style of writing is the reverse of impressive: 'The 'chamber of the Privy Council echoed with the howls of the victims 'of the boot. There, one day, might be seen Dalzell striking the 'prisoners under examination over the mouth with his sword-hilt till 'the blood sprang; on another, Lauderdale baring his brawny arms 'above the elbow, and swearing "by Jehovah" that he would force 'the gentlemen of Scotland to enter into those bonds' (p. 45). Nor is a distinct idea of a political situation conveyed thus: 'Jacobite 'stratagems, Episcopal pretensions, Presbyterian jealousies, national 'prejudices, personal dishonesties, and political corruptions weltered 'together in illimitable battle and confusion' (p. 275).

avocations. In 1657—not ten years after he had been called to the bar—Monk recommended him to Cromwell for the office of Judge, as being 'a very honest man and a good lawyer.' Stair's acceptance of this office seems to Mr. Mackay a thing requiring excuse. In our judgment it was one of the most justifiable steps in his somewhat shifty public life. Nor do we think it worth while to defend a course of which an example was set by such men as Hale in his own profession, and Blake in another. Far more questionable was his conduct under Charles. He was knighted immediately after the Restoration, and included in the first Commission of Scottish Judges. But in 1662 a Declaration was imposed on all persons in offices of trust. This measure was aimed directly at Presbyterians. The declarant affirmed solemnly the illegality of all leagues, covenants, and gatherings in the late troubles; 'and particu-'larly, that those oaths, whereof the one was commonly called '"The National Covenant" (as it was sworn and explained in 'the year 1638 and thereafter), and the other entituled "A '"Solemn League and Covenant," were and are, in themselves 'unlawful oaths, and were taken by and imposed upon the sub-'jects of this kingdom against the fundamental laws and liberties 'of the same.' Stair hesitated. His family was Presbyterian. He himself had all his life been a Presbyterian. 'In the late 'troubles' he had for two years borne arms 'for Christ's 'Crown and Covenant.' He had, at one time, resolved to resign; but a slight concession from those in power sufficed to overcome his scruples. Lauderdale, who seems to have had as much liking for Stair as it was in his nature to have for any man, and who doubtless appreciated the value to the administration of Stair's character and abilities, stood his friend. He was summoned to London, and admitted to an interview with Charles, who possibly may have remembered with favour the secretary of Breda and the Hague. The result was a permission to accompany his signature of the Declaration with the verbal statement, that 'he was content to declare against 'whatever was opposite to his Majesty's just right and pre-'rogative.' These words are no real qualification of the terms of the Declaration, and it is difficult to believe that any mind can have regarded the utterance of them as other than a farce.* To such paltering with conscience we prefer the frank

* Very different from the qualification with which Burley took the test of drinking the health of the Primate of St. Andrews in Niel Blane's Change House—'May each prelate in Scotland soon be as the 'Right Reverend James Sharpe.' Well might Bothwell say, 'I don't 'know what the devil the crop-eared Whig means.'

readiness of Lauderdale to 'sign a cartfull of such oaths before 'he would lose his place.'

Stair was created President of the Court of Session, and made a member of the Privy Council in 1671. He held these offices for ten years—years during which, in the calm judgment of Hallam, the wickedness of the administration can find no parallel in modern history. For this Mr. Mackay proposes no defence; Mr. Graham adopts the defence stated by Stair himself in his 'Apology,' which is simply that he did not approve of 'severity against those who suffered for serving 'God in the way they were persuaded;' that he 'did what he 'durst to save them.' The defence is not very successful—especially when we consider the small result of his exertions. The distinction between commissions granted for the performance of necessary public duties and those which 'relate to 'councils for establishing usurped power or burdening the 'people,' by which Stair justified his holding office under Cromwell, cannot avail him in this matter. Lauderdale was then carrying out his scheme of subverting the Constitution and governing Scotland by the Privy Council, without a Parliament; and everyone who sat with him in the Privy Council must be held responsible for the guilt of that scheme. No one would impute to Stair the malignity of the apostate Sharpe, or the pleasure in human suffering which showed itself in the dark nature of James; but a dislike to witness the infliction of torture was a merit which he shared with the majority of his colleagues, and his preference for moderate counsels was only evinced by absence or silence. By the practice of such prudential arts no man can obtain exoneration from whatever blame may attach to the government of which, from motives of ambition or interest, he consents to be a member.

But the time had now come when caution and moderation could no longer avail. The Duke of York came to Scotland as Commissioner in 1679, animated, even then, by that determination to raise up Popery which in the end cost him his crown. It was soon apparent that any such design would be opposed by all but the most subservient of Scottish statesmen. Stair, at his first interview with the Duke, gave offence by welcoming him to an 'entirely Protestant country.' He filled up the measure of his iniquity by carrying in Parliament an addition to the Test Act of 1681, defining the Protestant religion as 'the religion contained in the Confession of Faith 'recorded in the first Parliament of James VI.' He tells us that his object was 'to provide the safest hedge against 'Popery;' and this object was perfectly apprehended by

James. Accordingly, Stair on going to London, either to obtain permission to take the test with a qualification, as he had done the Declaration of 1662; or, as some have said, with the view of securing for his more complaisant son the place which he foresaw he himself would have to resign, was, at the instance of the Duke of York, refused an audience of the King; and a new Commission was issued in which his name did not appear. Stair assures us he would not have signed the test. Why a man who had signed the Declaration of 1662, and had been for ten years a member of the Privy Council, should have stickled at this test we are wholly unable to understand. But it is unsafe to pronounce judgment on matters of conscience—especially when the consciences are those of Scottish statesmen of the seventeenth century. The main fact is, that Government never offered him the chance of signing. To have done so would have been a farce. His ruin was determined on. Moderation, not unlike his own, had brought destruction on Argyle. The President's declared hostility to Popery was worse than moderation. His dismissal came from the same cause which, a few years later, raised Perth and Melfort over Queensberry: and which in England led to the downfall of the Hydes—the resolve of James to have in his service no minister who would not do his bidding even in the matter of religious profession.

Stair retired to the country, but was not allowed to enjoy his retirement. The eye of the tyrant was upon him. In 1662 Claverhouse was sent to urge on the persecution in Wigton and Galloway. Of course, he found cause of offence in everything done by the fallen President. It is half melancholy, half ludicrous, to read Stair's appeals to Queensberry, imploring favour, protesting loyalty, and remonstrating against being 'disquieted' because his wife won't attend the parish church, which, he plaintively adds, 'I cannot help'—an inability easy of credence if the lady had any likeness to the mother of the Bride of Lammermoor.* At last, acting on a friendly hint from Sir George Mackenzie, he fled to Holland.

At Leyden—fit refuge for an exiled scholar—Stair found a

* Mr. Mackay's biographical enthusiasm prompts him to stand up for Lady Stair. But he might have remembered that she is thus described by one of her descendants: 'In Lady Ashton the character 'of our great-great-grandmother seems in many respects more faith-'fully delineated, or at least, less misrepresented. She was an ambi-'tious and interested woman, of a masculine character and under-'standing.' Letter from Mr. Dalrymple Elphinstone in the Introduction to the 'Bride of Lammermoor.'

society, composed of the most eminent and learned men in Europe, ready to soothe his six years of banishment. Of his life there little is known. He gave himself to literary pursuits; he supported, in a languid way, the enterprise of Argyle; while resting his hopes, we can readily believe, on a very different deliverer. He, least of all men, was likely to have been led away by the proverbial credulity of exiles. He was recommended by Fagel to the notice of William, who soon saw and valued his cool sagacity. He entered eagerly into William's great design, professing himself willing to venture his head, his own and his children's fortunes, in such an undertaking—a declaration the magnanimity of which is somewhat impaired by the fact that the family estates were perfectly safe in any event, being at that very time enjoyed by his eldest son, serving James as Lord Advocate and Lord Justice Clerk. But William could not afford to look closely into such matters. He knew Stair was able; he had reason to believe him willing to serve the good cause. He, therefore, honoured him with much confidence, and took him over to England in the 'Brill.'

Here Stair's work as a statesman begins. He is said, indeed, to have shared the counsels of Monk before the march into England which restored the monarchy. But, with this exception, he had hitherto lived the life of a mere lawyer, avoiding, even to the disregard of duty, any part in state affairs. To such a course he had been led partly by timidity, partly because he disliked the governments he continued to serve. Both causes were now removed. His political views were in accord with the new order of things; there was no longer room for timidity: the only hope of safety to him or his lay in the stability of William's throne. Even now, however, the part which he took was not a public one. He lived in a beautiful villa on the banks of the Thames belonging to the widow of his old patron Lauderdale, and guided the deliberations of William on Scotch affairs by his experience and sagacity. He was, in the crisis of the Revolution, the confidential adviser Carstairs afterwards became. And, in truth, the sagacity which directed William in these things must have been sagacity of no common order. If, as there is every reason to believe, Stair suggested the mode in which the Convention which was to meet at Edinburgh should be summoned—in righteous disregard of existing laws; if, by his advice, nobles who had been deprived of their honours by the tyranny of the Stuarts were invited to resume their seats in Parliament; if, by his advice, the franchise was so extended that none but Papists were excluded from the vote; if he had any share in William's letter

to the Convention when it did assemble, and in the private instructions sent to the friends of the Government, in which we see not only a statesmanlike view of the position, but an intimate and accurate knowledge of Scotch parties and of the Scotch character; then few advisers have ever given wiser counsel to a prince. Ecclesiastical matters presented, perhaps, the most serious and the most lasting difficulty. William was undoubtedly desirous that the Scotch should be induced to accept a moderate form of Episcopacy. The establishment of Presbytery in Scotland made every Scotch Episcopalian a Jacobite, and was, moreover, in the highest degree distasteful to English churchmen, high and low alike. Nor is it uncharitable to suppose that a prince as greedy of power as any who have ever governed England may have had some preference for a form of Church government which, to say the least, has always been associated with the ascendancy of the Crown. Stair, knowing Scotland, knew the maintenance of Episcopacy to be impracticable. Aided probably by Carstairs, he had little difficulty in bringing William to this opinion. But a further and most important object was that William should be saved from the unpopularity sure to be incurred by him in England were he to countenance the overthrow of Episcopacy in the North. The matter must be decided before he could have any say in it, or any title to interfere. Stair effected this by prevailing upon the managers of the Convention to insert a clause in the Claim of Right declaring Episcopacy an insupportable institution, odious to the nation, which must be abolished. William, therefore, if he accepted the Crown of Scotland at all, had no choice but to accept it on a contract of which this was the first condition.

It seems to have been undetermined whether Stair should be restored to his place as President, then held by Sir George Lockhart. In his 'Apology' he says he would not have taken the place while Sir George lived; adding, frankly enough, 'nor 'had I any doubt but that the King would have provided me 'as well as by it.' The murder of Lockhart in March 1689 removed all difficulty; and Stair thus writes, with a certain half-sincerity, as to his own feelings at the time: 'That shame-'ful murder of Sir George Lockhart touched the King much, 'and made him say to me he saw it was necessary that I should 'resume my place again, which I was willing, though it was 'my right, he should continue to enjoy, being younger and 'abler to endure the toil than I.'

Accordingly he was re-appointed President of the Court of Session, and held that office till his death in 1695. These

years were certainly the most useful, and probably the happiest, of his life. He enjoyed the position which he preferred to any other; he could, without scruple, take what part became him in public affairs. And the part from which he as a judge was debarred, he saw taken, with rare ability and energy, by his son. The attacks of numerous and bitter enemies had no effect on his fortunes, and were not, therefore, likely to disturb his cold and equable temper. Yet these attacks, both on the President and his son, were unexampled in persistency and malignancy. Politicians of every rank and every party were never weary of denouncing the Dalrymples as the cause of everything that was amiss in Scotland. Acts of Parliament were passed for the express purpose of driving them from office. But all was of no avail. William refused his assent to the Acts, and showed the value he put upon the denunciations by raising the President to the peerage. One pamphlet, however, probably the joint work of the plotter Ferguson and the traitor Montgomery, could not, it was thought, even in the interest of Government, be left unnoticed. Accordingly Stair published a short reply, entitled 'An Apology for Sir James Dalrymple, Pre-'sident of the Session, by himself.' The document may be read with interest, but does not materially affect our estimate of Stair. Some charges, mainly connected with legal matters, to which weight was no doubt attached at the time, but which are now utterly unimportant, he successfully refutes. To the graver charges of having supported the tyranny of Lauderdale, and of having been in public life 'a Proteus and a changeling,' no defence was possible; and the endeavour to maintain one discovers more ingenuity than candour or truthfulness.

The career of Sir John Dalrymple, the President's eldest son, shorter than that of his father, is marked by bolder features, and presents a more varied interest. Born in 1648, he was called to the Scotch bar soon after his father became Lord President in 1670. The first ten years after his call afforded little to vary the monotony of professional life; but in 1682 there came a change. In the autumn of that year the father fled to Holland; ere the close of it the son was denounced by Claverhouse before the Privy Council. He was accused of 'leasing-making, sedition, perjury;' of having laughed at a Proclamation; and of having offered Claverhouse a bribe of 150*l.* 'to connive at the irregularities of his mother the 'Lady Stair.'* Dalrymple retorted with charges against Claverhouse of oppression in Galloway, and of interference with

* Irregularities, of course, in matters ecclesiastical.

the rights of heritable jurisdiction belonging to the Stair family. Fountainhall tells us there was 'much transport, 'flame, and humour in this cause; and the cloud on the late 'President's family was taken advantage of now, which shows 'the world's instability.'* The issue, of course, was never doubtful. Sir John (he had been knighted early in life) was committed to the Castle of Edinburgh 'during pleasure' and fined 500*l.* He was soon afterwards liberated on payment of the fine, and acknowledgment of his errors.

But the Council was bent on his ruin. Perhaps they discerned that the astute Dalrymples had devised, and were following out, a dexterous policy for preserving family estates in troublous times. The father took one side of politics, the eldest son the other; so that, in any event, forfeiture was avoided. This policy, less in the spirit of chivalry than in the spirit of old Milnwood's dying injunction to 'keep the gear together,' was, not to mention politicians of lesser rank, subsequently adopted by the noble houses of Hamilton, Queensberry, and Athole. But the Dalrymples are entitled to the credit of having invented it. So far back as Lord Stair's journey to London in 1681 he is said to have laid schemes for the succession of his son to the dignities which he saw he himself would be compelled to lay down—which of course implied the son's readiness to desert the politics of his father. Fountainhall distinctly says that this feeling was at the bottom of the proceedings now taken against Sir John: 'The High Treasurer 'was incensed that Sir John would give them no discoveries 'against the Earl of Aberdeen; and that, by his father's 'retreat, he had secured the estate from their gripe.'† In September 1664 he was seized in his own house at midnight, 'without any shadow of ground,' says Forbes, and brought before the Council sitting at Holyrood. No charge appears to have been preferred against him; but notwithstanding, 'they caused bring him between a great guard of soldiers in 'open daylight, from the Abbey, on foot to the prison, like a 'malefactor.'‡ They kept him there three months; then liberated him on bail for 500*l.*, confining him, however, to Edinburgh, and eventually to a circuit of ten miles round the city.

For three years this 'cloud' hung over the House of Stair. But a change was at hand. Sir George Mackenzie, who had stuck at nothing else, could not brook the relaxation of the

* 'Decisions,' i. p. 201.

† Fountainhall, 'Decisions,' i. p. 303. ‡ Ibid.

penal laws against the Catholics. In February 1687 Sir John Dalrymple succeeded him as Lord Advocate, receiving 1,200*l.* from the king—500*l.* being the fine enacted from him some years before, and 700*l.* for the charges of the journey to London which had resulted in these happy arrangements—and a free pardon for all past offences of his father, mother, and his whole family, including, oddly enough, 'a pardon to his 'little son, who had accidentally shot his brother.'* Wodrow leaves 'the springs of this change to the civil historian of the 'period;' and the civil historian of the period has not made much of the bequest. The following explanation, offered by one of the Master's kinsmen, is curious:—

'To these (Perth and Melfort) was joined Sir John Dalrymple, son of Lord Stair. This last minister had seen his father ruined by the king when Duke of York; and had himself, on account of his lenity to Nonconformists, been confined for many months in a common jail by the same prince. Yet he was now appointed Lord Advocate and Lord Justice Clerk, offices at that time of great political power, and a Privy Councillor. These preferences were bestowed upon him by the advice of Sunderland, who suggested that by his means an union between the Presbyterian and Popish parties in Scotland might be effectuated. Capricious favours, after capricious punishments, are insults. Sir John Dalrymple came into the king's service resolved to take vengeance if ever it should offer. Impenetrable in his designs, but open, prompt, and daring in execution, he acted in perfect confidence with Sunderland, to whom he was inferior in nothing and superior in eloquence.'†

In alluding to this matter, Mr. Story states, as a thing beyond doubt, that the Master's purpose in taking office 'em-'braced revenge for the past injuries inflicted on himself and 'his family, and the overthrow of the despotism under which 'his country was ground down.' We cannot feel constrained to adopt such a view. That Sir John Dalrymple may have been offered office at the instance of Sunderland is very likely. His temperament was not that of a persecutor; and for differences in religious persuasions he probably cared as little as Sunderland himself. To carry out the Government policy in relaxing the penal laws was in no way disagreeable to him; and Sunderland must have known that in the accomplished

* Fountainhall, 'Decisions,' i. 447.

† 'Dalrymple Memoirs,' pt. i. bk. 4, p. 72. In a note by the editor of the Oxford edition of 'Burnet' (vol. iv. p. 42), it is stated that Sir John used subsequently to boast that he had advised James to repeal the Test Act in order to ruin him. No authority is given for the statement—in itself highly improbable.

Scotsman he had a supporter on whom he could rely. Sir John could, with more propriety than most statesmen of the time, profess the motive averred by President Lockhart for the same line of conduct—that he had all his days fought against intolerance, and would not now resist a policy of tolerance because of dark designs suspected to be concealed under the offer of such a blessing. Nothing, therefore, forces on us the belief that he took office with the treacherous purpose imputed to him. Evidence in support of the charge there is none. All the probabilities are against its truth. The mildness with which he discharged the duties of his office may in fairness be ascribed to good-nature rather than to slackness; and was indeed the wisest policy that could have been pursued in the interests of James. He had no part in the counsels of the Whigs who invited William over; and we may believe with certainty that the 'perfect confidence' between him and Sunderland did not include a knowledge of the Treasurer's intrigues, through his wife's gallant, with the Hague.

Strangely enough, the author of the Dalrymple Memoirs seems quite unconscious of the infamy which his theory, if accepted, would attach to the memory of his kinsman. A statesman who, seeing a prince whom he has long served bent on courses fraught with ruin to himself and his adherents, blind to the plainest consequences, deaf to all advice, stoops to treason in order to secure his own fortune or his neck, is bad enough. But to the baseness of seeking office with the set purpose of playing the traitor's part, and making destruction sure, and that from no deeper motive than a desire of revenge for a three months' imprisonment, few, even of the English or Scottish politicians of that time, would have been equal. Unscrupulous as Dalrymple was, nothing in his character justifies us, without the clearest evidence, in holding him capable of such pre-eminence in treachery, surpassing even the treachery of Sunderland.

In truth, Dalrymple's reasons are not hard to find. They were not lofty, though they fell far short of the iniquity ascribed to him. The Government desired the services of the ablest man in Scotland. To gain this end they were prepared to take any means, fair or foul. Both were at their disposal. Dalrymple had, indeed, committed no legal offence; but he had done worse—he had endeavoured to uphold the law against a prince determined to govern in defiance of all law. For this he had suffered already: he might expect suffering yet more severe. He was in the gripe of Perth and Melfort; and in them was no mercy. On the other hand, honours, wealth, a

pardon for all the offences of his House, were within his reach. His case was not singular. Government were at this very time in quest of a lawyer equal to the duties of Solicitor-General for England. Sir William Williams was constrained to accept that office by the same combination of influences which triumphed over the integrity of Dalrymple.

The Revolution came; and Sir John Dalrymple, although he had not stooped to be a traitor, had little hesitation in being a turn-coat. He displayed all the energy of the class. He prepared and carried the resolution which declared that James had 'forfeited' his throne; he was one of the three commissioners appointed by the Estates to offer the crown to William and Mary; and he was immediately thereafter restored to his former post of Lord Advocate. It is not, therefore, matter for surprise that, in 1690, he had the honour of being one of the six Scotchmen exempted from the Act of Indemnity then proposed to be granted by James. On the other hand, it is as little matter for surprise that his appointment was received by the Presbyterian leaders with even greater indignation than the appointment of his father to the office of President some months later. They resented it not less bitterly than the English Whigs resented the accession to office of Halifax and Danby, and, at a later date, of Sunderland, and much for the same reasons. Sir Patrick Hume wrote to Melville stating that 'there was great disgust against Sir John Dalrymple be-'cause he is brought in office.' The disgust was very natural. Men who had been outlawed and proscribed; who had groaned under the boot and thumbscrew; who had been driven to hide in caves and vaults, and been half-starved in the garrets of Amsterdam or Leyden, could hardly, with equanimity, see the prosperity and advancement of men who had suffered nothing for the good cause, nay, who had held office during the 'killing 'days,' and had themselves taken part in those persecutions which cried aloud for vengeance. There can, however, be no doubt that William acted wisely. He took as ministers those who could serve him best—careless whether they had been Malignants in Scotland or Tories in England. His single aim was how the Government might be steered most skilfully through the difficulties which surrounded it; and, certainly, no man in Scotland was so fit to take the helm as Sir John Dalrymple.

He held office as Lord Advocate for about a year and a half. He had to encounter no feeble opposition. The enmity of the Jacobites was a thing of course; the sullen discontent of extreme Covenanters might have been expected. But there

was added the malignancy of disappointed place-seekers; and the persistent hostility of a small but influential body who dignified their narrowness and national prejudices with the name of patriotism. Balcarras made common cause with Montgomery; Fletcher of Saltoun degraded himself to the level of that perverse prater Sir Patrick Hume. On the greater nobles the Government could not rely. Alone of his name Argyle stooped to treason; Hamilton was a greedy time-server; Athole a cowardly knave. Nor was the Secretary, Melville, a man who could give much aid. But supported by the King, and counselled no doubt by his father, Sir John Dalrymple was more than a match for all opponents. During one stormy session the many-headed Opposition was triumphant. Firmness, judicious concessions, and a little judicious expenditure gave the Government a majority in the next. The unnatural alliance between Presbyterians and Jacobites was dissolved; 'the Club' was broken up; the ecclesiastical polity of the realm was settled, on the basis of 1592, in such a manner as to command the acquiescence, if not the approval, of reasonable men. Balcarras expressly attributes the victory of the Government to 'the great abilities of Sir John Dalrymple.' According to the same authority, these abilities displayed themselves in vehemence, not less than in dexterity of management. The oratorical treat enjoyed in the Scottish Parliament during these sessions he describes as hearing 'Duke Hamilton bawl 'and bluster after his usual manner, and Sir James Mont-'gomery and Sir John Dalrymple scold like watermen.' Sir John afterwards thought it necessary to address a letter to the Commissioner apologising for the heat he had shown in debate.

In 1691, Dalrymple became joint-secretary for Scotland along with Melville. Towards the close of the year Melville resigned; and Johnston of Warriston succeeded him. To one of these joint-secretaries was entrusted the conduct of business in Edinburgh; the other was in attendance at Court, and had the chief direction of affairs. The latter sphere of duty was assigned to the Master of Stair, as Dalrymple must now be called, his father having been raised to the peerage. He held office till the summer of 1695. During this time his attention was mainly occupied with ecclesiastical affairs and the pacification of the Highlands.

William, as is well known, was not satisfied with the treatment the Episcopalians had received. His first wish was to continue Episcopacy in Scotland; short of this, he desired to obtain for Episcopalians the same toleration as was enjoyed by the Nonconformists in England; but that measure of justice the Presbyterian clergy refused to grant. During 1691–2, the King

used all his influence to extort from the intolerant Church the concession that Episcopalians willing to take the oath of allegiance, and to subscribe the 'Confession of Faith and the shorter 'and longer catechisms,' should be admitted to communion. Many Episcopalians were heartily desirous to come in on those terms. But the Assembly of 1692 opposed a dogged resistance; and was in consequence dissolved, not without reproaches, by the Royal Commissioner. In this enlightened policy the King was cordially supported by his latitudinarian Secretary. Mr. Graham has published some interesting letters from the Master to the Earl of Lothian—the Commissioner—in which he expresses a very frank disapproval of the Presbyterian leaders:—

'I do agree with your Lordship those people are neither tractable nor grateful, but yet they have something that one would not do well to destroy them, though he can neither manage nor oblige them. Something must be done to hinder them to come themselves to confound the civil government, but I shall never be accessary either to subvert their constitution or to bring them to scaffolds, though really they do some things so intolerable that they must be used as mad bodies and put up in a Bedlam if they continue their rabbling and protestations.'

The English politicians of the time were not very zealous or very faithful; yet they struck the Master as presenting a favourable contrast to his countrymen:—

'They (the English Parliament) are full of overtures and displeasure for the success of affairs this season, and the allies lying by; but after some time spent in stuff they will come to give competent supplies, I hope, for really the bulk of this nation are affectioned to the Government, and sensible of the security they enjoy both of their religion and property. *I wish it were as well with us (in Scotland), who talk more of religion and consider it less.*'

Matters came to a crisis in 1693. The Parliament of that year passed two Acts—one imposing on all persons in positions of public trust, and among these, on all the clergy, Presbyterian and Episcopal, an oath acknowledging William as King *de jure* and *de facto*; another, requiring that all Episcopalian clergy who should take this oath, subscribe the Confession and recognise the Presbyterian form of Church government, should be entitled to be members of the Church Courts. The Presbyterian clergy, in pretence at least, objected to the Oath of Assurance, as it was called, more vehemently than to the admission of their Episcopalian brethren. They loudly professed that to take such an oath, especially at the dictation of Parliament, was Erastianism, a bowing down to 'Cæsar,' a recognition of the supremacy of the civil power in matters

ecclesiastical. Yet it may well be doubted whether even the small indulgence extended to Episcopalians was not, in reality, the cause of their noisy opposition. The King at first was firm; members of the Assembly of 1695 must take the oath, or the Assembly would be dissolved. Readers of Scottish history are familiar with the story how Carstairs returned suddenly to Court—learned the position of affairs—detained the despatches—woke the King at midnight to seek his pardon and obtain a reversal of his policy, and succeeded in both objects. The romantic touches in this story are doubted by the best historians, but that the orders were recalled, and a serious collision between the Church and the Crown averted, was no doubt in great measure owing to the influence of Carstairs.

The part taken by the Secretary in this matter cannot be ascertained with certainty. Mr. Story implies that the King was influenced against the clergy by his 'cool and selfish judg-'ment.' With greater accuracy Mr. Graham points out that the name of the Secretary does not appear in any letters, despatches, or records in connexion with the question. Without doubt his father, the Lord President, and Tarbat, then leading men in the Privy Council, urged the King to persevere in enforcing the Acts of the Parliament; but the Secretary may well be believed to have paused. His letters to Lord Lothian show that, though he had no love for the extreme Presbyterians, he both respected and feared them; and personal feeling may have aided prudence in leading him to the conviction that the wisest course would be to leave the ecclesiastical polity of the country undisturbed as it had been settled by his exertions in 1690; and such was, in fact, the result of the struggle.

Whoever may have counselled the King to yield, there is room to doubt whether they rendered a real service to the Church or the Crown. The question was of importance to William, for every Episcopalian parson who signed the Declaration required by Parliament was a rebel the less. Maintaining, as he was, the authority of the Estates, he had nothing to fear from the discontents of an intolerant priesthood; even had the Presbyterian laity been alienated, there would have been no danger to his throne in such a quarrel. For any disaffection of the laity would have been temporary. They never, as was shown again and again, could have made common cause with the Jacobites. The King would have had his way at last; and if at the cost of an enforced silence of some duration on the Assembly, the country would probably have been resigned. On the other hand, the Church would have gained by the admission into her brotherhood of moderate Episcopalians; and

had she been then forced to face the difficulties of the relations of the civil power to the Church, she would have been saved from the fictitious position she has always maintained on this point; and which, like all fictitious positions, has been to her a constant source of weakness. In truth, neither intellectually nor morally, were the clerical leaders at this time worthy of their opportunities. They are thus described, with great severity, by Burnet:—

'The truth was the Presbyterians, by their violence and other foolish practices, were rendering themselves both odious and contemptible; they had formed a General Assembly, in the end of the former year, in which they did very much expose themselves by the weakness and peevishness of their conduct; little learning or prudence appeared among them; poor preaching and wretched haranguing, partialities to one another, and injustice to those who differed from them, showed themselves in all their meetings.' (P. 75.)

No doubt, while we condemn the treatment of the Episcopalians by the Kirk, we must remember what Presbyterians had been made to suffer. 'It is not,' as has been well said, 'under rulers like Lauderdale and Dundee that men learn 'lessons of toleration.' The Episcopalians reaped far less than they had sown. History, we think, records no other instance where so much had been endured, where the retaliation was so gentle. But no credit for this can, with truth, be given to the Scottish clergy, or the ordinary run of Scottish statesmen. The temper of the party who then held the ascendancy in Church and State may be gathered from the persecutions of witches, the murder of Aitkenhead, the opposition even to the measure of indulgence extended to Episcopalians by the Toleration Act of Anne—an opposition which, it is melancholy to think, was headed by Carstairs.* Had not that temper been restrained by William and his latitudinarian ministers, and especially the Dalrymples, the triumph of freedom in Scotland would have been stained by many a dark deed of revenge and intolerance.

To the Dalrymples then, supported no doubt in the closet by Carstairs, we mainly owe it that Presbyterianism was established at the Revolution, and established in justice and moderation. It is not a debt to be estimated lightly. Lord Macaulay has shown, in a striking passage, that the whole

* It is among Mr. Story's many misconceptions of historical truth, that he defends this opposition as dictated by the same spirit as the resistance of Liberals in 1687 to the dispensing power claimed by James.

Empire has cause for thankfulness that Episcopacy was not forced upon an unwilling nation, and the ecclesiastical future of Scotland made as that of Ireland. The high intelligence which has long distinguished, and still distinguishes, the lower classes of Scotland must be mainly ascribed to her system of education—also, it is to be remembered, the work of the Revolution era. But we are persuaded that much may, with justice, be attributed to the Presbyterian form of Church government, especially taken in connexion with the Calvinistic creed. The apprehension of that creed cannot fail to stimulate the mind; the working of that form of government has accustomed Scotsmen of every rank to look upon it as a duty and a right to exercise their judgments on questions involving, directly or indirectly, the most important subjects of human thought. The Presbyterian polity has also tended to foster that liberality of opinion in secular politics which prevails among the middle and lower classes in Scotland. Such must of necessity be the influence of a Church strictly democratic in its constitution, recognising within itself no distinction of persons, no grades of rank or office. This liberalising tendency of Presbyterianism has been increased by an indirect yet powerful cause. When the stormy times passed away, the bulk of the Scottish nobility and gentry revealed themselves Episcopalians. The people, hating Episcopacy, became alienated from their superiors. This was, in Scotland, a great change. Poverty, the slow development of trade, partly, too, the national disposition, long kept the commonalty of Scotland under the influence of the higher classes of society to an unseemly and unhealthy extreme. This has now, in great measure, passed away. That the severance which has taken place has been widened by religious differences no careful observer can doubt; it is to this day most discernible in those parts of Scotland where Presbyterianism has firmest hold. The present state of things is less consistent with sentimental theories of society than the former; but a change is not to be regretted which has, beyond doubt, fostered manliness of character and independence of thought among the body of the people.

This settlement had another consequence—which would have been deplored by its authors—the early rise and great influence of Dissent in Scotland as compared with England. Presbyterianism, in the day of its power, was no whit more tolerant than Episcopacy. Rather, indeed, less so. The freedom of speculation, now alleged to be enjoyed by the clergy of the Kirk, is, if it does really exist, a thing of yesterday.

But the system, as has been said, is more favourable to independence of thought; and this being so, the greater the intolerance the more certain the schism. This inherent tendency of Presbyterianism was increased by the peculiar character of the settlement carried through by William's ministers. That settlement was essentially a compromise, embracing on the one hand many who cherished Episcopacy in their hearts, and on the other, zealots prepared to enforce the Covenant upon all, and who joined the communion with that very purpose. On the Scotch temperament, hardened as it was by years of strife and suffering, such a compromise could have no permanent hold. Mr. Burton, than whom there is no higher authority on such a point, seems to think that the repeated dissents which have marked the history of the Scottish Church had their origin rather in doctrinal differences, vainly thought by the comprehensiveness of the Revolution Settlement to have been laid at rest, than in the Patronage Act of Anne. And the practical effect of those disruptions has been that, at the present day, dissenters in Scotland are comparatively more numerous, wield more political power, and stand higher in social regard, than their English brethren.

But even more than ecclesiastical difficulties the state of the Highlands was a cause of anxiety to the Secretary. His correspondence is full of the subject; the importance and difficulty of which he alone, among the statesmen of the time, would seem to have fully apprehended. His earlier views were worthy of his far-sighted sagacity, and pointed to nothing less than the abortive crime which was the actual issue. The theme of Glencoe is something worn; but Mr. Graham's publication invites a brief consideration of the part taken in the business by the Master of Stair.

Mr. Graham maintains that the Master was 'unconscious of 'the unjustifiable severity and atrocity of the act he autho-'rised;' and that he would not have sanctioned the manner of the massacre. He quotes as evidence of this two letters from the Secretary to Colonel Hill, which will hardly serve his purpose. One of these refers only, and refers not very honestly, to the charge that the Macdonalds had been murdered *after* they had taken the oath of allegiance: the other is a letter intended to set at rest Hill's feelings of remorse, fully approving all that had been done, and ending with the remarkable words, 'When you do right, you need fear nobody.' These very letters plainly show the Secretary to have been an accessory after the fact. But we must take with them the tenor of his whole

correspondence; his directions for securing the passes; his cautions against allowing the least alarm to be excited; his expressions of satisfaction in the thought that the inclemency of the weather would complete what of the bloody work might be left undone. It does not indeed, appear that the plan of murder determined on was communicated to the Secretary; personally he would have shrunk from the base treachery of which his subordinates were not ashamed; but it is impossible to dispute that his instructions entitled those subordinates to adopt any means, however base and treacherous, which they thought best adapted to secure the 'suddenness and secrecy' so carefully enjoined.

Patriotic Scotch writers have endeavoured to shift the blame from the Secretary to the King. Thus, Mr. Mackay will have it that the terms of William's order justified all that took place. He rejects, in one confident sentence, Lord Macaulay's argument, that the order might have been signed by William in a perfectly legitimate meaning, and with a perfectly legitimate purpose. We wish he had given his reasons; for we find it hard to understand how an order to 'extirpate a 'gang of thieves' is in itself a wrong order; or how it can, fairly construed, be held to authorise that even thieves are to be deluded by feigned friendship, by acceptance of hospitality, by lying protestations and false conviviality, and then assassinated in their beds. That William was prepared to visit with severity such marauding clans as should not have taken the oath within the required time is probable enough; but the order which he signed at its worst meant no more than the original proclamation. It meant far less than the letters of fire and sword which had for centuries been, in the times of Scotland's beloved native princes, a species of legal process, repeatedly used against Highland Septs—especially against the clan MacGregor, in 1563, in 1589, and in 1603. The Commission of 1695 reported, as is well known, 'that there 'was nothing in the King's instructions to warrant the com-'mitting of the foresaid slaughter, even as to the thing 'itself, and far less as to the manner of it.' But this does not at all embarrass Mr. Mackay, who gets over it by the easy assertion, that 'the efforts of the Commission were 'directed to whitewash the King and incriminate the Master 'of Stair.' Such an assertion is wholly unwarranted. Few public documents have been subjected to a severer scrutiny than the report in question; and it has stood that scrutiny well. The tone of the document is calm and passionless. The evidence is ably digested, and stated, as is allowed by the most

violent partisans, with perfect fairness. Mr. Mackay himself admits, that the Commissioners have given, fully and fairly, the grounds of the opinion which they formed; and he is not entitled, because that opinion does not commend itself to his views, to accuse the authors of a state paper, conceived in such a spirit, of unjust efforts to arrive at a foregone conclusion.

The Secretary is best defended, not by imputing to others blame which truly rests with him, but by considering his motives, and the circumstances with which he was called upon to deal. There are many who, on Celtic matters, will give no heed to Lord Macaulay or Mr. Burton, but few will dispute the authority of Bailie Nichol Jarvie, who thus describes the state of the Highlands in 1715:—

'"In the name of God," said I, "what *do* they do, Mr. Jarvie? It makes me shudder to think of the situation."

'"Sir," replied the Bailie, "ye wad maybe shudder mair if ye were living near hand them. For admitting that the tae half of them may make some little thing for themsells honestly in the Lowlands by shearing in harst, droving, hay-making and the like; ye hae still mony hundreds and thousands o' lang-legged Hieland gillies that will neither work nor want, and maun gang thigging and sorning about on their acquaintance, or live by doing the laird's bidding, be't right or be't wrang. And mair especially, mony hundreds o' them come down to the borders of the low country, where there's gear to grip, and live by stealing, reiving, lifting cows, and the like depredations—a thing deplorable in ony Christian country—the mair especially that they take a pride in it, and reckon driving a spreagh (whilk is, in plain Scotch, stealing a herd of nowte) a gallant, manly action, and mair befitting of pretty men (as sic reivers will ca' themsells) than to win a day's wage by ony honest thrift. And the lairds are as bad as the loons; for if they dinna bid them gae reive and harry, the deil a bit they forbid them; and they shelter them, or let them shelter themsells, in their woods, and mountains, and strongholds, whenever the thing's dune. And every ane o' them will maintain as mony o' his ane name, or his clan, as we say, as he can rap and rend means for; or, whilk is the same thing, as mony as can, in any fashion, fair or foul, maintain themsells; and there they are wi' gun and pistol, dirk and dourlach, ready to disturb the peace o' the country whenever the laird likes; and that's the grievance of the Hielands, whilk are, and hae been for this thousand years by-past, a bike o' the maist lawless unchristian limmers that ever disturbed a douce, quiet, God-fearing neighbourhood like this o' ours in the West here."'

Things were certainly no better in 1692. Alone of the statesmen of his time the Secretary appreciated the enormity of this evil. He saw that such a population would never be at peace; that its existence was in truth 'a thing deplorable 'in any Christian country.' He opposed, from the first,

Tarbat's scheme of pacifying the Highlands by grants of money. He rightly judged that such a remedy could have a temporary effect only. So long as money was forthcoming the country would enjoy quiet; so soon as the payments should cease Highland Jacobitism would become an active passion. He saw that the only adequate remedy was to enforce, with a high hand, order and obedience to law; and to draft off a large portion of a population more than double what could be maintained in the country by the arts of industry and peace, and kept up by rival chiefs from pride and for purposes of rapine. In other words, there should have been done then what was long afterwards accomplished by the severities of Cumberland and the happy conception of Chatham. That the Master of Stair, had the means been at his disposal, would have pacified the Highlands with all the vigour of Cumberland is certain, and that he would not have shrunk from any of the severities of Cumberland is more than probable. And if in 1692 the Highlands had been occupied by troops and subjected to military law; if forts had then been built and roads made; had the leading freebooters been shipped off to America, after the fashion in which Henry Cromwell dealt with Irishmen certainly not more guilty of offences against law and order; had the active youth been sent to serve in the Low Countries; and the whole clan system broken up; how rapid would have been the advance of the country in prosperity and happiness, how many miseries would have been spared, how much of noble and innocent blood had never flowed. To have adopted such a course, without bribing the rebel chiefs into a simulated submission, and receiving from them an oath of allegiance which everybody knew to be worthless, would have been wise and salutary, if severe, statesmanship. And a consideration of the whole evidence would seem to show that some such scheme had been originally present to the mind of the Secretary. That in his letters he often uses language evincing a preference for harsh modes of coercion is true; but there can, we think, be little doubt that, had a comprehensive scheme of this character been adopted, its very completeness would have gone far to induce a man of large views and kindly disposition to forego unnecessary cruelty. Unquestionably to carry out this policy would not have been work for a squeamish statesman. One essential part of it, the diminution of more than a half of the existing Highland population, could hardly have been accomplished by gentle means. Yet, on the whole, the human suffering would have been little compared with the miseries of two rebellions; and these would never have occurred

had the Master of Stair 'pacified' the Highlands according to his own views in 1692.

Foiled in his statesmanlike purpose, the Secretary turned savagely on the victims who had been brought into his grasp by foolish pride on their own part and wicked chicanery on his. His hatred of the Highland race was now inflamed by disappointment at losing such an opportunity of rendering a permanent service to his country. These feelings, of mixed good and evil, led him not only to forget humanity, but, as we think, to commit an error in statecraft. Failing a comprehensive policy applicable to the whole Highlands, the proceedings taken against the Macdonalds were, in the lowest point of view, not worth while. Had every man of them been shot down, no lasting good would have been effected, no real advance made towards the pacification of the Highlands; and the idea of striking terror by the example was, as the result showed, an utter delusion.

The comparative impunity of the actors in this great crime has been made ground of heavy reproach against William. The Estates of Scotland, in their address to the Crown, urged, absurdly enough, that the officers in command should be prosecuted criminally, but left Stair to be dealt with as the King might think fit. Making every allowance for the subserviency of a Scottish Parliament to rank and place, and for their indifference to the lives of a few Highlanders, the fact that a man, hated by so many enemies, and who had given such occasion to that hatred, should have escaped so lightly, affords striking evidence of the high estimation in which the capacity and services of the Secretary must have been held. To have prosecuted soldiers who merely obeyed orders would have been inconsistent with all public policy; but how to deal with the Master was matter of difficulty. William was content to dismiss him from office—a lenity condemned by Lord Macaulay as 'a fault amounting to a crime.' And, three years later, when, on the death of his father, he had become Viscount Stair, special letters of remission passed the Great Seal in his favour. The letters ran:—

'His Majesty, considering that John Viscount of Stair hath been employed on his service for many years, and in several capacities—first, as his Majesty's Advocate, and thereafter as Secretary of State—in which eminent employments persons are in danger, either by exceeding or coming short of their duty, to fall under the severity of law, and become obnoxious to prosecutions or troubles therefor; and his Majesty being well satisfied that the said John Viscount Stair hath rendered him many painful services, and being well assured of his

affections and good intentions, and being graciously pleased to pardon, cover, and secure him, now, after the demission of his office and that he is divested of public employment, from all questions, prosecutions, and trouble whatsoever; and particularly his Majesty, considering that the manner of execution of the men of Glenco was contrary to the laws of humanity and hospitality—being done by those soldiers who, for some days before, had been quartered amongst them, and entertained by them, which was a fault in the actors or those who gave the immediate orders on the place—but that the said Viscount of Stair being at London, many hundred miles distant, he could have no knowledge of nor accession to the method of that execution; and his Majesty being willing to pardon, forgive, and remit any excess of zeal, as going beyond his instructions, by the said John Viscount Stair, and that he had no hand in the barbarous manner of execution: his Majesty therefore ordains a letter of remission to be made and passed the Great Seal of his Majesty's ancient kingdom, &c.'

The paper is a curious one, and it would be interesting to know by whom it was drawn up; the more so, as the tenor of the argument suggests the idea that it may have been intended, under cover of exculpating the Secretary, to state reasons why no complicity in the guilt of the massacre should attach to the King. But whatever we think of William's position in the matter, the attempted defence of the Secretary is a hopeless failure. The reasons given for the royal clemency are inconsistent even with lenient censure of the Estates; are in defiance of the just condemnation of the Commission; and, as William must have known, if he read the documents transmitted to him from Edinburgh, are altogether at variance with the truth.

At the same time, we cannot concur with Lord Macaulay's view that the Secretary should have been brought to trial, as a common murderer, before the criminal court; and should, if found guilty, have 'died the death of a felon.' Such a course may, perhaps, have been demanded by the strictness of criminal justice. But men in high places, caring for great interests, tried by the severest of all temptations to comprehensive intellects—the temptation to seize any means towards the attainment of important and beneficial ends, have a claim to be judged on broader principles. The great historian, on this occasion, allows no place to the doctrine of 'set-off,' the application of which, in political causes, no one has enforced more strongly than himself. Services rendered to the State may be justly pleaded in such causes; and, what is even a more important principle, the motive which dictated the act for which a politician is called in question is entitled to the greatest weight in determining the true measure of his guilt. The Master of

Stair rendered many and great services to the State; and the motive which prompted his Highland policy was no vulgar one. It was not cupidity. It was not love of power. The crime which has blackened his name added not a shilling to his fortune; it could by no possibility have advanced him in the path of ambition. And of this he seems to have been thoroughly aware. There is no room for the insinuation, made by a reviewer in the 'Times' of September last, that he acted his part with a view to his own advancement; that he was merely playing a card in the political game. His sagacity was never so deluded. He knew he had many and vindictive enemies, and he knew the handle he was giving them. It is not too much to say that the tone of his letters to Colonel Hill is that of a man conscious of his own rectitude, yet fully aware that he had much to fear from the prejudices or weakness of mankind. He was animated, so far as we can now judge, simply by misdirected public spirit. He was fully persuaded, nor was his persuasion wrong, that peace and prosperity would never be known to his country until the supremacy of law was established among those freebooting mountaineers. In his comprehension of the magnitude of the existing evil he was superior to any statesman of his time. Unhappily, this feeling had obtained such power over his mind that he became utterly reckless as to means if only a cure could be effected. Nay, it may be said, we fear, with truth, that long brooding over the lawlessness of the Highlands had brought him to such a state that he would have shrunk from no extreme of severity. Still, though his heart was hardened, his conscience silenced, even his acute judgment warped, it is no exaggeration to say that he was throughout it all animated by a sincere desire for the permanent good of his country. To have sent this man to a felon's death because he might with legal truth have been held guilty of the crime of murder, would have been to violate the principles by which such cases should be determined, not less than if Warren Hastings had been hanged because of the horrors inflicted on Rohilcund.

That William, on this occasion, extended an undue indulgence to crimes committed in his service, may have left a stain upon his fame, but was certainly fortunate for Scotland. Stair's subsequent public life was short but eventful. He did not take his seat in Parliament till the year 1700. He was sworn a Privy Councillor on the accession of Anne in 1702. He rendered important services in the last session of the old Parliament of William, facilitating the passing of Acts recognising the title of Anne, confirming the Presbyterian form of Church

government, and empowering the Crown to appoint Commissioners to treat for a union of the kingdoms. By his exertions in support of that measure the Earl of Stair, for to that rank he was elevated by the Godolphin Ministry, earned an enduring title to the gratitude of his countrymen. He was, says De Foe, 'an eminent instrument in carrying on the Union.' To that end he devoted all his astuteness in counsel, all his unrivalled powers of debate. His was the device which baffled the Opposition by appointing a majority of the Commissioners from their ranks; his were the arguments which secured the rejection of the limitations which a party of pestilent oligarchs, led by Fletcher, sought to impose on the prerogatives of the Crown. So far as we can now judge, to him more than to any other man Scotland owes the blessings which have flowed from that great measure. On the 7th of January, 1707, after a stormy and exhausting debate, the last important article of the Treaty was carried. In that debate Stair took a leading part, and then, worn out by the long struggle now at last brought to a successful issue, he went home to die. He died at the post of duty not less surely than the soldier struck down on the field; and the man who thus spent himself for the good of the commonwealth, whatever may have been his errors or his crimes, deserves the lenient judgment of history.

The characters of these men present features of dissimilarity and likeness curiously interwoven. That of the father is the more difficult to estimate aright. Every reader is familiar with Lord Macaulay's brilliant sketch. That sketch by no means satisfies Mr. Mackay, who, we regret to see, has taken up a line, popular with clever young men at present, that of pecking at the reputation of Lord Macaulay. In one place he accuses the historian of 'selecting from every quarter the 'blackest colours to paint the character of Stair, the father of 'the man destined to be the scapegoat for the massacre of 'Glencoe.' (P. 81.) A graver charge could hardly be made; and the only justification for it is that Macaulay, in alluding to the 'heart-rending tales' which the calamities of the house of Stair had furnished to novelists and poets, has adopted Sir Walter Scott's version of the tragedy of 'The Bride of Lam-'mermoor'! Nor is Mr. Mackay at all correct in his assertion that the traditions of this tragic event have come down to us 'chiefly from the fierce antagonists of the Dalrymples.' The general truth of the story as told by Scott is acknowledged in the Introduction to 'The Bride of Lammermoor,' by the great-great-grandson of Stair; and the version of the final catastrophe adopted by the novelist is the most probable, and by no means

the most malicious, of the many traditions which have been current.

In another place Mr. Mackay has permitted himself to write thus: 'Macaulay has drawn chiefly from these satirists all the 'charges his enemies made against Stair, and without examin-'ing their truth has insinuated others for which even satire 'gave no foundation.' And then he quotes the powerful sketch we have referred to from the third volume of the history. Now such an accusation should have been carefully substantiated. There is hardly an attempt to do so on any point deserving of the smallest consideration. There are a few critical notes which we must take leave to characterise as exceedingly silly. For example. Lord Macaulay ascribes to Stair 'a wonderful power of giving to any proposition which 'it suited him to maintain a plausible aspect of legality and 'even of justice; and this power he frequently abused.' Instead of attempting to controvert this, Mr. Mackay demolishes the historian by the profound query—'How could such a 'power—if he really possessed it—be only frequently abused?' No single charge contained in the whole passage is shown to be without foundation. Two efforts are made in this direction, from the frivolous character of which the critic's inability to bring forward any serious instances may be fairly inferred. The historian writes: 'He protested, and perhaps with truth, 'that his hands were pure from the blood of the persecuted 'Covenanters.' The note here is: 'No ground for this '"perhaps" has been discovered.' Surely it is no very harsh measure thus to qualify such an asseveration on the part of a man who was a member of the Privy Council during the administration of Lauderdale. Indeed there is a sense, and that not of a highly strained morality, in which any man who then held such office may be deemed altogether guilty of the innocent blood which was shed. In his next point Mr. Mackay is yet more unfortunate. He challenges Lord Macaulay's statement that Stair's fellow-exiles regarded him with suspicion. Now it is quite certain that by a large section of the Presbyterian party Stair was never trusted. Not to multiply authorities, this is distinctly stated by Balcarras, and indicated, not obscurely, by Forbes of Culloden, the one a Jacobite, the other a Presbyterian; and, though we fear Mr. Mackay will despise such an authority, Sir Walter Scott, in the 'Tales of a Grand-'father,' describes Stair and his son as 'men of high talent but 'of doubtful integrity; and odious to the Presbyterians for 'compliances with the late Government.' We make these remarks in no unfriendly spirit. But if Mr. Mackay is ever to

fulfil, as there is reason to hope he may, the promise which this book, with all its faults, affords, he must study the principles of historical evidence; he must keep present to his mind the difference between facts and opinions; he must be less hasty in his conclusions, and more sparing in imputations; and, we are constrained to add, he must be careful to observe modesty and moderation of tone when he chances to differ from writers of established fame.*

It will be found, we suspect, that in this, as in most of his judgments on character, Lord Macaulay, making due allowance for habitual force of expression, is not far from the truth. We quite concur with Mr. Mackay in thinking that our estimate of Stair should be little affected by the malignant attacks of which he was so long the object. And we would record our dissent from a condemnation of both father and son which has received publicity and authority from the 'Times.'†

'Even in an age when ideas of political morality were singularly loose, and when the most shameless time-serving was the habit of the most eminent statesmen, the versatile Dalrymples had to support an exceptional weight of obloquy. If their enemies attacked them with unusual bitterness, gloating with exultant malignity over a painful succession of domestic misfortunes, we may take it that there was some exceptional reason for it. . . . They had most exceptional opportunities of being false alike to their friends and their principles; and the result was that in the end they were neither loved nor even trusted, except by those who, for the moment, had common interests with them.'

That both Dalrymples were false to their principles so far as to hold office under administrations of which they disapproved is true enough. But was there anything 'exceptional' in this? What was such a measure of falsity, for example, compared with the falsity of Lauderdale, or the apostasy of Perth? That they were false to their friends, in any prac-

* Mr. Mackay is not more fortunate in lighter matters. Readers of 'Old Mortality' will remember the retort of Lady Elphinstoun, a matron of one hundred years of age, to Claverhouse, on his remarking that during her long life she must have seen many changes: 'Hout na, 'Sir; the world is just to end wi' me as it began. When I was 'entering life, there was ane Knox deaving us a' wi' his *clavers* [idle 'talk], and now I am ganging out, there is ane Claver'se deaving us a' 'wi' his *knocks*.' Mr. Mackay, seemingly quite unconscious of Scott's authority, ascribes this *mot* to Lady Stair, and in so doing spoils it. In matters of Scottish history and tradition a greater familiarity with, and an increased respect for, even Sir Walter's novels, would do Mr. Mackay no harm.

† 'Times,' September 3, 1875.

tical way, is unsupported by evidence. We should not like to dogmatise about 'love' among Scottish politicians of that time; but so far from not having been trusted, it was the trust so often and so long reposed in the Dalrymples which excited the enmity against them. To infer extreme depravity on the part of the Dalrymples because of the hatred they inspired shows utter ignorance of the period. The only 'exceptional 'reason' for that hatred was their 'growing greatness,' and their zeal for the true interests of the country. They were hated by a proud, poor, greedy aristocracy; despising them as new men, unable to estimate their services, envious of the knowledge and capacity which had raised them to the level of Hamilton and Athole. They were the first in Scotland who had so raised themselves; and the whole body of the secondary nobility, who regarded the conduct of political affairs as their exclusive right, and in such a rise not only felt their own immediate defeat in the race for place and power, but foresaw the permanent weakening of their order, hated them accordingly. Supple politicians as they were, treachery was never brought home to them. Of the father it may especially be said that, while he served many masters, he was faithful to them all. We do not ascribe to him the lofty integrity of Nottingham or Somers; but fidelity even such as his was then rare in England, and unknown among the false, shameless leaders of Scottish political parties in an age when, for the first and last time, treason to the cause of Protestantism and freedom stained the honoured name of Argyle.

On the other hand, it is impossible to accept Mr. Mackay's estimate of his hero. The praises of Wodrow, and a few clerical admirers of Stair's 'shining piety,' cannot outweigh the all but unanimous verdict of contemporaries; the deliberate judgments of Burnet, Scott, and Woodhouslee.* The actions of his life, indeed, describe him best—even as stated and defended by himself. A cruel or vindictive man he was not. But he was subtle and crafty; greedy of place—though there were lengths to which, even for the sake of place, he would not go. It is difficult to acquit him of servility to Lauderdale; and when he describes his patron as 'most zealous for 'his country,' and as having come to be in difficulties 'on 'account of his favouring the phanatics,' he wrote what he must have known to be untrue. In his 'Apology' he boasts

* Burnet calls him 'a cunning man;' Scott doubts his integrity; Woodhouslee imputes 'turbulent ambition and crafty policy' both to father and son.

that he never took a bribe—a height of judicial rectitude to which there is reason to believe he really attained. In his reports of two cases, Fountainhall insinuates that the President was thought to have been actuated by improper influences. The authority of Fountainhall is deservedly high; but he does not state the charge as matter of his own belief, still less of his own knowledge; and, on the whole, not in such a way as to force a conviction of the guilt of Stair. He did much to reform procedure, especially during his first tenure of the Presidency; but towards the end of his life, there arose on all sides violent outcries against his conduct of the business of the Court; and it has been made matter of reproach against him that Acts of Parliament were required to set right abuses —such as altering judgments, hearing cases with closed doors, &c.—which should have been put an end to by the Court itself. It is very probable that Stair had not sufficient strength of character to effect, by his own influence, the required changes. Down to the present day the Court of Session has been too chary about reforming itself; too prone to wait for the interference of the Legislature. Whether this strange timidity has arisen from ignorance of the evils, or from that contentment with things as they are which naturally steals over the judicial mind, we cannot say; but it has often brought the Court into great unpopularity with the country, and then some reckless Government forces on hasty, ill-considered changes in obedience to popular clamour. There are many who allege that such is the state of matters at this very time. But for Stair's weakness there was much excuse. The root of the evils with which he had to deal was judicial corruption; and that was, in his day, so widespread that he may reasonably have believed it incapable of cure otherwise than by legislative enactment. And the fact that, even after Parliamentary interference, the taint of corruption clung to the Scottish Bench for upwards of a century, goes far to establish the correctness of such a belief. As a law-maker Stair did little. The one important measure connected with his name is the Act regulating the mode of executing deeds—an Act which, at least as interpreted by subsequent decisions, grievously needs amendment. The legal achievement which principally marks his epoch was the Entail Act of 1685. From any share in the discredit of having imposed entails on Scotland exactly 400 years after the English nobles had inflicted this evil on their country, and more than 200 years after the boldness of the English judges had found out a remedy, Stair must be acquitted. He was in Holland when the Act was passed; and he has left on record his strong dis-

approval of its policy. That responsibility must be borne by Sir George Mackenzie; who, had he also realised his endeavours to abolish juries in criminal cases, would have left behind him a work of mischief, worthy, in its completeness and far-reaching power for evil, even of his reputation.

Stair was a considerable author. His speculations on physics were behind his age. 'The Lord Chancellor,' said Harvey of Bacon, 'writes on science like a Lord Chancellor;' and the sarcasm may be applied, with greater force, to the writings of Stair. His religious meditations will hardly now be read save from curiosity. But, as a jurist, he has left an illustrious name. His 'Institutions of the Law of Scotland' is a remarkable work. The historical part is weak, especially as regards the old Common Law of Scotland, and the introduction of the civil jurisprudence; points full of interest, and in Stair's day possibly within reach of zealous inquiry. But the value of the historical method was not, in that age, understood. Again, he lends his authority to those extreme views of the royal prerogative, or more strictly, of the royal power, which were insisted on by the Scotch lawyers after the union of the crowns, at variance with the free spirit of Scottish Constitutional Law. His style has received an admiration which we cannot but think excessive. In his preface he warns his readers not to expect a 'quaint and gliding style,' still less 'flourishes of 'eloquence.' But he avoids, only too successfully, the error of that lucidity of diction, the charm of which, in some writers, lays such hold on the reader's mind, and so carries him along, as under a spell, that he sometimes fails to grasp the true reach of the thought. Stair's style has, no doubt, a force and dignity befitting his subject; but it is cumbrous, and often complicated, even to obscurity. The frequency of his allusions to the law of Moses, and to the Bible generally, are not edifying, and certainly not instructive; indeed his fondness for sacred sanctions has led him into a serious error of classification. Yet the scope and execution of the work entitle him to a high place among jurists. Scott expresses regret that 'his powerful mind was unhappily exercised 'on so limited a subject as Scottish jurisprudence.' The limits of a subject, however, depend not a little on the mode of treatment. Stair's work is not a mere compendium of Scotch law. As such, indeed, it stands high, even after the lapse of nearly two centuries; but a large portion of the work may be truly described as a Treatise on Jurisprudence generally, illustrated by reference to the law of Scotland and other systems. It has been compared, and not un-

reasonably, by one of his editors to 'a Treatise of Universal 'Grammar, where the author, keeping in view chiefly one 'language, and drawing most of his illustrations from it, enables 'the student not only more thoroughly to understand all the 'rules and principles upon which the grammar of this language 'depends, but also to apply this knowledge, with advantage and 'facility, to every other language to which he may turn his 'attention.' He himself claims that 'a great part of what is 'here offered is common to most civil nations, and is not like 'to be displeasing to the judicious and sober anywhere, who 'doat not so much upon their own customs as to think that 'none else are worthy of their notice.' This comprehensive survey of legal relations common to all systems, the constant search after principle, the philosophical analysis, and the thorough technical knowledge, have given to a large part of his treatise a vitality and width of application unexampled, we think, among works of the same class. To this day 'Stair' is constantly quoted in the every-day work of the Scotch Courts; and we have been assured by an eminent politician and lawyer that in his chapter on Reprisals was found the strongest authority for the position taken up by Great Britain in the affair of the 'Trent.' Mr. Mackay seems to us to institute not a flattering or even a reasonable comparison when he compares Lord Stair's Institutions with the practical labours of Coke, or the easy commentaries of Blackstone. They are all law books certainly; but they have no other point of resemblance. Stair's comprehensive and philosophic treatise differs in its conception from the former, and stands altogether on a higher level than the latter. 'I did write,' he says with a not ungraceful consciousness of desert, 'the Institutions of the 'Law of Scotland, and did derive it from that common law 'that rules the world, and compared it with the laws civil and 'canon, and with the customs of the neighbouring nations, 'which hath been so acceptable that few considerable families 'in the nation wanted the same, and I have seen them avend-'ing both in England and Holland.'

Inferior to his father in legal acquirement, Sir John Dalrymple was, in many respects, a more remarkable man. Macaulay estimates him as one of the first men of his time. His knowledge was great, and in him it was not the knowledge of a pedant, but of a thorough man of the world. As a statesman he was profound and far-seeing; as a debater he had no equal. His letters show a love of reality, an impatience of pretence, an insight into character, a contempt for national prejudices, rare among Scotchmen of any time, hardly known

among Scotchmen in his day. His character was altogether a stronger one than his father's. Quite as unscrupulous, even more impenetrable, he was yet simpler and bolder. Hence, while hated with especial hatred by his rivals in the Parliament House,* he does not seem to have incurred the general unpopularity of his father. Nor is this surprising. The never-failing caution of the President; his astute devices, on occasions of difficulty, to save his reputation—such as the verbal qualification with which he took the Declaration; his intense respectability; his profuse piety; his forgiveness of enemies, almost Pecksniffian;† and his general success in life; were more calculated to arouse animosity than the franker tergiversations and bolder courses of the son, who, if he did some wrong, at least never made profession of exceeding virtue. 'He was,' says De Foe, 'justly reputed the greatest 'man of counsel in the kingdom of Scotland;' and we are told by the same authority that 'he died to the general grief 'of the whole island, being universally lamented.' This grief was not without good cause. Those who hated Sir John Dalrymple most hated him because of services which constitute an enduring title to the gratitude of his countrymen, and which must have been widely appreciated even in his lifetime. For some years after the Revolution Scotland was exposed to a danger the character and extent of which has hardly been appreciated by historians. A band of politicians, powerful from social position, strong in persistency of purpose, were bent upon establishing a narrow oligarchy. They sought to deprive the Crown of all authority; they were prepared to reduce the people to serfdom; the country was to be delivered over to a poor, greedy, unprincipled aristocracy. Had they prevailed, the future of Scotland would have been little better than the long misery of Ireland from the Revolution to the Union. Religious hatreds might not have flamed so high; but in Scotland, not less than in Ireland, the domination of a small privileged class would have brought with it poverty, backwardness, and national degradation. To frustrate these pernicious designs was the

* Thus Lockhart: 'The Master (of Stair) is among the worst men 'in this age; and what has been said of him may serve for a character 'of his two brothers, yea, the whole name; only with this difference, 'that, tho' they were all equally willing, yet not equally capable of 'doing so much evil as his Lordship.'

† 'Most men thought this equality of spirit a mere hypocrisy in 'him,' says Sir George Mackenzie.

leading purpose of the Secretary's public life. The danger by no means passed away with the breaking-up of the notorious 'Club.' The country was not safe, Dalrymple's triumph was not secured, until the Treaty of Union was signed. To the very last these 'patriots' struggled to curtail the royal power,* trusting that the reversion would come to them. Seeing early that they could not hope to defeat the Union altogether, they sought thus indirectly to make it ineffectual for good; and doubtless the provisions which they sought to introduce would have had the effect they desired. Stair clearly apprehended the scope of these designs, and devoted himself to frustrate them. His success was complete, and happy for his country. On the union of Scotland with a constitution which had been the nurse of freedom, with the deeply-rooted public spirit, and, above all, with the increasing prosperity of England, that danger finally passed away.

Such were the lives, and such the services, of these remarkable men. That their lives were marred by shortcomings, by errors, even by crimes, we have not attempted to disguise. That their services were such as have rarely been rendered by a father and son to their country, it would, we think, be idle to deny. In character both rose above the low standard of political morality which prevailed in their time. Throughout all their changes they were faithful to the cause which for the time they served; and they appear to have been ever animated by a sincere desire for the welfare of their country. In intellect, culture, and sagacity they were superior to all their contemporaries. To their counsels and exertions Scotland mainly owes the easy accession of William to her throne, the settlement of her ecclesiastical difficulties, and (to the son) the Union. Few nations have owed more to two statesmen: yet much as they accomplished, much of necessity remained to be done. Materials for religious discord were still rife. The Highlands were left, unruly and discontented, to be the source of future trouble and danger. The commercial prosperity—the expectation of which was, on the Scotch side, the real inducing cause of the Union—did not come speedily. What did come, and at once, was increase of taxation, severities of

* An attempt, in the debates on the articles of Union, to take away the royal prerogative of mercy was, of course, opposed by Dalrymple, which brought on him the taunt from Lockhart that his defence of this prerogative was very natural, since but for its exercise he would have been hanged long ago! Rather too hard hitting for our degenerate days.

revenue officers, alterations of ancient laws, enforcement of new prerogatives, These grievances—some of them not imaginary—fell upon the fertile soil of national animosity. The Union was hated by the bulk of the Scottish aristocracy, because under the Government of Great Britain their importance could not fail to be diminished, their selfish views frustrated; it was hated by the bulk of the Scottish people with a hatred which had its origin in a nobler source—the feelings and traditions bequeathed by their long and cruel struggle for independence. But the work of healing was only a question of time. The foundations of well-being and mutual good-will had been laid strong and deep; and, happily for Scotland, there were not wanting men, both among her nobles and her lawyers, worthy and able to carry on the policy, and complete the purposes, of William and his wise advisers.

ART. II.—1. *Army Facts from Official Data. Lord Elcho's Speeches*, April 20, May 19, June 5, 1875.

2. *No. LXXX. Vol. XIX. 'Journal of the Royal United 'Service Institution.'*

WHEN we approach the questions of military organisation which are annually discussed in Parliament, we are met by considerable difficulties. In the first place, owing to their very importance the subjects are hackneyed and stale, while the details necessary for their comprehension are dry and forbidding almost to repulsiveness. The civilian mind is further encountered by facts and conditions not a little likely to add to distrust and to increase complication. The Army comprehends many elements. There is the governing one in Pall Mall, partly civil and partly military, of which it may be said that, like other representatives of rule and authority in a constitutional system admitting of free and popular criticism, it loves darkness rather than the light, prefers a bureaucratic closeness to open discussion, an official inquiry on details to the free ventilation of principles; prudence and reticence, caution and non-committal of self, being thus the characteristics of that close residence in Pall Mall, which, if its inmates may be credited, calls for currents of fresh air on account of their health in a manner not dissimilar to that believed by Parliament to be required for the solution of the difficult questions which have so long perplexed us. That there is truth in this view of the officialism of the War Office, whichever party may

form the government of the day, may be gathered from the jealousy of the House of Commons with reference to its proceedings, from the occasional criticism of returns presented to Parliament, from that necessity of 'consulting the man in the 'street,' to use Lord Elcho's expression, when positive data and details are sought for on which to base a demand for inquiry or a claim for reform. The official difficulty, which after all is common to all public offices and bureaucratic systems where patronage and favour, privilege and promotion, must of necessity play their parts, is in this instance enhanced by the conditions of the Government and of the Opposition as represented by its front Bench of the late Ministers.

To the latter are due the army reforms which were inaugurated in 1870 and 1871, and as it was hoped were for ever to ward off the difficulties and the attendant risks which still excite the attention of those who turn their thoughts to the subject of national defence. It is believed that when the present Secretary of State for War entered his office he found many half-completed measures and the skeletons of others as it were to which Parliamentary sanction had been afforded, but vitality was as yet wanting. Mr. Hardy thus succeeded to the management of a vast establishment avowedly in a transition state. He had not only to learn the army as it used to be before 1870–71, but he had to learn it according to the fashion superinduced by his immediate predecessor. He had to deal with the conservatism and the habits of a great profession to which he was in some measure committed by the policy of his party when in opposition, and the traditions exercising a powerful influence on his own mind. It was for him to connect the past with the new ideas which had taken fast hold of Parliament and the country, and had found expression in the military policy of the late Government. There was not only much to learn; there was much to disentangle. Dissatisfaction and prejudice, which had been fostered by Opposition promises and stimulated in the excitement of party warfare, now demanded a treatment they sought in vain from an *ex officio* reforming Ministry. But while necessarily influenced by such considerations the impossibility of holding back, or of changing the policy of military development so far as national safety may be concerned, was forced on the new tenants of the War Office by the recollection of their own promises and the taunts they had lavished on the alleged economic tendency, insufficiency, and poverty of the measures of Mr. Gladstone's Ministry. When they were in the posit on

of critics, they had declined to allow time for the growth of the plant after the seed had been sown. On them now devolved the task of carefully attending to the soil, of fostering the growth, of impressing on their followers the necessity of patience, of allowing for the improvement which can alone produce itself in time. And so Mr. Hardy's course was cut out for him.

Thus was the new Secretary of State, with one signal exception affecting the private interests of regimental officers and not those of the public, in the position of defending the state of things he found, with the further condition of having to aid in explaining away or extenuating the results of the measures and the institutions when those results proved unsatisfactory. In this, of course, he found ready assistance among those who were originally responsible for the measures and the institutions. The wholesome criticism of a well-informed Opposition based on previous official knowledge and experience has thus been lost in both Houses of Parliament. The duty of enforcing it has fallen on independent members. When they have risen they have found themselves opposed by the leaders on both sides, the replies of the Opposition being, as was to be expected under the circumstances, more official, more essentially bureaucratic in statement and argument, than those of the newly installed Government. At any rate there was for the nonce an alliance between the two sides. Consciously or unconsciously, this alliance was worked to put down independent members in the two Houses who have persisted from time to time, in striving to bring the truth before the country and to awaken the nation to the character of the reeds it was invited to lean on by the Ministries present and past. What then is a poor public to do? There is literally no other resource but 'the man in the street.'

If we descend from the coldness of the official heights, we find a variety of services, a variety of interests, and, as we must expect, a variety of opinions and suggestions. There is the Regular Army, with its own branch of opinions partly dependent on tradition, and partly on interest. As a body the officers of the army are habitually conservative; this remark not applying so much to politics, about which they care little, but to the institutions under which their careers have been prosecuted, the ideas to which they were educated when they entered the service of the Crown. In this the body of officers resembles all other professions, which, like corporations of every degree, resist novelty, and if they submit to reforms of

themselves or their rules, do so with unwillingness and under pressure from the outside.

Nevertheless, notwithstanding this conservatism, there is no class in the country which is so alive to what the officers generally believe to be the faulty, ruinous, and dangerous condition to which we are reduced in the matter of guarding the national honour and providing for the national defence; it being understood that both considerations involve moving to the attack as well as presenting an inert front to it, when the attack shall seek us. In their garrisons and regiments they see the practical results of the measures contrived to meet a passing difficulty, or for the execution of reforms which it is hoped may ensure desirable consequences in the direction required, may appease the national longing for security in the face of the warnings constantly issuing from the press of this country, and finding an echo in the prints of the Continent, perhaps even in the correspondence of diplomacy and the appreciation of international relations. They believe, whether rightly or wrongly, that the results often fall far short of ministerial promise and the anticipations of those who have hitherto put their faith in expediency, and, as the officers conceive, in the patching of old devices no longer suited to the times or the circumstances, domestic and foreign, in which we exist. They know that in reckoning and dealing with the national resources, as the latter come under their review in the exercise of their profession, recourse is had to practices which would ruin any administration less powerful than that supported by national credit, which would quickly entail insolvency and absolute stoppage on any company or association which for purposes of industry or trade so managed its affairs. To them does the truth really come home that in most important particulars supply is not equal to demand, the powers that be having for a long time tried, and how ineffectually we all know, to imitate the miracle of the wine by manipulation of Enlistment Acts which are simply behind the ideas of the time and inadequate to our necessities. Hence a fairly searching discussion, the conflict of many opinions, the publication of many suggestions. All this, as might be looked for, is marked by a certain professional onesidedness, a conservative tendency, a longing lingering look at the old system which carried us through the Peninsular War, the struggle with Russia, the Indian Mutiny, and so forth. Then again there is the bias towards the Army proper as distinguished from the Militia and the Volunteers, which is alike the cause of improper detraction of these two forces, and of unjust, indeed often

absurd, depreciation of their value, and therefore of the resources at the disposal of the country. The Army, like other professions, is apt to favour the maxim 'there is nothing like 'leather.' Another consideration may be added. The military annals of the country are not sufficiently consulted by those military men who have devoted themselves to the task of awakening the public mind to the relative condition of England in a survey of the martial resources, the territorial ambition, the *militarismus* of the great Continental Powers, the conversion of the population to the status of standing armies. Perhaps it is not too much to say that the military condition of England as she stood forty years ago is hardly known to many of those who constitute themselves our advisers in the present day. At all events that condition is never adverted to in argument, the consequence being that the grounds of security as properly appreciated by successive governments by no means receive the public consideration to which they are entitled. It is said, and with truth, that whatever advance we may have made during the period referred to, far greater steps have been taken by other Powers, and notably by Germany. France on the one side of the new empire, and Russia on the other, and Austria and Italy to the south, have all adopted a thorough and searching system of nationalised armament, the strength for offence on the part of the one having come in some sort to be the measure of the means deemed necessary by the others for reassertion of that balance of European power which in a large sense completes the notion of Continental defence.

Although, however, so much may be properly admitted, it is surely a mistake to ignore what we have been about ourselves, and to treat with contempt the resources which have been gradually called into existence in our halting Anglo-Saxon fashion, and, whatever may be said to the contrary, provide for the defence of the soil on a scale little dreamt of during the early years of Louis Philippe's reign in France, and that of William IV. in England. We have purposely referred to that time, for then it was that the military resources of Great Britain were suffered to reach the lowest point known in this country since the termination of the Napoleon wars; and from that time may be traced a constant increase to our military strength, now taking place in one form now in another, with a corresponding rise in the annual estimates. To this allusion will presently be made with some little detail.

The Militia officers, the Volunteers, and a few members of Parliament have contributed their quota of argument, of statement, of suggestion. It is not only reasonable that they should

do so, but in the consideration of national defence it is essential that they should come forward. For though through them we do not learn much indeed of military systems and adaptations, of army traditions and regulations, of the imperfect laws which so entirely fail in accomplishing their object with regard to the supply of men for our regular army, we do become acquainted by their means with the feeling pervading the population, and the merits of a voluntary system resting on intelligence and not on the blind adhesion of youthful ignorance, rashness, or inexperience. We learn through them that in the community at large there is a strong latent military sentiment. We discover that potential capacity for arms and submission to military demands and organisation which justifies the dictum of Lord Palmerston: 'Reserves! Talk to me 'of Reserves! I trust for Reserves to the energy of the British 'nation.' It is to the truth of these imperfectly quoted words, the occasion of their utterance having escaped our memory, that the officers of the Militia and the Volunteers bring their testimony, whether as shown by their willing service and subordination to rules, or by their contributions to the discussion of the great questions which still await solution from the War Office. These questions are that the sufficient recruitment for the army shall be in future assured; and how we are to arrange a system of real and positive Reserve, of which the men shall be available for mobilisation as seen first in the German armies and subsequently in the military establishments of the other Continental Powers.

To Lord Elcho belongs the proud distinction of having compelled a hearing on an ungrateful subject, ungrateful because we all of us too well know that whether or not we agree to his statement of the case, he has persistently striven for years to lay the fact before the public, that the character of our establishments, however costly they may be, whatever their history, and whatever their purpose, is not such as to enable us to vindicate the position assumed in Europe by the power of England, is not of a kind to ensure regard for the treaties we have guaranteed; in short, that it fails and must fail in ensuring that respect abroad which goes by the name of moral influence in the mouths of statesmen and diplomatists. It is true, as Lord Derby has lately intimated, that the opinion of England is still awaited with eagerness on the Continent. The petulance and even anger, which at times are vented, are proofs of the value set on our estimate of European questions. The imputations of timidity and conscious weakness which are so freely hazarded by foreign critics are ephemeral and transi-

tory expressions of disgust or jealousy. Dissent may have been implied from conclusions alien to the policy imposed on Government by the will of the nation, or material interference may have been declined with regard to our insular position and cosmopolite as distinguished from merely European interests. Our sympathies towards this or that Continental interest may have been expressed by public opinion, in Parliament, and even by responsible advice, when for obvious reasons material assistance or diplomatic remonstrance has been denied. But the refusal of interference is one thing. The condition of our establishments which forbids interference or the utterance of strong international sanctions when treaties are threatened and the European system as approved by us and necessary to our interests is in danger, because the utterance might logically entail the interference, is indeed another. That such a feeling should have an existence in the educated portion of the nation, that it should come to be the guide of Ministries, would really be a calamity. It is against the occurrence of that calamity that Lord Elcho warns us. Independent of party, and standing almost alone as he does in the House of Commons, he has perhaps more than any Minister or any group of men during the last twenty years aided towards the enforcement of a truly national policy in these matters, and has effected results of which he may well be proud, far transcending the mere executive action of office.

In the debate raised by Lord Elcho in the House of Commons on May 20, 1875, a thorough comprehension of the subject was indeed shown by all the speakers, not excepting the Secretary for War himself, notwithstanding Colonel Mure's statement 'that the debate had been most remarkable, for, with 'the exception of the Secretary for War, neither soldier nor 'civilian had presumed to say the army was in a satisfactory 'state.' For in truth if Mr. Hardy's speech be read carefully, it becomes evident that the condition of the army as regards the material point of supply of men for the ranks fills him with anxiety, and that he is not more satisfied with the state of things than any of the numerous critics who addressed the House before and after him. Towards the close he yielded the whole position. Official caution and reticence were dismissed. The Minister expressed his dissatisfaction almost as freely as the independent members, and did to a certain extent shadow forth the promise of a policy which, if carried out in entirety, would, we believe, give the army and the country all that is desired. It is fair to him, and at the same time of much assistance to the line of argument and suggestions about to be pursued, to quote his words *in extenso*:—

'Now I cannot help calling the attention of the House to the great changes which have been going on in the Army in recent years —changes so great that I should tremble to make others which were not absolutely necessary because of the feeling of dissatisfaction which must be expected to exist in the Army if there is a continual uncertainty as to what may happen. So dangerous do I think these frequent changes that I must be excused for moving somewhat more slowly than some of my friends may desire. I trust, however, that credit will be given me for an anxious desire to remove any defects there may be in the existing system. No doubt there are defects. There may be a great necessity—I am inclined to admit there is a necessity—that we should expedite the means of filling up the cadres in the case of urgent need. Like the hon. and gallant member opposite, I have been surprised to find that the rapidity with which the Reserve will be completed is likely to be much less than was anticipated. I think my noble predecessor over-estimated the number that would come in year by year, failing to take into account certain reductions which must inevitably occur. It has been suggested that the Militia should be made the foundation of the recruiting system. There would, no doubt, be practical difficulties in the way, yet I believe that the best mode of supplying the ranks of the Army would be through the Militia. I am aware that a distinguished officer has expressed the opinion that with that object it would be a good thing to abolish the existing recruiting establishments entirely. With respect to the ballot for the Militia, there is no doubt that the law is at present in an unsatisfactory state. I have this year brought in a Bill which I hope the House will allow to pass without much amendment, it being a mere consolidation Bill, except in so far as there are some amendments proposed which have become necessary owing to the Militia having been brought under the War Office instead of being under the Lord Lieutenant. If that Bill is passed, we shall then have before us in a convenient shape the whole of the law relating to the Militia. There are difficulties connected with the ballot, and yet it is quite obvious that whoever has to do with the management of the War Department in this country must contemplate the possibility of having to call into action the ballot system of the Militia. It remains as a store on which it may become necessary to draw. I do not think it would be wise to draw upon it unnecessarily; but if the necessity should arise, I am sure no Minister with a due sense of duty would shrink from availing himself of it.'*

Before proceeding with the argument suggested by this speech let us briefly refer to the past. If we go back to the year 1835—the year quoted by the late Mr. Cobden as the economical model in the matter of military expenditure—we find what to the present generation must appear indeed an extraordinary state of things. In that year (1835) the total

* Extract from Mr. Hardy's speech in the debate raised by Lord Elcho on Thursday, May 20, 1875.

strength of the British Army at home and abroad barely exceeded 100,000 men, thus distributed:—

	Numbers				
	Horses	Officers	Non-commissioned Officers, Trumpeters, and Drummers	Rank and File	All hands
In the United Kingdom and the Foreign Stations* . .	5,914	4,497	6,420	70,354	81,271
In the East Indies . .	2,804	1,116	1,316	17,288	19,720
Total to March 31, 1835 .	8,718	5,613	7,736	87,642	100,991

In the following year 1836–7 it was almost exactly the same. At this time, and for very many subsequent years, it was customary to retain a large portion of the little army of Great Britain in distant colonies and garrisons. Accordingly we find that in the year 1835 the actual number of soldiers in the United Kingdom, including all the arms, amounted to 47,214; and for the year 1836, 43,747.†

* Officers and men belonging to regiments in India but stationed at home for the purpose of recruiting are carried to the strength in the United Kingdom.

† The following trustworthy table is instructive with regard to the strength of the Field Artillery in the same times, and its subsequent growth:—

Number of Guns Horsed and Manned			
Years	Horse Artillery	Field Artillery	Total
1818	42	8	50
1819	14	8	22
1821	14	12	26
1828	18	12	30
1848	28	12	40
1849	28	42	70
1852	42	78	120
1855	24	90	114
1856	48	132	180
1858	36	138	174
1860	36	144	180
1870	60	120	180
1872	. .	. .	366
1875	. .	. .	372

In 1855 there were 92 Guns in the Crimea in addition.

In the times referred to the Regular Army stood alone as the available armed strength of the country—it was besides the sole exponent of military power.

The Militia had been allowed to die out so far as practical purposes were concerned. The old pensioners had not yet been enrolled as a first attempt at Reserve. A quarter of a century was to elapse before the Volunteers should spring into existence. The country was not only officially disarmed by the constant reduction of the forces proceeding after the Battle of Waterloo, but it was absolutely disarmed in the largest sense of the word, and the population was wholly untrained to the use of arms. It was said, and with truth, that in these years, with the exception of the squires, the gamekeepers, the poachers and the broken-down discharged soldiers, Englishmen knew not how to load a musket. And, as we have seen, just as men were wanting in the regimental cadres, so the Artillery, as we understand it in the present day, did not exist.

After the accession of her most gracious Majesty, the establishments from one cause or another began slowly to increase. India, China, the Cape, in succession made demands on the Horse Guards for reinforcements, and the condition of Ireland during the career of Daniel O'Connell and the Repeal agitation caused the axiom to be laid down which has been generally since acted on, that the number of troops in that country should not be less than 20,000 men.

The return from which a quotation has already been made shows the numerical increase of the Home Forces. In 1847 the numbers had reached 64,018, a figure made up as follows:—

Cavalry	Artillery	Engineers	Infantry	Total
7,811	5,294	759	50,154	64,018

This year has been particularly quoted because it is the year in which the Duke of Wellington wrote his celebrated letter to Sir John Burgoyne. That letter awoke the country fairly to the strange condition of insecurity in which it had been so long content to remain, and was the parent of those ebullitions of public feeling, miscalled panics, but really proclamations of well-founded alarm, on account of the reckless manner in which the duty of the national insurance of England was neglected by her rulers. It may still be studied with advantage by those entrusted with the responsibility of the safeguard of Great Britain. The Duke wrote, 'We are, in fact, assail-'able, and at least liable to insult, and to have contributions 'levied upon us in all parts of our coast; that is, the coast of 'these, including the Channel Islands, which to this time, from

'the period of the Norman Conquest, have never been successfully invaded. I have in vain endeavoured to awaken the 'attention of different administrations to this state of things, 'as well known to our neighbours (rivals in power, at least, 'former adversaries and enemies) as it is to ourselves.' As a result of this appeal, an augmentation of the Companies of Artillery took place, and from that time forward began the policy of keeping a larger regular force in these islands than had been considered necessary since the termination of the war in 1815.

The organisation of the Field Artillery may be said to date from 1852, when Lord Hardinge took it in hand as Master-General of the Ordnance, and raised the number of field guns, properly manned, horsed and equipped, to 120. But for this precaution the British army would have been literally without field artillery when war was declared against Russia.

In 1847 the Duke of Wellington asked for the reorganisation of the Militia at about the same strength as that permitted when the country had been last in a state of war. In 1852 he had the satisfaction of helping to carry the Bill giving effect to his proposals—the last act in the long career passed in the defence of England. The accession of Lord Hardinge to the chief command on the death of the great Duke, although as yet the coming conflict with Russia was but casting its shadow before, was signalised by new activity at the Horse Guards. The commencement was made of assembling the troops in large camps for divisional and army exercises after the fashion prevailing in Germany. The system of promotion of field and general officers was revised and reformed. Attention was drawn to the new improvements in fire-arms. Schools of instruction were organised for their proper use, it having come to be recognised that with regard to the improvement of the modern arm as compared with the old musket, the value of each individual soldier rises in proportion to his skilled application of his rifle, whereas in former times, with the very imperfect arms conceded to the men, the general could rely on the weight of fire only, individual dexterity being of little account.

With the Crimean War was renewed our old experience of the extraordinary difficulty of sufficiently filling vacancies in the ranks caused by the casualties of service, of finding the necessary reserves, and therefore of enabling England, when she commits herself to a struggle in the field, to give it the form demanded alike by the position of one of the great European Powers, and by that reputation which is a chief ingredient

of the security of nations and the preservation of peace. The war in the Crimea read us a painful lesson.

The Ministry which drifted into war was wholly inexperienced regarding the conduct of one. The little army, less than thirty thousand men, which could be scraped together, was sent on a perilous undertaking. It seemed to have escaped the attention of the authorities who, in 1854, despatched Lord Raglan's force to Turkey, Bulgaria, and finally to the Crimea, that war cannot be carried on without much of sickness and death from various causes; in short, that in an active campaign, however ably and successfully conducted, an army quickly wastes away. No serious measures were entertained at home to supply the want thus caused, to find the fighting army with reserves till almost half of it had disappeared.

Then Parliament was assembled in hot haste at the close of 1854. The nation was fairly aroused. That awakening, although twenty-one years have elapsed, has not been forgotten; but unhappily it may still be said that the means are wanting as yet, that the measures remain insufficient by which we may be guarded in future from results similar to those of 1854, if this country should, amidst at present unforeseen circumstances, find itself compelled to take part in a European struggle or to defend her interests against a first-rate Power beyond her own shores.

But for the protection of those shores against such insult as that contemplated by the Duke of Wellington, it must be admitted another story may be told. In addition to the development and instruction of the Militia, the latter being now very fairly attended to, we have to boast of the Volunteer association or army, which has stood the test of a formation of upwards of fifteen years' standing. Considering the foundation of intelligence and patriotic feeling on which the force rests, the self-sacrifice so readily incurred by its many constituents, it cannot be doubted that this Volunteer Army is an element of enormous importance in the system of national defence, as would be found if at any time its mettle should be put on trial. It does, in fact, double the strength which would be at the disposal of the central authority in the form of Militia, as asked for by the Duke in his letter to Sir J. Burgoyne. The Volunteer force does not, of course, escape the fate of all British institutions. In its very early days senseless panegyrics were heaped upon it. In later and quite recent times the popular wind has changed, and the detraction of the force, commencing we fear in the regular ranks, has been as unjust as the early eulogy was undeserved. The com-

parisons to the disadvantage of the Volunteers with the hasty levies of Paris at the commencement of the siege are simply foolish and untruthful. We have in the Volunteers an organised force of upwards of 150,000 men, who have acquired the habit of assembling by military order, the art of moving and living together according to a rule of discipline, and are fairly practised in the use of arms which, as we all know, require a certain scientific training; this remark applying to the rifled musket as well as to the rifled cannon. The English generals must be indeed unworthy of their position and reputation if in the time of trial they cannot so apply such a force as to produce results obtained from constituents of a precisely similar character after the second year of the American war. For be it remembered the men who fought the first battles in that conflict were without the training and half-formed military habits which have been imparted to the Volunteers. The Volunteer movement has besides had the effect of accustoming the population to arms, the numbers of men who have passed through the ranks being now very considerable, and probably to be reckoned at from 300,000 to 400,000 men. A large proportion of these would be available in time of need for home defence, and would spring to arms if required by a real national necessity.

By way of recapitulation and to keep the facts before the reader in the clearest manner, extracts are given from the estimates of the years 1875–76:—

At home—all arms	96,279
On passage from India	1,365
On passage from Mediterranean	1,775
„ to Bermuda	813
In the Colonies and Mediterranean Garrisons	23,003
East Indies, including drafts on passage out	63,197
	186,432
Establishment for 1874–75	185,838
Militia—Permanent Staff	5,066
„ Training Services	133,952
	139,018
Yeomanry Cavalry Establishment	15,380
Deduct absentees	2,630
	13,750
Volunteers	161,150
For the year 1874–75 the number of Volunteers stood at	153,266

The number of horses maintained by the State at home on a peace establishment for Cavalry, Artillery, Army Service and Engineers stands at 14,808. The number of field guns horsed and equipped is 372, the establishment of an army in the field of 150,000 men.

The forts for the protection of the coast, designed at the instance of the late Lord Palmerston, are now near completion, and have already received much of their armament. Arrangements are in progress, though as yet they are very imperfect, for the methodical location of the different descriptions of force, so that in case of need their assembly and their mobilisation may proceed with some of the regularity and ease we admire in Germany. The so-called Intelligence Department, a new one in the office of the Quartermaster-General at the War Office, is occupied with the great questions affecting the distribution of the troops and materiel, the study of positions; in short, all the conditions of national defence according to the means afforded by military and civil resources. The education of the officers of the army has received the proper impetus with regard to the tactical changes suggested by improved armament and the contemplation of what was recently effected on the Continent,—and secondly to the application of science in the exercise of their profession. The results as shown in the regiments are satisfactory. It may be said, then, with regard to the number of troops, &c., which have been cited, to the facts of their training, whether we consider the Regular Army, the Militia or the Volunteers, and to the general arrangements for national defence, the organisation of the land forces has now been put in a condition to afford a real and effective support to the Navy for the safeguard of these islands; in short, that our shores are now sufficiently guaranteed against the chance of such aggression and insult as were contemplated in the Duke's letter. The precautions he demanded in vain in 1847 have become thoroughly effective and have an enduring form. Indeed, the proportions they have assumed are much in excess of what he ventured to ask for, and are ample for the domestic purposes of Great Britain and Ireland.

The garrison proper of these islands, the guarantee from aggression or insult of the coasts, having been thus fairly assured, the points have been forced into prominence the consideration of which is more especially the object of this paper. We may be permitted to restate them for the sake of exactness. The first of these points is that for the more assured defence of our homes, for the maintenance of our place in Europe, for the assertion of treaties for which we are

directly or impliedly responsible, we should have the means on due occasion of operating with weight on the Continent, that the so-called moral influence of Great Britain should, as the means of peace and good faith, be supported by the sanction of organised force, the known existence of which is in truth the chief, but it may be admitted, by no means the only, ingredient of that influence. Till a few years back, while the Continent and this country were still in process of recovery from the strain of the wars closed in 1815, we were content to rely on the moral influence resulting from the success of that prolonged and desperate wrestle with Napoleon. Europe was in a state of lassitude. The military institutions and arrangements of all the Powers fell more or less into the condition caused by desuetude. That which was in truth weariness was believed by many to mean perennial peace. The fear of the British power was indeed a fact on the Continent of Europe, and through that consideration we were content to slip back to the condition of absolute disarmament which has been already sketched. When Lord Palmerston pursued a policy in 1840,* which brought us to the brink of a war with France, he was without the means of sending ten thousand men abroad, and he was without a militiaman at home, had he attempted to denude the arsenals and Ireland of the Guards and the Line. Yet he carried through what may be called a very ambitious and aggressive policy, his reliance being on the effect produced by his own audacity and diplomatic management or moral influence—a few ships and a handful of marines. The game of brag succeeded. But such things do not happen twice—a fact to which probably no one was more keenly alive than Lord Palmerston himself. Then came the gradual awakening from the slumber of the long European peace. The great wars we have witnessed, the vast territorial changes which have occurred before the eyes of this generation, the arming of the nations as distinguished from the military institutions, the standing armies of the last century, have placed an indelible mark on the history of the time we live in, and compel us to move forward with the European system of

* In that year, 1840, the troops in the United Kingdom were as follows:—

Cavalry	Artillery	Engineers	Infantry	Total
7,190	4,118	544	38,624	50,476

The total includes Indian depôts and the system of four Company depôts for regiments serving in the Colonies, which certainly did not represent military force for external purposes.

which we form a part. We cannot forfeit our place in that system if we would, and there is certainly no wish to do so. The imputation on the leaders of the Liberal party that they were careless of these political and moral conditions of national life, that they were willing to postpone them to economical considerations, however unjust that imputation was, probably damaged the Liberal cause, and aided the Conservative reaction more than the many other charges and allegations which have been so energetically characterised by Mr. Bright.

The second matter follows naturally on the foregoing reflections. Given the necessity of maintaining our ancient place in the European system, it being granted that one of the primary conditions of national defence is the power to strike in return, or to anticipate attack by carrying the conflict to other scenes than those represented by our own seas and shores, according to our invariable policy whenever war has been willingly undertaken or has been forced on us, the question is at once suggested how the means may be supplied adequately to meet such great purposes, without inordinate expenditure on the one hand, or undue subtraction of the community from the aims and duties of industry. In this is comprehended how the army proper may be suddenly swelled to a war establishment, such being the object of a system of reserves.

The third point is similar to the second one in character, but with this other condition, that it applies to the maintenance of the so-called peace establishment, as well as to the supply of armies for operation abroad; in short, the recruitment of the army at all times. As frequently remarked by His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, the army is in a transition state with reference to these considerations. Everyone is impressed with their surpassing importance; everyone with any knowledge of public affairs is aware of the difficulty of the problem they present, while there is a general unwillingness to face it. To use the Duke's favourite expression, our measures have hitherto been tentative only. They have been conceived in an uncertain spirit. Fear of constituencies, fear of party, fear of the House of Commons—in short, every fear except the proper one, fear lest the honour of the country should be imperilled—seems to have been the ruling motive in the minds of public men when the consideration of the momentous question has been approached. It is to be hoped that our experimental state is nearly at an end, and that in future we may have something more than tentativeness to boast of.

It may now be observed that the legislation of the last eight or nine years, although in appearance somewhat *décousu*,

has proceeded generally in the right direction, and in what may be called a modern sense.

Thus, by the Act of 1867, practical form was given to the notion of Reserves, an entirely novel ingredient in the military system. The Militia Reserve and the Army Reserve were then created, the first of which comprised that portion of the Militia which, for certain considerations, was ready to transfer its services to the Line on the outbreak of war. The Act of 1869 gave power to place the Militia when in training under the general officers, and to attach officers of the Regular force to Militia regiments. Property qualification for a Militia commission was abolished. This was the first great step towards the more thorough identification of the Militia forces with the Line, to bring it under the central authority of the War Office, an operation which has been completed since 1871, when, by the Army Regulation Act, the lieutenants of counties were divested of their old military power and patronage. Other Acts which it is unnecessary more particularly to notice have all tended in like direction; viz. to promote a principle of unity for Militia and Line alike, the Royal Warrants which have issued in consequence and the measures which have been taken having been fair and loyal exponents of the aims of Parliament.

Foremost among these come the regulations for the localisation of the forces in 1873, the importance of which cannot well be over-estimated. Although the new system is not as yet in full operation, its principles are now too well known to require much illustration. It is sufficient to say that each brigade depôt or centre is the head-quarters of a colonel or brigadier who commands all the infantry of the auxiliary and reserve forces within the sub-district, and has the superintendence of the recruiting both for the Line and for the Militia battalions of the brigade, and the charge of the arms and stores; his immediate staff, &c., being composed of officers and non-commissioned officers drawn from the Line battalions affiliated to the centre of which he is the chief. This arrangement has lately been rendered more thorough by the order, according to which the officers and sergeants more especially devoted to the instruction of the Militia are men in their prime and borne on the roll of Line regiments. Opportunities are afforded for the education of Militia officers in the barracks of the Line. Analogous arrangements have been made with regard to the Militia Artillery, and Yeomanry Cavalry. The Volunteers fall into the general system of the brigade centres, due regard

being had to the necessities and peculiarities of their system of organisation.

When the bearing of these reforms is properly thought out, it must be admitted that Mr. Hardy was justified in calling attention to the great changes which have been going on in recent years. For ourselves we can fairly say we do not desire change of principle or departure from the policy which has been thus briefly described. We advocate rather adherence to the principles which have been adopted, a steady and weighty progress in the direction of the lead thus afforded, a view apparently favoured by the Secretary of State.

The problem is then before us how best to meet the wishes of the Commander-in-Chief, to provide the army with recruits of the proper age, that is to say of men capable of bearing the fatigues of war. Hitherto, as is but too well known, every sort of shift has been tried in order to obtain nominal strength—in other words, to produce the numbers voted by Parliament for the ranks of the army. For this purpose we have been content to take the babes and sucklings as it were, the beardless boys who can show a certain number of inches of height, and a very insignificant measurement round the chest. After some three years of barrack life, military pay, and good rations, these boys grow to manhood and become excellent soldiers. In the meantime the State has paid for keep, maintenance, and clothing during the three years in which the boy-recruit was becoming a man. Lord Raglan begged that such boy-recruits might not be sent to him in the Crimea, as they only came out to die. Similar representations of the strongest kind were made by the Indian authorities from time to time, till, at the instance of Lord Sandhurst, the War Department in 1871 yielded to the cry, prompted by humanity, and forbade henceforward the despatch of boy-recruits to India, whither they arrived to cumber the hospitals and to find early graves. But what is the result of the reform as bearing on the army quartered in England? The regiments at home are robbed of their formed men to fill corps in India, and we rely in great measure on the boys recruited in their stead.

It thus comes to pass, that a large percentage of the young soldiers in the ranks of the regiments and depôts serving in the United Kingdom are in truth boys who are kept and fed, till the age of manhood having been reached, they are deemed fit for foreign service, and are then shipped for India or elsewhere. We say elsewhere, because in these days of very petty demands on the active exertions of the soldier in a campaign, if a regiment be embarked with such a view, many

other regiments or battalions are tapped and caused to yield their grown men, the youngsters of the embarking regiment being left behind, as happens in the case of the half-a-dozen battalions that are yearly sent to India, and was seen in fitting the little expedition to Ashantee or a battalion for Hong-Kong. It is evident that, although recourse to such devices may be feasible when the demand on the War Office for battalions is at the minimum resulting from a state of profound peace, such a system must fail if exposed to the slightest strain. It is an illusion, a deception, a sham to tell the House of Commons and the country that the latter possesses such and such military forces, for which the money is duly found in the annual estimates, if, whenever a battalion is required for foreign service in India or elsewhere, the responsible executive authorities acting on the knowledge they possess, and under compulsion, denude the home army of what really constitutes military strength, to the exclusion of the lads who no longer embark to 'die like flies' in the course of ordinary military fatigue because of their youth and immaturity.

As has been frequently represented when our army was small in numbers and recruited according to a principle of long service, we could afford to have a certain proportion of such youngsters in our ranks, because that proportion was so small. But now with a system through which about one-fourth, or at least one-fifth, of the men are quitting the ranks every year, it is plain the proportion becomes so large, that the forces at home must literally be swamped with the number of lads who are not fit to embark and are not allowed to embark according to the rules enforced by Parliament in 1871. The result has only to be stated to carry conviction. But it is practically seen in the increasing difficulty experienced by the War Office in meeting the Indian demand, petty as it is, and unencumbered by any necessity to provide for a trouble in Ashantee or China. We suspect the adjutant-general and the generals exercising separate commands could tell a curious tale, if they liked, of the shifts resorted to for the purpose of making up the annual battalions and drafts in relief for India, the dislocation which yearly ensues, the consultations as to the working of short service and long service, the effect on the Reserve, and so forth. No imputation or blame is conveyed in the foregoing words. It is simply the statement of a fact, the result of unerring causes. The military authorities have placed on them a burden greater than they can bear. We have reached the point of acting on the principle that what-

ever we do with our forces at home, immature boys shall not be sent abroad for Indian or war service. The army is full of boys, and is yearly becoming fuller. The *foreign* demand for *men* must, however, be met by the executive according to the fiat of Parliament. But further, the question may be asked, whether it is quite fair to British interests proper, to our view of the conservation of the national honour, that every regiment serving at home should annually be robbed of its best constituents, and that we should be left with battalions of fledglings to face European complications? The question is certainly a grave one, but it conveys an absolute truth and the most serious warning, according to the conditions at present obtaining in the British army for the supply of men at home and abroad.

It is to be recollected that we rely still on the antiquated mode of recruitment which once prevailed in all the Continental countries. The so-called voluntary system, of which some of our politicians are so fond of bragging, is really the most immoral one that can be conceived. It is the devolution of important state duties on, we will not say the lowest classes, but on those who, from want, inexperience, or early irregularity, seek a livelihood in a profession which has ever been viewed with singular distaste and aversion by the community at large.

This class, gathered for the most part from the large towns, is attracted by all the arts and the falsehoods of the recruiting sergeant. In a modified form precisely the same devices prevail, the like expedients are employed, the like traps are deliberately formed to catch 'the flies' as in very old times. Unhappily, among 'the flies' may be found frequently insects of a more dangerous and doubtful character. It is the interest of the recruiting sergeant to get any lad or man passed provided he can show the requisite number of inches of height and round the chest required by the very moderate standard. Consequently, as heretofore, besides being the receptacle for those in want, or who for fault of conduct in early life are led to enlist, the army becomes the refuge of jail-birds, and occasionally men of the worst antecedents. It is true in these days we freely discharge men of bad characters. On the other hand, there is not the slightest check on the entertainment of men of this description. It is a matter of daily occurrence to see men re-enlisted by the recruiting sergeant who had been previously discharged for crimes of different kinds, including felony, habitual drunkenness, insubordination, and so forth. Hence it is that desertion from the army has come to take the rank of an industry among the lower classes of our

towns. Not only is the army, but the population at large is simply debauched by the immorality of the system. The lad deserts who takes a disgust because he considers he has been originally deluded or entrapped. The hardened offender deserts with a view to future trading on the advantage of enlistment, the conventional crime of fraudulent enlistment being thus positively devised and created by our method of dealing with the people for the purposes of the army. And this is the miserable system of which we boast when we thank God we are not as other nations, and do not enforce national duties on the person as we do on the purse. If, however, this immoral and shameful system were successful, if it supplied the wants it is meant to meet, something might be said for it. But when this is so notoriously not the case, it is impossible to understand the tenacity with which men dignified with the name of statesmen can hold on to the obsolete and rotten method; how men of authority can get up gravely in Parliament, ignore the real facts, appeal to returns which in truth are only useful for blinding those not able to pierce below the surface, and talk egregious platitudes about the history of the army. And to such miserable and unworthy stuff we are annually treated, till patience is fairly exhausted.

But let us examine this matter still more closely. Evidence has been afforded of the difference of the demands in point of numbers made on the country for military purposes in these modern times as compared with the years immediately succeeding the Napoleonic wars. Thus the complete requirement in 1835 was 101,000 men for the army, including every possible item, there being no Militia, no Volunteers, and the vast development of police in the United Kingdom which we now see not having attained the proportions of these days.

Now our peace demands on account of the Army proper amount to 186,000 men, that is to say, to nearly double those of 1835. It follows then that in order to maintain these numbers effectively, the supply of recruits must be at least double what was found necessary when the military establishments were on the scale denounced by the Duke of Wellington and recognised as miserable and inadequate. But as shown above, this by no means represents the increased difficulty, whether as regards the numbers of the forces or the means of supply. Thus, in a system of long service, one recruit only is wanted on an average of from twelve to fifteen years for those serving in the ranks. If men are enlisted for six years we require a new supply of one-sixth of the establishment every year at the least, or say, that irrespective of death, loss by

desertion, and discharge by purchase, the battalion undergoes renewal at the expiration of every sixth year. This rough calculation receives a reduction in the fact that in defiance of the system according to which reserves are ultimately to be formed, many men are led to enlist on a sort of modified long-service scale, while a proportion is induced to prolong the original term for which they enlisted by a system of re-engagements.

In round numbers, however, it may be admitted, provided there be no official diminution of establishment to assist the executive authorities in presenting their reports to Parliament, 'that the Army is complete, and there is no difficulty in 'obtaining recruits,' we should be able to lay our hands every year with certainty on a minimum of 40,000* men of full age for service in the Artillery, Cavalry, Engineers, and Infantry, composing the British Army.

We revert to 1835 for a useful comparison. The number of recruits raised in that year was 5,933 (see the Report of the Commission on Recruiting held in 1859). In all the country districts, and in the great majority of the large towns, the Militia now compete with the Line for the same raw material. It is true that many lads will seek the Militia who are not inclined to a Line service, and possibly *vice versâ*. In the villages and country towns the same aversion is perhaps not found towards the former among the old people as towards the latter. But on the whole, speaking broadly and comprehensively, the Militia and the Line compete in the same classes to fill their ranks respectively. This is a fact of great importance, which cannot too steadily be borne in mind.

---

* The Parliamentary returns dated April 1875, and entitled 'Statistical Tables relating to Recruiting for the Army and Militia,' shows that an average of about 20,000 men have been obtained for the Army annually in the seven years closing with 1874. During this time the strength of the Army has been occasionally reduced, the demand for recruits having been diminished proportionally, and the so-called Short Service System with the result of early discharge has not as yet come into operation. This takes place next year.

The average of deserters for the last fourteen years is shown to stand in the proportion of 24 per cent. to the number of recruits obtained in that period.

Recruits joined 229,826. Deserters 55,266.

In 1874 the acts of desertion amounted to . .	5,572
Rejoined from desertion	2,052
Net losses by desertion	3,520

Therefore the Secretary of State when he wishes to lay his hands on his 40,000 recruits annually wanted for the Line, finds his greatest rival in another force also under his direction, which numbers 140,000 men, and is looking for other 30,000* or 40,000 men on its own account; considerations not occurring to the War Office when the regular forces themselves were comparatively slender, but little exceeding 100,000 men throughout the empire, the Militia being non-existent.

The number of men thus wanted yearly for the two descriptions of force is at least *twelve times* what was required for recruitment before the accession of the Queen. Yet the means of raising the men remain identical, although there may have been some modification and redistribution in the superior agency, as indicated by the institution of the brigade centres, and the duties assigned to the commanding officers.

The practical question requiring settlement at the hands of the State having been thus stated, we may consider some of the conditions affecting the public interests and those of the men henceforward to fill our armies. It is unnecessary to reiterate the argument so often pressed home, the truth of which is clear and obvious to all except the obstinately official mind, that unformed lads are not able to perform the hardest work which can be demanded from men, a definition fairly enough representing the labours of the soldier during an active campaign. We may rest satisfied with the averment of the Duke of Cambridge on this point, and with the observation of Professor Parkes, who *does not consider lads fit even for the heavy duties of peace till they are at least twenty years of age.* On the question of humanity thus started, as well as the result of inefficiency following on the admission of such lads under the style and title of men, no more remains to be said. It is shown on indubitable authority that such young persons cannot do what is asked of them, the calculation of wastefulness in life and health having been reduced with great care to terms of pounds, shillings, and pence.

We are under great obligations to Sir Lintorn Simmons,† the late governor of the Royal Academy at Woolwich, for the manner in which he has worked out the figures, and the patriotic boldness which has caused him to present them to the country. By these figures it is incontrovertibly estab-

* The number of recruits enlisted for the Militia in the year 1874 was 29,831; the enrolled strength of the Force being short of the establishment by about 27,000 men.

† His speech at the United Service Institution is published in vol. xix. of the Journal.

lished that a cavalry soldier who enlists at 18 years of age, by the time he is 21 has cost 236*l.*; an infantry soldier enlisted at the former age has had about 126*l.* spent upon him before he is 21, that is before he is fit for hard work. As observed by Sir Lintorn Simmons, the money thus spent on immature boys, if distributed properly in the form of pay and wages to men of full age, would go far to settle the difficulties of recruitment on the voluntary principle. The General then shows that the boys, miscalled men, who joined the Army before the age of 20 in 1873 cost, exclusive of training expenses, 741,037*l.*, or what would have amounted to 5*d.* a day being 'added to the pay of every man enlisted 'for the whole period of his Army Service.' This, however, by no means completes the case. The recruits thus painfully and extravagantly obtained disappear by wholesale. Of the 25,568 recruits enlisted in 1871, 6,289 or 267 per 1,000 had vanished from the ranks in one way or other in 1873. Similar allegations affect other years, the fatal unpopularity of the Service under existing conditions being thus convincingly proved. The men are absolutely lost. They are none of them in the Reserve. The money loss, as stated by our witness, is indeed the least part of the difficulty, as affecting the future of the Army. The so-called old soldiers pursue a like course, and show their disgust by deliberately sacrificing the prospective advantage of pension already secured to them by twelve years' service. Others buy their discharges in vast numbers. The men discharged from the Army during the last five years may be thus classified:—

Discharged after twelve years' service . . .	6,110
Invalids	19,642
Discharged by purchase	12,088
By indulgence	5,703
Bad characters	8,044
Deserters	17,947
	69,534
Pensioned, or gone to the Reserve	11,442
Died	11,331
Left from unassigned causes	7,547
	99,854

It may then be said that as one result of our system, the last five years have produced nearly 70,000 men, who are persuading the community to have nothing to do with the Army, they being persons who have tried and know it.

It is evident from the above exposition that our system of

recruitment, while it fails in every manner adequately to supply our wants, produces a dissatisfied army, a determination to quit the ranks among vast numbers who have joined, legally if they can afford to purchase discharge, or illegally if they cannot, this being frequently effected by the commission of felony with a view to ultimate discharge after the sentence of the magistrate or the court-martial shall have been completed. The desire to quit the Service is doubtless prompted by various causes. The first is the rate of wages, the second the wish of the family at home, and the third is the expediency in the eyes of the man himself of returning to his trade or industry before he has lost the results of his early teaching in the field or apprenticeship in the shop. And this brings us to many important considerations affecting the community at large in a manner almost of a kind analogous to the results produced on the men themselves.

A lad of eighteen has not completed his apprenticeship to a trade or industry. If he is engaged in agriculture he is still treated as a learner, and he receives only boy's wages. The various experiences which would make him a finished farm servant, or journeyman gardener, are wanting. Consequently such a recruit on joining the army forfeits the advantage of the previous very incomplete training he may have had in a trade or industry of whatever kind; in short, he forgets what he has learnt practically in the factory, the workshop, the warehouse, or the field, and he learns to be a soldier instead. By the time he is a finished soldier, that is to say when he is twenty-four years of age, supposing him to have enlisted at the average age of eighteen years, he is supposed to leave the ranks and go to the Reserve on a pay of 4*d.* per diem. He then discovers that while acquiring the art of soldiership he has entirely lost such little skill as he may have possessed in his original calling before he enlisted. But still further, he enlisted so early that the habits of work and industry have never been formed in him, such habits being in truth the chief stock in trade of the working man. It is reasonable to infer, on the other hand, that a man who had acquired an art, or served a full apprenticeship in any trade, industry, or calling before he enlisted, would, on his discharge from the army, or being posted to the Reserve, revert willingly, indeed joyfully, to the practice of his youth. This accords with the positive experience we find in the ranks. Thus, a man who is a fair workman hardly ever fails when in a regiment to put his accomplishments to profit, whether as tailor, shoemaker, carpenter, or gardener. It is found, on the other hand, that

those who have not previously learnt an industry in civil life, either will not or cannot acquire one in the ranks, notwithstanding the modern attempts in all our regiments to induce them to do so.

The truth is the details of soldiership require much labour and time for due mastery. There are, besides the calls of duty, the attendance at the regimental school, the inevitable parade, the requirements of military smartness and cleanliness. It is almost too much to expect from young human nature, to hope that under such circumstances the youthful soldier, not possessing the requisite advantages of skill and habit, will submit to the drudgery of an industrial apprenticeship to which he is not compelled by the necessities of existence. Owing to such causes as have been mentioned, the want of settled habits of industry before he enlisted, the British soldier is unhappily known in Europe as the worst and laziest worker in the front of the enemy, presented by modern armies. In the most essential condition of soldierly efficiency, the use of the spade and the pick, whether for his own protection or the prosecution of siege works, the British soldier is inferior to the German, the Frenchman, and the Russian, and, as we learn from the history of the American war, to the vast volunteer armies lately put on foot in the United States. Therefore, because he was invited to become a soldier with the title of man when he was still a boy, he is thrown entirely on such artificial resources as he acquires in the military profession. But he as entirely loses the means of self-support when he shall quit that profession, and even while he is an active member of it he fails in most important soldierly qualities because of the too early interruption of his civil career before his enlistment.

If we trace his progress, we find that the lad thus enlisted for the army at eighteen is transferred to the so-called Reserve, in which he is supposed to be ready for action if the army should be mobilised for service in the field. He is then in a state of forced inaction; he is thrown on his own resources, his retaining fee being 4*d.* a day paid quarterly; he has no means of self-support; the little he learnt as a mere lad has left him. What is the consequence? The strong man of twenty-four years of age, when at his very prime, is certain to become an idler. He quickly degenerates; he is soon a casual, a tramp, an inmate of workhouses or other places of refuge. A man may have been gathered to the military reserve, but he has been lost to the respectable part of the community. While recruiting the reserve army of Her Majesty he is also a recruit to the army of destitution and

crime. If the soldier re-engage, as it is termed, after the first six years of service in the ranks are at an end, it is but putting off the evil day. At the end of his twelfth year of service he is even more unable to provide for himself in civil life than he was at the end of his sixth year. It may be further said, with absolute certainty, that if the service of the ordinary soldier be prolonged till he has completed twenty-one years in the ranks, he is still more incapable of self-support, because, in addition to his strongly confirmed habits of soldiership and barrack helplessness, his health is that of a prematurely old man, he having been shaken by tropical service and night duties during the years of his strength and early manhood. In short, the longer a man serves in the army the less competent is he to earn his bread when he quits it, the more certain is he to become a tramp or a beggar, or to fall even lower still, if he have not some industry to fall back on, of which the elements were acquired solidly before he became a soldier.

The consequences here stated are not theoretical deductions. The facts have been verified by careful observation. We are credibly informed by those who have personally watched the going and coming of soldiers since their discharge with reference to the refuge places for the destitute provided by large cities, that the fate above described largely overtakes great numbers of them. Indeed it must be so when we know what these men are, and how totally incapable of industry because of early enlistment, of absence of apprenticeship, of the non-formation in youth of habits of work and constancy in labour. The fate of the man who has thus served in the army, who has been deprived of the power of ultimately earning a livelihood by the means taken to act upon him while he is yet a child in years, should indeed come home to the national conscience. If that be dull it may be possible to approach it through the nerves of the pocket. The subject is one which may be fairly commended alike to the Earl of Shaftesbury, and to those guardians of our interests who watch over parochial rates. Sir Lintorn Simmons has shown us the pecuniary loss inflicted on the Treasury by the system hitherto pursued; and we find, if the history of the soldier be followed after his discharge, the expense attendant on the violation of economical principles still continues, though now it is shifted from the public exchequer to the parishes or other charitable institutions, and to those nameless means of national waste, want, and misery, which, though not apparent in Parliamentary returns, are none the less pregnant with evil to national resources and individual welfare. It is evident that while the

German conscript of twenty or twenty-one years of age may have reasonable cause of grievance with regard to his enforced service, the latter does not commence till he has learnt a trade or industry. He is not exposed to the certainty of want in his old age. The country, whether directly or indirectly, is not under any obligation or inducement to support him unless he shall have received wounds in war, and there is no reason why it should.

Let us recapitulate. The so-called voluntary system, as now pursued, of army recruitment for the regular army, fails to supply men in sufficient numbers for a peace establishment. It follows, therefore, that it must fail in time of war. It always has failed, whatever the devices resorted to, the failures having been most flagrant when men were enlisted for long periods or for life. The result of the present system is a discontented army, as shown by the eager desire to leave it among great numbers of the recruits and the old soldiers, that desire being met legally by a large proportion and illegally by those without sufficient means for the purpose. Hence the enormous expense in keeping up the numbers of a peace establishment.

A large proportion of the men are condemned to want and beggary by a system of enlistment which attracts lads before they have completed an apprenticeship or acquired habits of industry. It is believed by the community at large that the army is the receptacle of jail-birds, thieves, and men who have irretrievably lost character. Hence degradation of H.M.'s service in the popular esteem, and one chief cause of the aversion it is held in by the lower sections of the middle classes of the towns and by the labouring classes in rural district. The crimes of desertion and fraudulent enlistment have been matured into regular industries.

The peace establishment of the present day is nearly double what it was in the old time of long enlistments, and if the Militia be added to the Line in the computation of the force Parliament declares must be maintained at a given strength, it is more than treble. In addition we have the Volunteers and a largely extended system of rural and town police, each force being a cause of deduction from the classes occasionally furnishing recruits.

It is hardly possible to estimate the yearly demand on the population for the raw material with which the ranks of the military service are filled by recurrence to the past, by any attempt of comparison between the wants of the system of forty years ago and the wants of the system of the present

day. Where one man was then wanted it is obvious that from ten to fifteen are wanted now.

The case having been thus stated, it remains for us fairly to consider what remedies are open to the War Office, what it may be in the power of that office to effect, what may be expedient with regard to the feelings of the community and the mandate of public opinion. In the first place, let us be quite clear on one point. A few years ago a notion prevailed regarding the introduction into our military institutions of a system of conscription analogous to that obtaining in Germany. This was perhaps unfortunate because advantage was taken of the fact by the late Minister of War to attribute views to his opponents in order to help him in denying serious consideration to the very difficult problem placed before him. It may here be at once placed on record that we have no such views—this opinion being not only our own, but fortified in a very remarkable manner by the results of the large discussion held at the United Service Institution on the question of army recruitment. Sir Lintorn Simmons' speech was in support of the proposition that the means of inducement for the institution of a thoroughly effective system of voluntary enlistment were by no means exhausted. In this he was followed by all the most able and most influential officers who took part in the debate.

But while uncompromising on this point, viz. that there should be no tampering with the voluntary principle with reference to the ranks of the Regular Army, a different language may properly be held when we advert to the ranks of the Militia. To this we are glad to observe Mr. Gathorne Hardy makes no objection, but, on the contrary, admits in the speech already quoted that he considers this power of forced enlistment, commonly called the ballot, a store which should remain at the disposal of the executive Government. We are indeed satisfied with this admission, a great advance on anything that we recollect as having proceeded from Mr. Hardy's predecessor. The principles on which the army recruitment is supposed to rest are as follows:—

First. That the enlistment shall be absolutely voluntary.

Secondly. That it shall proceed on a principle of what is called short service, that is, of six years in the Ranks and six years in the Reserve.

Thirdly. That the service in the Ranks may be prolonged with the good-will of superior authority.

Fourthly. That a certain proportion of men may be entertained on a principle of what is called long service—which

means twelve years in the Ranks in the first instance, with the power of prolonging the term to twenty-one years.

Fifthly. The men are enlisted when they can be induced to serve—the nominal minimum age of the recruit being eighteen years.

Attention is now invited to what has been previously advanced regarding the inefficiency caused in a military, in a civil, and in a social point of view, by taking the recruit at so early an age as eighteen for the ranks of the army. It is obvious that what may be very prejudicial in a military and a social sense when applied to the Army Proper, loses its force when we speak of the Militia. Thus the lad who enlists at seventeen or eighteen in the former while incapable of performing the heavy duties of war or even of peace, also loses the chance of completing his apprenticeship to an industry, or of acquiring habits of labour which in after life might provide him with a livelihood. In the Militia, on the other hand, the recruit is not exposed to any undue fatigue. He is only for two months with his regiment during the year, the result being to him that during the other ten months he is engaged at his proper calling, whether it be trade, manufacturing industry, or field labour. Consequently, between the years of eighteen and twenty-one he has not only acquired his manufacturing or industrial skill, but he is besides so much the gainer because of the orderly habits entailed by the necessity of obedience to military command and authority according to a reasonable system, and of the physical development following on his martial exercises. It is of the greatest importance to note that whilst being partially trained as a soldier, he is at the same time securing the means of future livelihood, in a manner of which the very young Line recruit is deprived. It follows, then, that whereas it is in a military and a social sense improper to enlist the Line soldier before he is twenty-one, it is not only proper, but it is highly advantageous to take the Militia recruit at the earliest age at which he is capable of bearing arms. Here, then, is the first distinction between the Militia soldier and the Line soldier, who have hitherto been treated as if the terms were identical.

The next distinction is this. The Militia soldier is in the position of the half-skilled and half-taught artisan who must from the nature of things remain in that condition of imperfection. The Line soldier, on the other hand, is the skilled artisan, to maintain whom at his highest pitch of efficiency is the object of the supreme authority of the army. Since the introduction of the rifled musket for the Infantry, of the

modern improvements of gunnery in the Artillery, and of the enlarged education for the Army generally, the view just stated has received a most considerable and practical development.

It would seem to follow, then, that the distinction obtaining between the Militiaman and the Line soldier should find a clear expression in the difference of the respective emoluments of the two. Surely, if the Militia recruit is worth a shilling a day while serving, the accomplished rifleman in the vigour of his manhood, who performs any deadly duty that may be required of him, is worth at least half as much again, or probably a great deal more, according to the laws which govern supply and demand, and the performance of good work in all other trades and industries.

If we proceed a little further, we see that the so-called short service does in point of fact bind the army recruit in the first instance for six years. Surely a distinction might be made in the amount of pay to the boy of eighteen and that which is awarded to the full-grown man of twenty-one. A farmer or a manufacturer pays a boy as a boy. The State, on the other hand, in its military capacity puts men and boys on a par, which is insufficient for the man, though it may be more than enough to command the time and the very imperfect service of the lad, who is still gristle and does not know his business.

It seems to us, then, that we should do far better to have a real short service in the Line ranks of three years, commencing not before the twenty-first year has been passed, such an amount of pay being guaranteed as might hold out a fair inducement and approximate the earnings of the private soldier to that of labour somewhat more skilled than the work of the ordinary farm servant. We should then get over the social difficulty of committing men to the ranks of the army before they have thoroughly learned an industry or trade, we should ensure the presence of men who are capable of military fatigue, we should simply abolish the crimes of desertion and fraudulent enlistment, and we should strike at the root of the competition for the same raw material between the Militia and the Line.

It must, however, be admitted that with regard to obvious considerations of the public expenditure, the question as here suggested cannot be treated solely as one of money. We must consider the sources of recruitment at the same time that we strongly advocate a superior payment for the full-aged soldier in the ranks of the Army.

We believe, then, that the whole of the recruiting as originally executed by the *Brigade depôts* should be carried out in favour of the Militia only. Competition should cease absolutely

between the detached recruiting parties of the Line and the Militia. The former should all be drawn in. It is well known that not only in war time, but that in every year certain drafts of recruits for the Line are obtained by volunteering from the Militia ranks. With Lord Sandhurst, we ask that this practice which is now occasional and fitful should be systematised.* We consider that on the annual training of each Militia regiment coming to an end, it should receive an intimation from the Secretary of State of the percentage of volunteers he expects from it, the volunteering being stimulated by what we hope to see, the increased pay of the Line, and a bounty according to the custom of the Army.

No man should be allowed to volunteer from the Militia who had not completed his twenty-first year, and his previous Militia service should be allowed to count towards pension in case he should prolong his active service to twenty-one years as a non-commissioned officer. The volunteers should in the first instance volunteer for three years in the Ranks and a term in the Reserve, with power to change to a longer term of the former with the consent of authority, the reserve service not being indispensable if the volunteer prefer not to bind himself to it.

Generally speaking, the Artillery Militia regiments would furnish volunteers for the Artillery, and the Infantry for the Line Infantry. But each corps on the occasion of volunteering might be asked for Cavalry volunteers according to professional conditions. In order to meet the objections that the large towns provide many recruits who are not likely to seek the Militia ranks, while the latter will not alone suffice to meet the wants of the Army without rendering themselves inefficient, we suggest that the system of engaging recruits at the head-quarters of regiments of Cavalry, of brigades of Artillery, and Infantry battalions be largely encouraged as used to prevail, and we hope still does, at the head-quarters of the division of Royal Marines.

The men so entertained should not be passed without the approval of commanding officers and regimental surgeons, the first condition being that of full age, viz. twenty-one years, and ample physical development. Such men being of full

* Some three years ago, when the Kilkenny regiment of Militia was about to be dismissed from its annual training, an Australian emigration agent appeared in the barrack-yard to see what number of men he could pick up for his own purposes. The remark occurred to more than one observer of this phenomenon, that the men who were thus allured to the wilds of Australia might more fittingly have passed into Her Majesty's Line regiments on proper terms.

age should be enlisted for three years in the first instance and subsequently in the Reserve, with power to prolong the first term.

These are the broad principles on which we would carry out the recruitment.

A real Short Service in the ranks of the Army after manhood has been attained.

A longer service in the Militia, which may commence in the years of youth, viz. at from seventeen to eighteen years. The abolition of rivalry between the Militia and the Line for the same raw material. But that the Militia shall be the channel in which the young recruit may spend his early years of soldiership, and through which, if he likes, he may pass to the more fixed military career of the Army and to the Reserve with the encouragement of authority.

That such a system be completed by a well-organised practice of headquarter recruiting in the several corps of which the Army is composed.

We shall, as a matter of course, be at once asked, What are you to do with India and your regiments in the Colonies?

To this the answer is, the difficulty must be met logically. You choose to rely on the voluntary principle for the completion of your armies. That being so, the principle must be followed to its practical conclusion. However, this concession may be made to the objection, viz. that when a soldier is abroad he must continue to serve on the expiry of his engagement, as if such engagement had not expired, till the usual season of relief, or invaliding, has arrived. In like manner if on active service of any kind whatever before an enemy in arms against the Crown, no man should be able to avail himself of the expiry of his engagement without the sanction of the general commanding the forces.

But, with these two limitations, we conceive that the Army being founded on the idea of short service and the voluntary principle, it is incumbent on our authorities to give the latter fair play, and not to bind a man for longer terms in hot, disagreeable, or even pestilential climates than we are prepared to do with the men serving at home. This consideration is invariably evaded when the question is officially discussed. It seems to us that when a regiment is leaving India for England, the men should be invited to prolong their service in the regiments remaining in the country,* *en bloc*, according to a

* It is well known to all experienced officers that the soldier who has passed some years in Indian service is unsuited to service at

plan which once prevailed, but for some reason or other was subsequently modified to the disadvantage of the men as well as to the loss of the State. The men might be asked thus to extend their service for any period, viz. from one year to five, liberal bounties being apportioned in consideration of each year thus volunteered for. Good health and decent character should be the conditions insisted on by the State, and a proper disposal of the bounties for the future welfare of the soldier; part being put into his hand, and part invested in the savings' bank, for future payment with accumulated interest, when the time of discharge or transfer to the Reserve has arrived.

Similar measures might be pursued with every healthy well-behaved soldier, who being in India, or abroad elsewhere, might complete his third year of service in the ranks; that is to say, he should be induced *voluntarily* to prolong his service for sufficient value. A large proportion of the men would be willing enough to listen to the inducement, which should be liberal in pecuniary terms, and varied as regards duration of engagement to meet the particular wishes of individuals. Thus one man might wish to ensure a round sum by making a long engagement of five years, while for another one year, or two, or three, would suffice. There can be no reason whatever why the shorter time should not be admitted as well as the longer one, the limitations with reference to State necessity being held in view.

We believe that such simple means would dispose of the whole of the Indian difficulty as regards the application of a real Short Service system according to a proper application of the voluntary principle. We have in this matter to consider the Soldier as we should the Officer in analogous circumstances. The tenure of service of the latter has always been thoroughly voluntary in practice as well as in principle. In the ranks we have what in practice is a sham, although the voluntary principle is brandished like a flag before our eyes by those who themselves are shy of acting on it in their own persons, and by the statesmen who do not choose to close with the difficult task they are bound to execute. In truth a man who, whether by accident, through corruption, or of his unbiassed free will, has forfeited the disposal of his person for a long term of years, his contract being one from which he cannot liberate himself except through a disbursement beyond his means, is as sorry an

---

home. The habits contracted by the men in the former have unfitted them for the latter. They are unhappy and discontented accordingly in British barracks and camps.

example of a 'Voluntary Principle' as it is well possible to meet.

This has become obvious to the recruit, who has learnt to assert himself by wholesale breach of contract. To encounter this successfully, it has been thought expedient to resort to a modified idea of short service in the ranks, viz. six years. The term, however, is found to be too long if free will is to be observed, if the man is to be a voluntary soldier in practice as well as in principle like his officer. Therefore, we say, boldly grapple with your difficulty. Act firmly, logically, and conclusively on the principle to which you declare your adherence, viz. the voluntary principle. Let that adherence be shown by the adoption of real and positive short service in the first instance by the man of full age, by the resolute abstention from the unworthy arts of the Line-recruiting sergeant, by recurrence to the free will of the old disengaged soldier when he is in India or other foreign parts, by distinction of inducement between the half-trained Militia lad and the full-aged Line soldier; by appeal, in short, to those facts and sympathies by which all trades and industries are supported, which cannot, like the Army, seek a national exchequer on which to rest.

It is not to be expected that in a paper of this kind we can enter much into detail. We may, however, appeal to Sir Lintorn Simmons' argument and to his figures for a convincing proof that there is nothing financially alarming in the proposals which have been hazarded. The question before us is by no means insoluble. It is to be resolved partly by that proper application of the national resources suggested with such patriotic earnestness by the accomplished general officer we have quoted, and partly by administrative reforms in the adaptation of the official means at our disposal through which unity may come to take the place of diversity, and competition for the same raw material may be caused to disappear among those who are in truth constituents of the one service of the Crown.

This, however, may be said. Just as it is right that the skilled infantry Line soldier should be better paid than the half-trained Militia one, so it is but common sense, if viewed from the industrial standpoint, that the cavalry man should be much better paid than the infantry Line man, and that the emoluments of the trained gunner and engineer should rise in proportion. In short, following the example of all trades and industries, every man should be paid according to his deserts and the class of work he does.

With regard to her Majesty's Guards, it may be borne in

mind we must pay for appearance, size, and conduct in difficult circumstances, as for other commodities. Just as a six-foot London footman commands higher wages than his country compeer of five feet six, so the *corps d'élite* of tall men should be so well cared for as to make discharge from one of the battalions of Guards the first of punishments. It is not necessary to pay them as high as the Police for this purpose, for the men are younger and without families.

And now a few words may be permitted on the point of the soldier's emoluments. It is the fashion of military financiers to lump together the different advantages possessed by the soldier —lodging, rations, medical attendance, daily pay—and then to say he is better off than if he had remained a day labourer of some sort. Even in figures this calculation fails if the comparison be made with the price of labour in many counties and probably in all the large towns in the three kingdoms. But there is an element for consideration which escapes the attention of the military financier, or advertisers of War Office benefits to the public. Thus the soldier, at least the unmarried one, finds much of his money is in general spent for him under authority. His accounts show him the owner of a shilling a day, besides rations, barracks, &c., but as a matter of fact it is a fair question whether on the average he obtains throughout the year more than sixpence a day out of the shilling. This will, of course, vary in different regiments according to the idiosyncrasies of commanding officers, but we believe the assumption is not far wrong that one of the chief disgusts of the young soldier is the discovery how little ready money he can dispose of, and that, although comfortably lodged and fed, he cannot overcome his disappointment on being made practically aware, that in a crude pecuniary sense, he is not so well off as when he took his daily dinners under a hedge and lodged as he best could. This is not said in blame of what goes by the name of the regimental system, but merely to show how it is the shoe pinches, that the rates of pay are really insufficient, whether they be tried with reference to the value of the time of the men as measured by other industries, or by the rude but by no means unpractical tests applied by the men themselves.

This article has already extended to so great a length that but a bare allusion can be made to the great question of Reserves. There can be no doubt they should be made effective, and should have the habit of assembly, of coming to call at the brigade centre to which they are affiliated. Drill is not wanted for such old soldiers as those who have passed into the

Reserve. But the habit of assembly in military form and of publicly acknowledging their obligations, is an imperative necessity, if the institution is to be raised from the state of sham in which it now exists, if the objects of the retaining fee are to be secured.

Each Reserve soldier should receive the full pay and advantages of the branch to which he belongs, during such time as he may be taken from his ordinary avocations, in addition to the retaining fee, or daily fourpence. We are without the data which would warrant the utterance of an opinion on the sufficiency of the fee, and as to whether the term of six years be too long. These are points of the utmost consequence which should be very seriously considered by the War Office.

It being our earnest desire to see a certain proportion of the full-grown Militiamen gradually transfer their services to the Line, we should wish while making the Army Reserve a reality, generally to induce the Militia Reserve by handsome bounties to inaugurate the new system and to become Line soldiers, and then to dispense with it. The request might be put to them to commence on a three years' term in the ranks, with the other conditions which have been already indicated. Were the existing Militia Reserve so applied we should have an invaluable element for the recruitment of our Indian battalions without again committing ourselves to the ruinous depletion of our Line regiments serving in the United Kingdom of all the men of full age and sufficient physical development on account of Indian demands.

Finally, we would suggest that during times of peace and while Militia regiments are merely called out for training, and are not embodied for service, they should as much as possible be treated as territorial bodies, and except on very rare occasions never moved out of their respective counties. It is a terrible mistake to treat these half-trained corps as if they were thoroughly finished and perfect Line regiments: a greater blunder than the association of them with the Army Proper in the mimic campaign and very great fatigues of the so-called Autumn Manœuvres can hardly be conceived. The regiments are not prepared by previous instruction, the men are not hardened, there is not, there cannot be, the required discipline for the successful encounter of the difficulties and positive hardships incidental to such a trial. The results are seen of intense disgust in the districts which furnish the men. Recruiting either stops or is very seriously interfered with.

On the other hand, we know from our experience of 1854–55 how thoroughly efficient these battalions become after an em-

bodiment of six or even four months. They are then as fit as Line regiments for any kind of military fatigue. The course we condemn is the attempt to make children run before they can walk, which saps the popularity of the force, and is therefore fatal to easy recruitment.

That which we recommend is the reasonable one. It maintains the local popularity of the Militia. The surrounding communities are freed from alarm. The inducement to enlist is not weakened. If, as we hope to see, the latent military feeling of the country is developed in favour of the army by a practical and easily intelligible system, the Militia becoming the first great feeder of our Line, the enormous importance of the foregoing considerations cannot fail to attract the attention of authority. It is a simple but by no means a small matter which was for a long time the subject of misconception, the latter being aided perhaps not a little by the desire in high quarters a few years back to produce theatrical effects. In this country, at least, such effects finally end in ridicule and exaggerated misappreciation.

Our task is done. We proposed to set before the public the wants which have grown upon us in the gradual changes of the last forty years. These wants have been shown on indisputable evidence to be at least twelve times greater than was the case at the commencement of the present reign. These wants must continue to increase, yet the old obsolete means of supplying them remain almost identical with what prevailed two hundred years ago; there being in this a strange and fatal distinction between ourselves and all other nations of the modern Europe in which we live. Other countries, be they right or wrong in their views of military extension, act firmly on such views, adapt means to end, or, to use the language of the philosopher, they have since the wars of the First French republic, since the campaign of Jena, and more especially since the reigning Emperor of Germany became King of Prussia, persevered in 'the continuous adjustment of internal 'relations to external relations' in the arrangement of their modern system of defence. It is in vain for us to say whether they are right or wrong. Their point of departure may not be such as we may approve, but this is beyond our control. It remains, then, for us to carry out our 'continuous adjustment' according to the principles on which, as declared by all our leading public men, the country is determined to rest. The means of execution have been indicated.

Until a solid system of recruitment based on the voluntary principle according to an engagement of Short Service,

sufficiently paid to establish the reality of the principle has been developed; until the shameful conventional crimes of desertion and fraudulent enlistment have been abolished, not by punishment, which is impossible, but by a remodification which shall substitute co-operation for competition and ruinous rivalry between two branches of the Service of which the one is the legitimate feeder of the other; until the Army Reserve shall have assumed a positive and effective reality, there should be no intermission of that movement so long and gallantly persevered in by Lord Elcho, and pursued with such success in the discussions of last year in and out of Parliament.

ART. III.—1. *Journal et Correspondance de André-Marie Ampère.* Publiés par Mme. H. C. Paris: 1872.

2. *André-Marie Ampère et Jean-Jacques Ampère.* Correspondance et Souvenirs (de 1805 à 1864). Recueillis par Madame H. C. Paris: 1875.

3. *Madame Récamier; with a Sketch of the History of Society in France.* By Madame M * * *. London: 1862.

A SAYING is current among Roman Catholics that there is no Purgatory for France; the French being either too good for the need, or too bad for the efficacy, of the purifying fires. Plenty of contrasting examples in point will immediately start up from history to confirm this proverb, and, if we judge our neighbours correctly, the readiness with which they will endorse it may be taken as a further proof of its truth. But, in sober earnest, there is nothing more difficult than for one nation fairly to judge of another. What lies on the surface will ever be only superficially judged; the deeper strata are seldom laid bare to investigation or comprehension. As a rule it may be admitted that the distinguishing merits of the French and English races—like the distinguishing beauties of the sister arts—lie in their very differences; and hence are the less amenable to mutual sympathy and intelligence. We puzzle our French brethren in one way; they us in another. We chill them by the undemonstrativeness of our social habits; they, in some measure, shock us by the laxity of theirs. Our home-strictness is, or has been, our national pride; their warmth of friendship their national charm. Accordingly, by a natural inversion, all true pictures of French inner life, by the strength and fidelity of the friendships they record, are singularly calculated to touch and even reprove us. And in

no instance have these feelings been more winningly and pathetically exhibited, and at so small an expense of our more rigid notions, than in the biographies of the distinguished father and son now before us.

André-Marie Ampère and Jean-Jacques, his son—both of them still fresh in the memory of many yet living—were men who may be said to have divided between them a large area of nature's richest gifts. The highest qualities—those of the heart—they held in common; in intellectual endowment each more than supplied what the other lacked; along most paths of mental supremacy they walked proudly and lovingly hand in hand; in those where they parted company each had the culture and sympathy to appreciate the aim of the other. In temperament they were much alike—sensitive, ardent, and devoted; with the tenderness of women, the guilelessness of children, the naiveté of genius. From earliest years both had the same insatiable cravings for light and truth; the father, the great physiologist and mathematician, elaborating the most subtle laws of nature and the abstrusest problems in mathematics; the son, with the poetic faculty highly developed, dealing with the problems of ancient languages, history, and literature, and, in works of imagination, with the phenomena of the human heart. Each was equally irresistible and inexhaustible in charm of conversation; each equally generous, impulsive, and blundering in matters of business; and each loved the other, if not with deeper warmth, yet with far greater effusion than our repressive habits between fathers and sons ever exhibit. These volumes under every view are a well of the deepest interest. The first of the three, which appeared in 1872, consisting like the rest in letters and journals, gave the earlier years of the father's history; comprising his gifted and darkened boyhood, the idyllic period of his love and marriage, and that bereavement which at twenty-nine years of age left him writhing under the stroke of widowhood. This earlier volume may not be sufficiently fresh in the memory of the reader for us to dispense with a slight outline of its contents.

André-Marie Ampère, the only son of respectable citizen parents, was born at Lyons in 1775. The south of France, and, notably, the city of Lyons, has sent forth a large percentage of the most eminent Frenchmen of later times, and the young boy, by his thirst for knowledge, soon gave evidence of his birthright in this respect. Mathematics and geometry took the lead in the keen and almost universal appetite of the infantine mind. He thought, reasoned, and calculated while other children were at play. For such a mind there was small

question of instruction from others, nor could any power have arrested the instinct by which he instructed himself He simply devoured every scientific book on which he could lay his little hands—the 'Encyclopédie' from beginning to end; and when recovering from failure of strength, easy to have predicted, and tenderly denied the materials for undue application, he managed to work his problems with no other appliance than little bits of biscuit. The father, a man of no ordinary type, unable to check, did his best to guide. Finding that his son cared less for classic than for scientific studies, he suffered him to follow his own bent. And when the boy, then eleven years old, raised a cry of passionate despair on finding that the works of Euler were in a language to which he had not the key, the father interpreted them for him.

But if André-Marie Ampère ranks on the same level with the great thinkers and explorers of natural phenomena who preceded and were contemporary with him, he differed from them in one important respect. Such men as Newton, La Place, Cuvier, Davy, retained in the ordinary affairs of life the common sense of commoner men. They knew the material value of the travail of their brains, were becomingly jealous of its offspring, and naturally ambitious of its prizes. But Ampère had none of those lower qualities which direct and protect the higher gifts. Every pursuit with him was in turn an object of headlong ardour, before which, till he had followed it to the utmost limits of the human capacity, all other things had to give way. What some men's lower passions are to them Ampère's brain was to him—he knew not how to restrain its impetuous desires. But when the mental chase had fairly run down and captured what he coveted, he had no idea of hoarding the prize. Anyone might rifle the contents of the precious 'bag.' In French phraseology he was '*un puits ouvert.*' His nature, accordingly, while one of the noblest and most unselfish ever created, was at the same time one of the unwisest and least self-asserting. Unguarded by the usual egotisms; unamenable to the usual cautions; incapable alike of husbanding for worldly use the most arduously earned discoveries, experience, or money; and true to himself in all these respects from childhood to grey hairs, André-Marie was an object of perpetual wonder, admiration, and respectful compassion to all competent to understand him. In these facts, doubtless, may be found the cause, otherwise inexplicable, why the fame of such a mind has not spread more widely in proportion to its depth.

Upon this sensitive and unprotected nature there fell in his

early youth a blow so crucial in intensity as to overthrow its balance. M. Barthélemy de St. Hilaire has given to the world the posthumous writings of the great physicist, edited by his son, under the title of 'Les deux Ampère.' But it is to Madame Henriette Cheuvreux—one of those devoted friends whom Frenchmen are so fortunate as to attach—to whom we are indebted for a short notice of the grandfather who properly heads the touching group of 'Les trois Ampère.'

The life of that good man fell upon the evil times of the Great Revolution. In the year 1793 he filled the post of *Juge de Paix* in Lyons, and during the excesses which distracted that city, stood courageously forth on the side of order. When the revolutionary bands entered the city after the siege, he became one of the first victims to their revenge. Some of his letters addressed to his wife from his prison, signed '*Jean-*' *Jacques Ampère, époux, père, ami, et citoyen fidèle,*' have been preserved. A passage about his son shows his paternal foresight: '*Quant à mon fils, il n'y a rien que je n'attende de lui.*' A few hours after this was penned he mounted the scaffold. This judicial murder of the father well-nigh killed the son, then only just eighteen. A dormant state of the brain ensued, which probably saved his life. For fully a year he existed in a semi-idiotic condition, spending his time out of doors, listlessly scraping together little heaps of earth. The first thing that roused him effectually was that which not unseldom has been the recreation of the profoundest minds—namely, the study of botany. Rousseau's letters had fallen into his hands, and he threw himself into the pursuit with the ardour and exactness which in all things characterised him. Next came a fit of classic enthusiasm, inspired by the Latin poets. The language was soon mastered, and the heart-stricken lad wandered about the country, with his hands full of wild flowers, murmuring verses from Horace. The passion for the classics now kindled the poetic spark in himself. Between 1795 and '97 he threw out an exuberance of poetical creation—tragedies, songs, madrigals, an epic on Columbus; all showing, as might have been expected, more facility and fertility than sense of art. He also mastered Greek and modern languages, studied physiology, chemistry, philosophy—thus laying those foundations on which twenty years later he based a new classification of the whole cycle of sciences. At the same time, while teaching himself he earned his own and his mother's bread by teaching others.

We now approach the sweet May-time of his chequered life. His mother lived in the country, at Polémieux, near Lyons,

develop that which lay embryonic in his mind. Our own Davy, three years his junior, gained the prize. Still, the fruits of his labour did not fail; his 'Théorie du Jeu' had made its way to the Institute, where it was unanimously pronounced the work '*d'une tête forte.*' The Inspector of the Bourg College had also pronounced Ampère's pupils to be forwarder than any others, and an appointment to a professorship '*de* '*Lycée*' at Lyons itself was the result.

Ampère had now reached the summit of his wishes—a more lucrative appointment, and that with his wife at his side. But Julie had sad presentiments: she was, as it were, behind the scenes. One of her last letters gently prepares him: 'The 'problem of regaining health is not one for us to solve. No 'wishes of ours can obtain that, if the Master of our Being has 'decreed otherwise. *Mon ami*, we were made for each other, 'and, if I were well, we should be too happy.' The end was not far off. The journal takes up the narrative of a period of intense anxiety. 'J'espère en Vous, O mon Dieu! mais je 'serai soumis à votre arrêt, quelqu'il soit. Mais j'eusse pré- 'féré la mort.' And then finally, 'O Seigneur, Dieu de misé- 'ricorde, daignez me réunir dans le ciel à celle que vous m'avez 'permis d'aimer sur la terre.' Julie Ampère died in July 1804.

Ampère is next found in Paris, where he accepted an appointment at l'École Polytechnique, and subsequently became Inspector-General of the University. The history of his mind is here continued by a correspondence with his Lyonese friends. Foremost among these was the printer, Simon Ballanche, a name of high moral and intellectual import, of whom we shall hear more. Ampère sought to drown his sorrow in work. But mathematics and geometry had no balm for such a wound. He was lonely and miserable, for Parisian manners at that time offered no congenial society for a bereaved and virtuous young man. He writes to his friends: 'Pray for me, that I may con- 'tinue to feel unhappy rather than become like too many I see 'here.' He had been piously brought up in the communion of Rome, and, with the friends alluded to, had taken an active part in a society for the purpose of scientifically studying the grounds of the Christian religion, in opposition to the scepticism and sensuality of the day. But these foundations threatened now to crumble under his feet. He was not the first mourner to find that the usual religious formulas are apt to melt away before the fury of that furnace; or to have experienced that minds of a certain calibre need a strength of conviction not so much intended to be the present support as the final fruit of intense mental anguish. It was not so much his own sufferings,

as the revelation they gave him of what the human mind could suffer, which shook his faith. Ampère's happiness was ever dependent on that of his fellow-creatures. It was said of him what can be said of few men: '*Pour lui, le* MOI *n'est rien.*' A mind so constituted and so tried turned naturally upon itself. He plunged accordingly for a time with feverish eagerness into the study of metaphysics, and could discuss and think on no other subject. The good people at Lyons took alarm for his orthodoxy. Ballanche, one of the few French mystics who has left his mark on modern French literature—who had himself learned 'the secret of sorrow,' and endorsed that knowledge with the following significant words: 'We should be far less 'surprised to suffer, if we knew how much better sorrow is 'adapted to our nature than pleasure'—Ballanche, at that time so out of suits with happiness as to meditate embracing a monastic life—he, ever patient where Ampère was ever impetuous—now wisely admonishes his friend not to apply the sounding lead too audaciously to his own mind. But the wisdom of the advice went no further. The remedy proposed by anxious friends, and even by Ballanche, was more dangerous than the evil. Perceiving the loneliness of the young widower, and forgetting that there were unions worse than any solitude, the only specific they could urge was the speedy choice of a second Madame Ampère!

We here enter that conventional atmosphere, ever repugnant to the English mind, which in France too often envelops all the antecedents of the closest tie in life. How deeply these conventions are rooted in French private life is sufficiently obvious by the fact that Ampère himself should have believed and acquiesced in the plan. In this instance alone he descends from his rightful pedestal; not by a second marriage, but by the cold-blooded process by which Julie was replaced. A young lady, chosen by the usual interposition of friends, ignorant of the exceptional nature of the man she married, and incapable of honouring it; with a mother true to M. Mohl's definition of '*la férocité des mères françaises*'; soon revenged the slight put on poor Julie's memory. To such women the simplicities and blunders, as well as the soaring aspirations of genius were a continual offence, and one interpreted as being especially levelled at themselves; and Ampère soon found himself sent to Coventry with a far more intolerable solitude than he ever endured before. The young woman did not await the birth of her child to seek a judicial separation from its father. The Courts decided unhesitatingly in Ampère's favour, and a letter of dignified kindness calling upon her to return to him and to

and at the end of his laborious week he would spend the Sunday with her. There, in the vicinity, he fell in with a family of the now better-known name of Carron; the youngest of whom was a daughter, Julie by name. This young girl, calm, modest, and beautiful, with simple good sense and not a spark of romance, was predestined to attract and to suit a young man of Ampère's stamp. She had already committed havoc in that way with certain Lyonese *savants*, but no one had yet prevailed with her to leave her family. The coast was therefore clear, and André-Marie entered the lists with his usual impetuosity and awkwardness. From this time he kept a journal—far too foolish and pretty to be literally quoted in these pages,—on the fly-leaf of which the word '*amorum*,' superfluously plural, was inscribed. This tells how he first saw Julie; how she lent him a book; how he found her in the garden and tried to speak, but was sternly '*rem-*' *bourré*' (*Anglicè*, 'shut-up'). The chief incidents, indeed, are the frequent shuttings-up inflicted on a shy young lover, sighing like furnace, who never knows when to take leave, and sometimes has to be told twice. But in due time the reward of patience falls to his share. In short, it becomes necessary to consider the state of life in which André-Marie could hope to maintain a wife. Julie and her family had not the remotest conception of the order of mind with which they were dealing, their only idea of appropriately utilising a great mathematical genius being that he should engage in the business of an *agent de change*. It is true the lessons he gave, or was ready to give, in chemistry, mathematics, Latin, Italian, what not?—were not so remunerative as *le commerce*, while Julie's health, after the birth of her child, began to require more than those devices could supply. On this account Ampère accepted the Professorship of Physics at Bourg, twelve leagues from Lyons, even though it involved the separation of the tenderly attached young couple; for Julie's health forbade her accompanying him. This separation gave rise to a correspondence more sane than the journal, and equally as pretty. At once a reflex of tender hopes and fears, of petty economical details, and lofty intellectual aspirations, both husband and wife are seen in it as in a mirror. Ampère ever blundering, confessing, musing, divining—always working; Julie gently chiding, reminding, guiding, and managing. He using part of the linen she had carefully mended, for stoppers to his chemical instruments; unsewing the lining of his coat for unheard-of purposes; or destroying his blue stockings and new *pantalons* with what Julie calls '*ce maudit acide qui*

'*brûle tout.*' She ever anxious that he should go tidily dressed, and not forget to eat his meals, or lock up his bureau. But through all these domestic trifles there rise from time to time the earnest and dignified accents of such profound thought as few minds have been capable of sustaining:—

'Seven years ago, my Julie, a problem of my own invention occurred to me, which I was not able to solve in a direct manner. Accidentally I hit upon its solution, and was convinced of its accuracy, without being able to demonstrate it. This haunted my mind, and twenty times did I seek to see my way, but without success. For the last few days the idea has haunted me everywhere; and, at last, I know not how, I have found the solution, and with it a crowd of novel and curious suggestions, bearing on the theory of probabilities. As I believe that there are few mathematicians in France who could work the problem in less time, I cannot doubt that its publication in the form of a *brochure* of some twenty pages will be a good way of helping me to a chair of mathematics. This small work of pure algebra will be ready the day after to-morrow.'

And again:—

'I made an important discovery yesterday regarding the theory of play . . . I am preparing to insert it in the same work, which it will not greatly increase. I am pretty sure it will give me a place in the Lycée, for, in the present state of things, there is no mathematician in France (I repeat it) capable of such a work. I tell you all this just as I think, but you must tell it to no one.'

Thus arose his work entitled 'Considérations sur la Théorie 'du Jeu'—a subject attempted by Buffon and others, but never, it is acknowledged, so solved before. It cost him infinite anxiety lest the idea should have been in any way forestalled. But he was soon satisfied on that point. One of the official examiners, feeling for others as ignorant as himself, urged his bringing it within the reach of a larger number of readers, by putting his algebraic formula in the shape of figures. This the young author, who, with all his readiness to part with his ideas, did not want to see them ill treated, stoutly resisted. 'I will give a few examples, but I insist on printing my work 'as it is. Such examples as he proposes would give it the 'look of a schoolboy's performance.' It is true the little folio did not sell, and no one who has seen it can be surprised at that.

Meanwhile the French Republic, in other words Buonaparte, had offered a reward of 60,000 francs for a discovery in electricity and galvanism, comparable to those made by Volta and Franklin. Ampère longed to enter into competition, but, while labouring all day in and out of school, had no leisure to

Jacques did not inherit his ardour for that science. He entertained alternately one of two aspirations for his son—either that he should become a great mathematician, or, if that were impossible, that he should take to some mercantile career in which he could make a fortune. For André-Marie had suffered too much from poverty not to wish to avert a like experience from his son. But Jean-Jacques disappointed his hopes in both respects, being as invincibly indifferent to money as he was to mathematics. The boy's letters to his father in these volumes—commencing when he was sixteen—are remarkable in every way. The mind is clear in its views, and frank in telling them, while the style of expression is, what it ever continued, most unmistakeably true to his native country. He was born in 1800, and writes as follows in 1816:—

'I am at this moment undecided as to my future mode of life; but do not, I pray, be distressed at this. Before determining on the career of a manufacturer it is necessary to reflect maturely. *Il y va du bonheur, il y va de bien plus, il y va de la gloire.* Do not think that I set myself against the idea. I have the best disposition in the world to be persuaded by you, but if you fail to persuade me I will tell you.'

Again, a few days later, in a more grandiloquent style:—

'My decision is made; *Je veux être* QUELQUECHOSE; but I am arrived at a point where it would be impossible for me to become a *marchand.* My taste is pretty equal for letters and for science, which is rare; but commerce is the one thing for which I have an invincible aversion. Shall then the despicable desire for gain induce me to embrace such a career? *Quoi donc?* Is the mind of a boy, for eight years, to be perpetually stimulated by grand examples to the most noble and generous sentiments, especially that of disinterestedness, and at the end of that education is he to be told that all this is only a *tas de bêtises,* and that he is to be sent to rot at a counter! With all the paths of life open to me why should I choose one so wretched! Rather precipices than mud!'

The bent of Jean-Jacques' mind was especially for letters, and the works by which he subsequently made himself known fully vindicated the predilection. Few writers, even in that country where *style* is the *sine quâ non* of literary reputation, have expressed purer sentiments in purer language. While still at school also, and liberated from the dread of the counting-house, Jean-Jacques carried off the principal prizes, and showed those powers of thought which had been equally inherited and early educated. Under these circumstances André-Marie soon transferred his paternal ambition into a less sordid channel, and, true to his impulsive nature, went almost

as injudiciously in an opposite direction. Convinced now that his son's abilities lay in the sphere of the imagination, nothing would content him but that he should write a tragedy! Jean-Jacques needed little prompting. His friends and school-fellows, as highflown in their ideas as himself, were destined to be among the distinguished writers of their day. Victor Cousin, Prosper Merimée, Morel, Sautelet—with others as ardent but with less known names—were his chosen companions. He entered accordingly upon life with the most exalted sentiments as to its aims and duties. At eighteen he writes to an equally young friend, '*Oui, mon ami*, my only 'object is to be useful, but useful in the divine sense of the 'term. Whatever is unconnected with that aim I exclude from 'my life. I am determined neither to work, nor learn, nor feel, 'nor express anything that does not point that way.' Two more years pass, and a reaction sets in. He reads Göthe, learns English, begins music. 'Anything to escape the 'sorrowful realities of life. *L'homme est ici-bas pour s'ennuyer 'et souffrir.*'

Meanwhile a tragedy entitled 'Rosamonde,' embodying the ardours and despairs that alternatively swayed his imagination, was composed—too divinely useful, however, to be adapted to the French stage; for to André-Marie's infinite disappointment it was pronounced '*irréprésentable.*' The young tragedian, always steady in self-application, had the patience to remodel it; but we are not aware that 'Rosamonde,' or a subsequently composed piece, ever stood the test of representation. It served, however, as a safety-valve during a period of intense mental excitement, when, as he expresses himself, '*le 'sentiment de malédiction a été sur moi—autour de moi—en 'moi.*' This state was principally owing to the reading of 'Manfred.' Byron never had a nobler victim, for the time, to this morbid creation of his genius. '*Jamais, jamais, de 'ma vie, lecture ne m'écrasa comme cela. J'en suis malade.*' His imagination was at this boiling point when that event took place which was destined to affect his whole life, and which connects the history of Jean-Jacques with that bewitching and incomprehensible woman, who, alike without birth, fortune and talent, held her reign, lifelong, undisputed and uninterrupted, equally in the circles of fashion and over the hearts of men. Madame Récamier, distinguished neither in art or letters, nor in any of the scandalous forms of notoriety too often connected with celebrated beauties, has yet a reputation which perpetually stimulates curiosity. Born in the same city, Lyons, and in the same year, 1777, as

Julie Carron, the mother of Jean-Jacques, no two '*carrières* '*de jeune fille*' could have been more opposite. The one lived and died like a violet in the shade; her short and humble life only now brought to light by the fame of her husband and son; the other, Juliette Bernard, childless and virtually husbandless, was transplanted as a mere child, in 1789, from a convent near Lyons to the centre of Parisian vice, frivolity, and peril; never from that time to pause in a career, however chequered, almost public in character. The figure of Madame Récamier is one not easily drawn upon a canvas. She is said to have hardly risen in mind above the commonplace; but no commonplaces explain her. Two main conditions contributed to make her what she was. These were the times in which her youth was spent, and the country to which she belonged. The 'Terror,' and the depraved manners which accompanied it, led to the detestable logic which is believed to have united her to M. Récamier; while the freedom of life which French society allows to a married woman gave her a scope and liberty, inevitable in her case, and never more excusable. Both by her position at the side of a man, holding the name of her husband, but supposed to be her father, as well as by the gift of transcendent beauty, she was, in a measure, set apart. That beauty can now only be gauged by the sensation it created, for neither David's picture nor Canova's bust account for its extraordinary reputation; but that it was of a nature 'that would 'make you crazy,' and did make many miserable, is as certain as evidence can make any fact. Still, Juliette Récamier's reputation is not thus fully accounted for. Her beauty did for her all that beauty, *per se*, can ever do. It gave her an immediate advantage over others of her sex, and it made her the fashion and the rage, but it never, singly, could have made her what she really became, an enduring power. For this woman forms an exception to the usual limit and fate of evanescent personal charms. She was sure not only to captivate, but certain to retain. There was that about her which enlisted one half of the creation in her favour without rousing the other half against her. Indeed she received the homage and affection of both sexes. At the same time we must preface our brief analysis of the lady by acknowledging that it can only be made in a French sense. The plain English for a woman who lived in the habitual receipt and encouragement of the most ardent declarations of passion from several men at once—indifferent whether married or single—might sound somewhat stern. Those, however, born and bred under the social code of one country cannot be arraigned at the bar of another.

Madame Récamier's position also was, even in France, exceptional; in England it would have been impossible. The enchantress might have been the product of this country, but not the men—noble, gifted, and faithful as they were—who formed her court and built up her fame. With us, there is little doubt, such a career would have had a different character, a different name, and a different close. The great fact in her favour, to the full credit of which she is entitled, is that through all the triumphs which her beauty procured, her heart survived unspoiled, and her powers of sympathy unblunted. It is true this in no way prevented her playing ruthlessly with her victims, and even delighting to stimulate that which she never satisfied. But here her sex must share the responsibility. Powers of fascination are not apt to weary with practice, or success to pall with repetition. Possessing a talisman which no man resisted, she would have been super-woman not to have exulted in its use. Elevated by her charms to a kind of sovereignty, she never doubted her right divine to see all at her feet. Passionless herself, yet with an unquenchable desire to please, she played a game in which it never troubled her that she paid the forfeits in a coin different to those she received. It was true she liked admirers to buzz about her, but she did not want them to burn their wings. On the contrary, lovers who were impatient, or who rebelled against short commons, were very inconvenient to her. Not that she released them the more for that; all she wished was to instruct them in the art of friendship; and her success, in this respect, if that could be called friendship which was a passionate and lifelong devotion, was as marvellous as the rest of her history. For the annals of friendship, even in France, have not preserved anything more tender and true than that which ultimately bound her friends to her, her to them, and all, for her sake, to each other. The isolation of her position, the 'open sesame' of her beauty, and the high class of French society into which circumstances had thrown her, gave her an influence she was always ready to exert, and which she seems never to have abused. For, as the fittest complement to all her attractions, she was pre-eminently a fair woman *with* discretion. Thus she became a central figure; wanted, consulted, and trusted, as few reigning favourites have proved themselves worthy to be. According to Madame Mohl, 'there was not an action in 'Madame Récamier's life that might not give a lesson to her 'sex.' This, perhaps, may be interpreted by the fact that on all occasions she was essentially and invariably feminine. The whole scale of feminine practice was exemplified by her;

from discretion to judgment, from fortitude to heroism. She never revealed a secret, and many a conspiracy was in her keeping. She bore the loss of fortune with dignity; and she braved exile for the sake of a woman she loved.

But enough of this attempt at definitions, doubly difficult for an English pen to draw. To this irresistible lady, Jean-Jacques Ampère was presented when he was in his twentieth and she in her forty-third year; a disparity one might have supposed sufficient to render the one harmless, and the other secure. But the Circe would have smiled at such a conclusion, and never stood more confessed in her potency than on the day she received the unsuspecting youth. Ballanche, his father's friend, who, for years, had lost all power of breaking through the magnetic circle which, wherever she moved, kept him near enough to see her daily—Ballanche, the simple, dreamy, ugly man—'the Mandarin of literature,' as M. Mohl called him — who was emphatically 'her property' — acted as the decoy on this occasion. There, ushered suddenly into the presence of the still most beautiful woman of her time, surrounded by some of the most ancient and illustrious names in France, the young man found himself in an atmosphere he had never breathed before.

The form of society which constitutes a French *salon*—if that term may still be used in the present tense—is one of the broad distinctions between French and English life. It is a thing not to be made to order by any amount of rank or wealth; it is dependent for its creation and support solely on the gentle sex; and it has not the remotest relationship to that uncomfortable crowd, spasmodically summoned, which constitutes the English lady's 'at home.' Compared with that, indeed, it may be termed a very domestic institution, consisting, as it mainly does, in bringing together, in an inexpensive and apparently spontaneous way, the same circle of friends over and over again. Nevertheless, the conditions of the *salon* are so curiously anti-English that there is no form of French dissipation we should not be more ready to imitate. In truth the grapes are sour for us. The *salon* has its foundations deep in French life, and in that alone. Every well-ordered French home is in some sort its cradle. French children are born and bred in an atmosphere which, were it only by the careful and ready practice of the inimitable language they inherit, educates them for it. English mothers are satisfied with teaching their children how to speak; French mothers instruct them how to talk. The duties of a French governess include the careful direction and manipulation of the incipient powers of neat and

sprightly chat. '*Un peu plus de sel, mes enfans,*' is no unusual admonition to the little circle who are endeavouring to *faire la conversation* out of nothing at all. Thus the children are trained in the use of polite expressions and appropriate turns of speech; damaging, as we think, to the charm and simplicity of childhood, but also calculated to destroy that tyranny of *mauvaise honte* which paralyses even such scanty vocabulary as our awkward boys and girls possess, and often clings to them through life. To quote Madame M*** (Mohl): 'Children in 'France are found fault with if they do not explain themselves 'well, or if they use vulgar expressions; slang is totally inad-'missible; they are much conversed with, and encouraged to 'talk. A schoolboy in England is a very honest fellow and we 'esteem him; but if he had been taught to explain himself in 'his mother-tongue, and did not begin everything with "I say, '"old fellow," we should not hear so many gentlemen of thirty 'years of age hum and haw whenever they are going to speak, 'for *conversing* it cannot be called.'

But the primary condition of the *salon* is its leader. Such materials as we have described, like restless 'molecules,' require a centre round which to 'crystallise.' And here the Salic law, as in most respects in France, where the tact and intelligence of women is concerned, is directly reversed. For the *salon* ignores all male descent, and acknowledges only the female line. Far even from being an affair of connubial partnership, one of the rules laid down in the *ancien régime* was, that the husband, if not happily dead, should be either absent, or '*nul.*' By so much the more were the social qualifications of the lady required to be of the highest order. She must either be a wit herself, or have the power to attract wits round her. She must have perfect knowledge of men and books, of the last epigram, and of the newest *brochure.* She must be gifted with appreciation for distinctions of every kind; with superiority to all littlenesses of pique or jealousy; with the art '*de faire briller* '*les autres*;' with the tact to '*mettre les ennemis en présence, les* '*talents en valeur, et les ennuyeux à la porte*;' and finally, she must keep at home every evening! No woman, therefore, without great abilities, great exertions, and great sacrifices ever formed a *salon*, or kept it together. It is not to be wondered that Miss Berry, the only lady who contrived to hold a nightly assembly of this kind in London, has been heard to say, with a sigh, 'People little know the number of small 'three-cornered notes my evenings cost me.'

Another distinction of a subtler kind between French and English society is the opposite way in which the two races

view certain trials of patience. The French detest *ennui*; the English abominate a *bore*; each party also has as much indulgence for his neighbour's *bête noire* as impatience of his own. The one had rather be bored than dull—the other had rather be dull than bored. We look upon quiet monotony after the labour of the day as domestic and proper, and, thankful to be exempt from trying to make what most of us make so ill, never suspect that in the French sense we are conjugating the verb *s'ennuyer*. They, meeting gaily of an evening to discharge the pent-up vivacity of the day, and naturally delighting to practise that in which they all excel, are too content with themselves and everybody else to detect the large percentage of what we would think supreme bores among them. For the French *salon*, while the scene of the greatest geniality and intelligence that the educated world can offer, is also, it must be confessed, the natural refuge of many for whom our impertinent monosyllable gives the only definition. Madame de Staël's *salon* was perhaps the most brilliant realisation ever known of the power of one woman's genius; but for all that she had her bore. And when, on the Duke of Wellington's first visit to her in 1815, the Abbé Pradt caught the great man as he entered, and pinned him by the button-hole for three quarters of an hour, the lady's fever of impatience confessed him to be that for which her own rich repertory of words had no available term.

At the period we are describing (1820), the *salon* life in Paris had been restored as far as possible upon the traditions of the *ancien régime*; coupled with such innovations as the intervening changes had entailed. The vulgar New had to be amalgamated with the frivolous Old; upstart intelligence with stately dulness; the real ability of whichever side brought to mix amicably for the entertainment of all. Over such a 'fusion' Madame Récamier—herself a child of the Revolution, and ever true to its principles of liberty—was peculiarly fitted to preside. At the same time her *salon*, as Jean-Jacques Ampère stated just forty years later,* was far from being a '*bureau d'esprit*,' and if talents were brought forward it was more in the service of friendship than of intellect.

To return to this particular *salon* now entered. There is something serio-comic in the scene it conjures up. The Goddess in the centre, enveloped in clouds of diaphanous muslin, and reclining on a car-like sofa of blue satin damask, terminating in a '*col de cygne doré, à l'Empire*.' The older lovers

* Mémoire d'Alexis de Tocqueville, Le Correspondant. June 1859.

all worshipping around—too malicious to warn, and too hopeless to grudge—as they watched the young '*aspirant*' who thus boldly entered the lists. There is no doubt that the fresh incense and new mind thus imported were grateful both to the shrine and its votaries, and in neither did young Jean-Jacques stand one whit behind his fellow-adorers. Meanwhile no time was lost in training the new-comer, who, to do her justice, she immediately recognised as a prize. He was invited to her country house; he was included in the magic '*nous*' which designated her select circle; he was christened '*Edouard*,' as a more euphonious appellation than that he had derived from his murdered grandfather; he was alternately petted as a lad and tortured as a man. His letters to the lady, which have escaped the usual and desirable fate of most youthful follies in that shape, are a record of a passion the most absurd and misplaced that was ever fanned, and yet too manly and earnest for mere derision. In these he does not venture beyond the apostrophe *Madame!* though his feelings show small trace of restraint in other respects. The young man was difficult to break in. It was long before he could be brought to comprehend that those who sighed like himself were not his rivals, but his very excellent friends. He even forgot himself so far as to show jealousy and dislike. Of M. de Châteaubriand, especially, he was jealous, and with good reason; and M. de Châteaubriand, especially, he disliked, and, as those who knew that celebrated man would again say, with good reason too. He persisted also in pleading that none of them loved her as he did. '*Moi, qui vous aime comme on ne vous a jamais aimée; vous, qu'on a tant aimée.*' He endures his existence, he says, every day but to reach the hour which admits him to the Abbaye-aux-Bois (her residence), and yet he turns restive at the conditions he finds there. The trial of being '*chez vous sans être avec vous*' is more than he can bear.

'I cannot accustom myself to place our *rapport*—a *rapport* so intense, so mournful, so unique to me—at the mercy of the *bavardage de votre intérieur*, with which I have nothing in common. You know I do justice to those who compose your *salon*, but why should I—because I have a passionate attachment to you—be obliged to form an integral part in the existence of Madame this, or Monsieur that? Why should all this be mixed up together, and not each have their separate opportunity? Rather one quarter of an hour *certain*, and entirely to myself with you, than eight hours a day used up in waiting, and hoping, and catching peeps of you; in chattering about Dante or anything else; when you are there—you, to whom I have so much to say! —you, who are all in all to me! Once for all, this mode of existence kills me.'

This kind of rebellion was quite *hors de régle*, and Ballanche, ever the meekest and best behaved of the party, gently reproves him: '*Mon ami! certaines de vos idées m'attristent: il faut être raisonnable.*' Still Jean-Jacques plunged deeper and deeper; ever sustained by homœopathic doses of encouragement—by a tender look, a slight caress, or even very occasionally by a '*petit billet délicieux.*' Of these last, which must have been compositions of consummate art, none appear; and as a rule the lady was far too discreet often to put pen to paper. Once even the sudden administration of a strong tonic—for what capricious purpose it is impossible to guess—seems to have completely turned his head. The traces of this state are too delirious for any serious diagnosis, but the reader is permitted to conclude that the possibility of a divorce from M. Récamier, with which, nearly twenty years before, the lady had dazzled the imagination of Prince Augustus of Prussia, was also offered, though only in a momentary and tantalising glimpse, to the man young enough to have been her son.

Madame Récamier never had an Englishman in her toils, and it may be doubted whether a life-long friendship would in that case have ensued. Still, viewing the fact that Jean-Jacques' passion subsided into a respectful and filial devotion such as few women have received, some justice must be done to the compensations she procured him. The society he met under her auspices was what no other *salon* could have given him. Besides the lovers *en titre*—the Dukes Matthieu and Laval de Montmorency, the Vicomte de Châteaubriand, and the unfailing Ballanche—the *élite* of the literary and political world in Paris, never more rich in talent of every kind, were sure to be found at the Abbaye-aux-Bois. Most of them, as it has been said, biding their time as a kind of reserve force, and ready at any moment to spring forward on active service. To her interest also with Duke Laval de Montmorency, then French ambassador at the Papal Court, he owed his first winter in Rome, where she went (1822-3) to divert the only passion that ever disturbed her peace—that for Châteaubriand—and Jean-Jacques (and of course Ballanche), for any reason that kept him at her side. There, though still engaged in dramatic and poetic efforts, the first idea of that 'Histoire 'Romaine à Rome' was suggested, which in after years drew him winter after winter to the Eternal City, and which in two forms constitutes his most important work. Nor can it be doubted that in the manly effort to conquer the passion which consumed him, and to retrieve the bitterly-owned sense of a youth sacrificed to it, he threw himself into a scheme of study

which finally bore him a brilliant harvest. This scheme, 'the 'finest thing in the world, and an infallible means for arriving 'at almost universal knowledge, is simply to note the most 'important points in every book I read—to concentrate my 'attention on them—to impress them on my memory, and to 'try and forget all the rest. With the additional condition of 'only reading what is best on every subject and in every lan-'guage.' He adds, 'I am busy with Chinese, Hebrew, his-'tory, poetry, mathematics, physics; *n'êtes vous pas contente?*'

For all this, the spell which was at once his happiness and his despair proved too strong for such a recipe, and urged by 'other complications,' Jean-Jacques fairly slipped his anchors and left Paris, ostensibly for Lyons, but with far more distant intentions. These other complications arose on the part of André-Marie. It is not to be supposed that all these agitations had escaped the observation of the most tender of fathers. We catch signs in his letters of the distress which the young man's infatuation caused him; but for which, strange to say, forgetting all his own sad experience, the worthy man had but one remedy to urge—namely, the speedy choice of a wife! In his simplicity he had even taken steps, in true French fashion, rather compromising to his son, and dreamed of no greater felicity than, firstly, to see him married to a certain Mademoiselle Clementine, daughter of Cuvier; and, secondly, distinguished in the dramatic line. Under all these circumstances, it was time for poor Jean-Jacques to seek safety in absence. He knew better than to hope for cure from a *mariage de convenances*; while his dramatic flights, under cover of which he had of late years indulged the expression of his passion, had lost all attraction for him.

'It is my wish,' he writes to Madame Récamier, 'to break definitively with the poetic career—by way of profession; to quit that miserable class of petty tragic authors—played or unplayed—into which I have been led; and to endeavour to take a place in the rising school, historical, philosophical, and literary, of the day. I shall pass the winter, therefore, in learning German and Germany. In the spring I shall go from town to town, getting acquainted with men and libraries; and, after this period of self-test and austere study, fortified with the conscience and habit of my purpose, I shall come back to you with my head, I hope, clear from phantoms, and my heart full of that real attachment in which you believe. And then, happen what may, there will be always two persons inseparable from my life, my father and you.'

The purpose here alluded to was that of a grand work, 'L'Histoire de toutes les Littératures,' never executed as a

whole; though his 'Histoire de la Poésie;' 'Esquisses du 'Nord;' 'Littérature Danoise, Allemande, Slave, Bohémienne, 'et Scandinave,' suffice to show the universality of knowledge he brought to the subject.

We must forbear following him to Bonn, where he attended the lectures of Schlegel and Niebuhr, and expresses himself as 'appalled at the extent of knowledge thought indispensable 'in this country, with which we *dispense* in France.' It was during these eighteen months' stay in Germany that young Ampère, by severe study, qualified himself to take his place in that rising school to which he had alluded, and which during the next quarter of a century presented a galaxy of intellect and learning in all forms never before united in France, and not soon to be hoped for there again! also, it may be added, more than comparable with the Germany of the same time. Such men as Thiers, Mignet, Guizot, Léonce de Lavergne, Thierry, Sainte Beuve, Victor Cousin, Barthélemy de St. Hilaire, Merimée, Gustave de Beaumont, Montalembert, Lacordaire, and especially Alexis de Tocqueville, may be enumerated—all of them finally destined to occupy with both the Ampères the benches of the French Institute, and most of them bound to each other by ties of friendship first contracted in the evening gatherings of the Abbaye-aux-Bois. And of all these ties there was none so warm as that which united Jean-Jacques and Alexis de Tocqueville—friends *par excellence* in the highest French sense. If Ampère's attachment to Madame Récamier—on which we have dwelt the more, as, until the publication of these two volumes, it was comparatively unknown—constitutes the first episode of importance in his life, his friendship for Tocqueville may be deemed the second. In every interval of travel, and no Frenchman ever travelled so widely as he, having, as his friend expressed himself, '*l'humeur voyageuse de l'hirondelle*,' he was sure to be found returned to that nest in the Château de Tocqueville, which went by the name of '*la chambre d'Ampère*.' Tocqueville, on his part, as many still living can testify, never wearied of dwelling on the charm which Ampère's society had for him; and naively writes that visitors were wont to start '*le chapitre d'Ampère*,' in order to set him talking, 'as a clever '*causeur* will lead his neighbour to speak of himself in order 'to put him "*en train.*"' There were plenty of reasons, in their mutual studies and differing temperaments—Tocqueville often anxious and desponding, Ampère ever cheerful and equal—to bring them together; but reasons were super-

fluous. The root of the matter lay with them, as with Boetius and Montaigne—they loved each other because the one was Tocqueville and the other Ampère. The nervous historian even trusted the soundness of his friend's literary judgment as much as that of his heart. The sheets of the 'Démocratie' underwent Ampère's revision before going to press; and one of the four first copies, as Tocqueville expresses himself, '*avant la lettre*,' was reserved '*pour l'amitié*.' 'You under-'stand that under that title it can only go straight to your 'address. Accept it, I beg, not for the book's sake (you 'know that by heart already), but as the pledge of a tender 'affection.'

The allusion to the politics of the day are not frequent in these letters, though when they occur they are of no small significance. The three days' revolution of July 1830 found Madame Récamier and Jean-Jacques together at Dieppe. But neither of them were of a sort to continue in safety while friends were in danger. The lady accordingly returned immediately to Paris, and was escorted by Jean-Jacques in a walk both of difficulty and peril over the barricades, from the chapel St. Denis to her own home. The fidelity of M. de Châteaubriand to Charles Dix, and his retirement from all political activity, is one of the few events recorded. This act helped to give Ampère a juster measure of that distinguished man, who was truly great in great things, though infinitely disagreeable in small ones; and in concert with other young members of *la jeune France*, he addresses the ex-minister a letter, earnestly entreating his return. Châteaubriand's answer is remarkable. He fears that Liberty is not a plant that can grow in French soil. '*L'Égalité*, our national passion, is a magnificent idea in 'great hearts; but in narrow minds it simply means envy, and 'in the mob, murders and disorders.' Again, a conversation Jean-Jacques held with M. La Fayette preserves these words of no common foresight at that period, 'What I fear most is 'Bonapartism, for that is the only thing that will favour des-'potism.' And to look eighteen years forwarder still, when the spectre was at hand, Jean-Jacques thus writes from Dijon, June 1848:—

'It is impossible for me at this distance to comprehend what is doing in Paris. One thing only is clear, which is that the revolution of February has miscarried. The Assembly does nothing, wills nothing, is capable of nothing. The same kind of thing is going on in Germany . . . It is evident that we are to be made over to a pretender of some sort. Order having been re-established, and without the excuse

of material disorder, we are to pass under the yoke of a Dictatorship. It is said that Madame Salvage's young man * (Louis Napoleon) has the chance of the moment. But, is the Republic to merge into this parody of *l'Empire*! What a caricature of the past that would be. I hope Thiers is not in it. I would rather he were President himself, he or another. But to return to princes when they are no longer principles, to bring about a restoration of illegitimacy and usurpation, *c'est vraiment par trop reculer.*'

A name coeval with Jean-Jacques Ampère's in French estimation, and better known to fame and friendship in England —that of M. Mohl, the great Orientalist—often occurs in these pages. The sturdy young Wirtemberger, and the mercurial Lyonese, each the archest type of his race, made early acquaintance under the roof of M. Cuvier. With endless tastes in common, that of the study of Chinese first drew them together. As with Tocqueville, their very differences were provocative of friendship. The one judicial, cynical, and systematic—the other impulsive, genial, and erratic; each whetted his appetite for knowledge on the mind of the other. The relish for each other's contrasting natures—ever a fertile source of mutual satire and epigram—even led to their keeping house together. This took place very successfully for some years in the Rue du Bac, before M. Mohl's marriage; he, wisely, undertaking the charge of the *ménage* and the audit of the accounts. There is perhaps no omission in this correspondence more to be regretted than that of M. Mohl's letters—(unless it be that of Madame Mohl's), which the amiable editress in vain solicited permission to include. The two that have escaped the interdict are singularly calculated to sharpen the appetite for more.

But we must return to one, never forgotten or neglected by his son. The health of Marie-André had already compelled him, accompanied by Jean-Jacques, to spend a winter in the south of France. Neither of their geniuses, as a friend remarks, understood how to combine two ideas concerning '*la* '*plus innocente spéculation d'argent.*' How to provide funds for that necessary absence is dwelt on with infinite zest by Jean-Jacques, who owns to having sown his own small fortune inherited from his mother '*d'un bout de l'Europe à l'autre.*' But '*le Dieu des ivrognes et des distraits,*' according to Tocqueville, watches over both, and the chair of Scandinavian poetry at Marseilles, for exactly the three months required, falls most opportunely to Jean-Jacques' lot. A few years

* Madame Salvage was companion to Queen Hortense, and ardent partisan of Prince Louis Napoleon.

later (1836) the same necessity for a milder climate recurred, and Marie-André, this time alone, repaired again to Marseilles. Jean-Jacques was to follow; but the end was nearer than was supposed. There was but time for a last letter of paternal tenderness, when the great physiologist, and the guileless, loving man, departed from this scene. He was buried at Marseilles with every sign of honour and affection; and in lieu of a Latin inscription, or pompous French panegyric, these words of pure truth alone, from the depth of his son's heart, were engraved on his tomb: '*Il fut aussi bon, aussi simple, que* '*grand.*'

The name of André-Marie Ampère needs no further tribute in these pages. It has taken its place among its few illustrious compeers, and was heard still in living accents in the late address of M. Dumas, on the part of the French Academy, over the remains of the lamented Sir Charles Wheatstone. But one phase of his genius has been beyond the power of his works or of his letters to preserve; namely, the marvellous range and power of his eloquence, when invoked on a subject congenial to him. André-Marie was no glutton for talk in general society. He never claimed, like Humboldt, the lion's share in conversation; but when with a few congenial friends, or with his son alone, he would open the vast storehouse of his knowledge, and pour forth a stream of new ideas, suggestions, and combinations, till the hearers remained spell-bound. Walking once, in 1830, on the road to Polémieux, with Lyonese friends, one of them suggested that he should give them an idea of Cuvier's discoveries. Accordingly there ensued a lecture on Palæontology, which neither the walk, nor the dinner, nor the drive back to Lyons interrupted; and which only broke off at a particular point in Lyons where he set down his friends, 'all overpowered with the extent and beauty of what 'they had heard and learned; having had no conception of 'the force of such a brain, or the poetic wealth of such an 'imagination.' His son also describes how on his first journey for health to the South, propped up by pillows in the carriage, and cautioned not to fatigue the vocal organs, he would enchant him for hours together with a dissertation on the classification of the sciences, till, as he pithily remarks, 'my anxiety 'and my admiration were equally without bounds.'

In editing the posthumous works of his father, in a page of introduction to the 'Philosophie,' Jean-Jacques relates that André-Marie was wont to dwell on three things which had made the deepest impression on his youth; namely, his first

communion, celebrated with an intensity of devotion which never left him during life; the 'Éloge' of Descartes by Thomas, which first kindled his ardour for science; and the taking of the Bastille, which, heard from afar, sounded only like the explosion of liberty, and decided the political bias of his life. 'Four and twenty years after that,' Jean-Jacques would say, 'in the sombre latter days of the Empire, I remember as a boy—walking with him in the streets of Paris—the accent with which he would inveigh against the tyranny, which lay, as he said, like a weight on his breast.'

The death of his father left Jean-Jacques virtually without any family ties, and yet with heavy responsibilities. The income of the great physicist died with him, but not so the charges he had undertaken. His daughter Albine had made an unhappy marriage—perhaps one of good André-Marie's own arranging; her husband's vices had brought him into a madhouse, and her own reason had given way under the pressure of sorrow. Jean-Jacques had to provide for both; and also for a *vaurien* cousin who had preyed on the father's kindness, and preyed on that of the son to the last. Jean-Jacques' means were principally derived from the Professorship of the History of French Literature at the 'Collége de France,' to which he had been appointed by M. Guizot in 1833. His merits were now further and most opportunely recognised by the adjudgment to him of 'le prix Gobert,' one of the numerous 'purses,' or foundations held by the Institute, and awarded to special literary claims. These occupations and distinctions, far from repressing rather incited that restless ardour for travel which characterised Ampère. The same principle that made him study the Roman history at Rome, he applied in working at Greek poetry in Greece; in studying Egyptian hieroglyphics in Egypt; and these and every other ancient science in the libraries and museums of Italy. The Egyptian journey, in which he exposed himself as recklessly to the dangers of the climate as if he had been born on the other side of the Channel, left his health so shattered as to entail many months of confinement on his return to Paris.

Meanwhile, though surrounded with friends, courted by men of the greatest eminence, and by women of the highest rank and charm, the Abbaye-aux-Bois remained his one polar star. The longer she lived the more did Madame Récamier succeed in uniting her friends—whatever their dissimilarities or prejudices—and the fewer these became the closer was the union. The hated Châteaubriand had turned into a paternal friend and mentor, whose letters to Ampère when on his travels, giving

him tidings of the lady '*par qui nous existons encore*,' are some of the choicest morsels of this collection. It was time for the youngest of the band to return, and open his stores of interest, with the sprightliness and vivacity peculiar to himself, for the benefit of those on whom age and infirmities were now weighing. Never was the romance of friendship—its pathos and beauty—so realised as in this narrowing circle. Madame de Récamier was blind; M. de Châteaubriand lame, and failing in mind; and Ballanche, the type of unexacting fidelity—who, if not lodged in the same house with the mistress of his heart, was sure to be in the house opposite—had been carried off by sudden illness, holding in his the hand he loved best, and his last words pointing to the union beyond. The charge of the two aged friends now devolved almost entirely on Jean-Jacques. No son could have better fulfilled these duties—few real sons fulfil them so well. Every morning a note from him inquired how Madame Récamier had passed the night—every afternoon he came to escort her from the Abbaye-aux-Bois to No. 120 Rue du Bac, where Châteaubriand lived. There in the lonely room, between the blind woman and the paralysed man, Ampère would sit for hours, drawing inexhaustibly upon his mind and memory for their entertainment; or submitting to them the sketch he was compiling of the life and works of the never-forgotten Ballanche: sure of giving pleasure to the one, if by any means he could interest the declining powers of the other. In July 1848, as our editress expresses herself, '*M. Châteaubriand acheva de mourir.*' Jean-Jacques, as representative both of Madame Récamier and the French Academy, presided at the solemn and picturesque occasion, when, with all the pomp of the Roman ceremonial, the remains of the illustrious writer were deposited, by his expressed wish, in the hollow of a rock on the coast of St. Malo, his native place. On his return to Paris—redoubling his tender care of one who, as she owned, only held '*à la vie du cœur*' by him—he accepted the Librarianship of 'la Bibliothèque Mazarin' at the Institute, in order to be nearer her.

But we must close this touching and unique chapter. Madame Récamier died of cholera in May 1849. Jean-Jacques says little for himself at this time, but the letters from friends of all kinds show the respect with which this now broken tie had been viewed. M. Thiers writes: 'I sympathise strongly with 'your sorrow, which must be profound. *Car je sais que Ma-*'*dame Récamier était pour vous toute votre famille.* At our 'age these griefs are bitter. There is no longer that infinite 'future before us in which we place so many things when we

'are young. But let us do like good soldiers, who close their 'ranks the more as each comrade falls.'

Jean-Jacques did press closer to his comrades after a time; but at first he fled from Paris and them. He went to Spain; he came to England; he crossed to America, and traversed the great continent from north to south, and he worked as those work who have little else left to do.

A few words must be said on the literary labours by which he is known, and which are all that heart, ability, industry, and ardour could produce from one of whom Alexis de Tocqueville said that he had the rare privilege of taking interest in all things, and of regarding with equal curiosity, '*tantôt littéraire*, '*tantôt savante, tout ce qui vient de l'homme.*' To this faculty is owing the multifariousness of what he undertook. Histories, romances, plays, travels, biographies, poetry, journalism—the lightest sallies of epigrammatic wit, the driest researches of archæology—nothing came amiss to one who was as universal in knowledge as cosmopolitan in interest. And all was thrown off with the same genial ease which made him the man most valued as a correspondent, most fascinating in a *tête-à-tête*, most sought in society. His facility of composition was almost unexampled in the annals of authorship, and the more so as combined with habits of thoroughness in all he undertook. He wrote a chapter of a novel in a night—he versified an article on Tocqueville's work which he had not time to write in prose. His six volumes of Roman history, while presenting a mine of knowledge from which hand-book makers will ever dig, have a flow of style seldom combined, except in the highest names, with the same depth of erudition. These, and his careful contributions to the history of various literatures, will live, while the repute of his lighter works, the chief charm of which consisted in their being so like his own conversation, is already passing away with the contemporaries who enjoyed them. Tocqueville's eulogy to the Comte de Circourt on the charm of Ampère's society is significant: '*Le moindre mérite de cet auteur* '*là est celui d'écrire.*'

Here the attempt to describe the career and character of this remarkable man must come to an end. The Penates of friendly hearths which he had worshipped all his life never forsook him. Madame Récamier was dead, and Alexis de Tocqueville followed ten years later; but the sympathies and consolations of friendship, which were to him as the breath of life, were still renewed. We have instanced his passion for the beautiful Juliette, and his affection for the great historian, as the first and second epochs of his life. A third epoch and a third group of friends were

granted to him in the family of the gifted and amiable editress of these volumes. The follies of youth and the ambitions of maturer age were now over, and what the intimacy of this exemplary home circle supplied him with, was best suited for one nearing the end of life's pilgrimage. The lingering illness, the piety, and the death of M. and Mdme. Cheuvreux's only child and daughter, 'allured to brighter worlds and led the 'way;' and this chapter, on which we can only thus passingly touch, is so far of a higher order of interest as the joys and sorrows in which he now took part were of a purer and more sacred kind. It is no slight tribute to Madame Cheuvreux—and it is one she will most appreciate—to say that, as the generous heart of Jean-Jacques Ampère cared for those he loved, equally during life and after death, so her kindred heart in both senses has cared for him. He died at Pau, March 1864, under his friends' roof, bequeathing to Madame Cheuvreux those family records of three generations which she has turned to such pious account. And it may be added that in so doing she has given to the world a work which, more than any other we know, proves that France is the Paradise of Friendship.

ART. IV.— 1. *History of England from the Accession of James I. to the Disgrace of Chief Justice Coke*, 1603–1616. By SAMUEL RAWSON GARDINER. In two volumes. London: 1863.

2. *Prince Charles and the Spanish Marriage*, 1617–1623. *A Chapter of English History.* By SAMUEL RAWSON GARDINER. In two volumes. London: 1869.

3. *A History of England under the Duke of Buckingham and Charles I.*, 1624–1628. By SAMUEL RAWSON GARDINER. In two volumes. London: 1875.

MR. GARDINER'S six volumes under their various titles present us with a history of England from the accession of James I. in 1603 to the death of Buckingham in 1628. If we have not noticed these books before, it must not be imagined that we have failed to appreciate their great merits. They all alike bring a large amount of new information to bear upon a period investigated by many previous explorers; they contain fresh views of the home policy of James I. and Charles I., while they lighten up the whole course of their foreign policy, rendering it for the first time really intelligible; in short, they take their place as the standard work which all must read who

wish to form a correct opinion of the men and facts of the time. Knowledge and research Mr. Gardiner shares with other writers. There is a second characteristic of his books which more especially separates them from previous histories of the same period, namely, their thoroughgoing impartiality. Mr. Gardiner places his readers behind the scenes on both sides, and lays materials before them from which to form an indifferent judgment between leaders of the opposition and supporters of the prerogative. Nor does he do mere formal justice to men of one party, while his sympathies are manifestly on the other side. On the contrary, his aim has been to represent the events of a past time free of the party colouring which historians writing under the influence of modern ideas have often laid upon them. Ready enough to bestow severe censure on low motives and bad policy, Mr. Gardiner presupposes that each party honestly believed in the excellence of its own political creed, and that in any particular case the better cause is as likely to be found on the one side as on the other.

We need hardly say that Mr. Gardiner's position gives his history a peculiar and special interest of its own. 'England 'under Charles I. and the Duke of Buckingham' narrates the incidents of the exciting struggle for power between Charles I. and his early Parliaments, and may possibly bear the palm for popularity. But 'Prince Charles and the Spanish Mar-'riage' is a book of at least equal, if not of greater worth, and it certainly yields in real historical interest to no portion of Mr. Gardiner's work. There, and there alone, can be read an authentic, clear, and comprehensible account of the negotiations with Spain and the causes of their ultimate failure. There also is to be found a character of James I., newly illustrated alike in its strong and weak sides by the close study which Mr. Gardiner has given to the king's foreign policy. James appears in these pages as a man of learning and of more than ordinary ability, who was in possession of ideas, which might have classed him amongst the first statesmen of his day; on the other hand, no history has revealed so fully the extent of his moral weakness.

The policy which, in spite of constant swervings to the right and to the left, James to the day of his death kept ever in his mind's eye, was deserving of better success than it attained. Living in an age of intolerance, James was opposed to persecution. Living in an age when every quarrel of religion called for an appeal to force, James had an instinctive dislike to war, and above all to a war of religion. To lessen the intolerance of English Protestants, to place England in a

mediating position between Catholic and Protestant states, and to obtain a settlement of religious difficulties on the Continent on a basis of mutual forbearance, were aims undoubtedly worthy of a consummate statesman. Unfortunately, however, James' great aims sat but loosely upon him. They were too big for the man. Great aims for their accomplishment require great moral and intellectual qualities, perseverance, abnegation of self, firmness of will, knowledge of men, and insight into the conditions of the time. In all such qualities of strength James was painfully deficient. Hence, turned aside as he was by petty and personal objects, the greater with him was ever subordinate to the less. Catholics were persecuted because the king was short of money to give away; Puritans were persecuted lest their principles should endanger the power of the crown. James I. could never see the primary conditions of success. Different estimates of the character of this monarch will probably be formed according to the side from which he is approached. If we fix our attention on the ends he had in view and compare them with those for which other kings and statesmen of his day were striving, we shall be apt to condone the moral weakness of the man. If, on the other hand, we begin with investigating his actions, we shall be apt to deny him the credit which he does deserve for the endeavour, however feebly and incompetently made, to supplant the sword by the olive-branch as arbiter in the settlement of the religious questions of his day. Whether Mr. Gardiner in his estimate has fairly hit the balance, we recommend our readers to judge for themselves. We wish here to call attention to the fact that he does not regard James as a man of great practical sagacity, or as one whose successful statesmanship has served as a model for modern politicians. Such a view is far more false than the popular idea of the king, which, though it may take note only of his faults, has at least a good deal of foundation in fact to stand upon.

Yet a late reviewer of Mr. Gardiner's books has held James up to admiration as a great and successful statesman.* This portrait seems mainly woven out of his own fancy; as, however, he gives his readers to understand that his statements rest on the histories of Professor von Ranke and Mr. Gardiner, we purpose for a short space to show how entirely he has misrepresented the views of at least one of these his professed guides. The reviewer tells us that James'

'tentative, procrastinating, in form haggling, in spirit freezing, policy

* Quarterly Review, July, 1875, No. cclxxvii.

had no special cause in any fault in his mind and judgment. The very same policy is and has been the rigorous line, marked out by interest and also by duty, at many a juncture of European affairs for the United Kingdom. . . . There are plenty of later examples (and they are most assuredly not examples of mere fumbling ignorance and groping incompetence) of behaviour very like that of James I.; while the Thirty Years' War—a war which no English king, general, or minister could stop, guide, or comprehend—loomed and threatened, but as it were from altogether another sphere than his own.'

The writer of these sentences certainly does not follow Mr. Gardiner, who never confounds James' aims and the means by which he sought to attain them. James' policy in so far as it was averse to war may fairly be called a modern policy, but assuredly no English statesman, who had any acquaintance with Mr. Gardiner's volumes, would feel flattered at a comparison drawn between his behaviour at a great crisis and that of James I. at the crisis of the Thirty Years' War. 'It was 'the great misfortune of James' character,' Mr. Gardiner writes, 'that while both in his domestic and foreign policy he 'was far in advance of his age in his desire to put a final end 'to religious strife, he was utterly unfit to judge what were 'the proper measures to be taken for the attainment of his 'object.' The whole narrative of 'Prince Charles and the 'Spanish Marriage' may be said to be one long illustration of these words. James' foreign policy from the first was marred by two fundamental errors. He thought to effect an equilibrium between Catholic and Protestant States by entering into a marriage treaty and close alliance with Spain, a Catholic country which would never seriously have entertained the thought of bestowing the hand of its Infanta on a heretic Prince of Wales except in hope of the conversion of the English nation to the Roman Catholic faith. The Spanish marriage was abhorred by the people of England and condemned by James' wisest counsellors. He made it the pivot of his foreign policy. But we could not have conceived that the most inveterate Tory writer now in existence would have dared to assert, as this reviewer has done, that the policy of James I. is 'in the main still the policy of Great Britain.' Afterwards on the breaking out of hostilities in Bohemia, James made the second error of supposing that his mere words were to hush the storms of war, when he had no army behind by which to enforce them. Two such false steps were bad enough. Still during the course of the war an occasional crisis occurred when it was just possible that a really able statesman seizing the opportunity might have been able to mediate successfully.

But James was not the man. In his policy was reflected as in a glass all the faults of his mind and judgment. Either he hesitated and let the opportunity for ever by; or he could not find terms acceptable to the contending parties because, as Mr. Gardiner observes, in spite of all his meddling, he never understood the deeper currents of his own age. He looked, moreover, on every question from its smallest side, if not from a purely personal point of view. If he was eager to recover the Palatinate, it was because it was the heritage of his grandchildren; if he was bent on ending the war by mediation, yet he could not send an ambassador to Ratisbon, because he thought it beneath his dignity that the affairs of Germany should be settled otherwise than between himself and the Emperor. No doubt the folly and obstinacy of his son-in-law increased the difficulties in James' path; but it was his own vacillation, vanity, and ignorance which made mediation impossible.

Never perhaps had James more power of influencing the course of events for good or for evil than when the Prince Palatine sent to England to ask whether he should refuse or accept the Bohemian crown.. Then, if ever, James ought to have given, and given at once, a decided answer. He would neither say 'Yes' nor 'No;' he would neither say he would, nor he would not, render assistance. He put off meeting his Council or making any decision at all. 'Do not expect,' he said to the ambassador, 'to return to Germany in a hurry.' We may here observe that the reviewer, wishing to enlighten Mr. Gardiner and show him his error in thinking that Gondamar, the Spanish ambassador, had James in leading strings, quotes a passage from Professor von Ranke's history in which it is said that, if a disputed point awaited decision, James would not meet his privy councillors but would fly his falcons, thinking 'that something might happen in the meanwhile, or some 'news be brought in, and that the delay of an hour had often 'ere now been found profitable.' This may be the natural conduct of a man who is slow to choose between two lines of action, because he has a clear perception of the difficulties attending both; but does the reviewer suppose that it is characteristic of a man of strong mind, who uses others as his instruments for shaping his own ends? Let him ponder Professor von Ranke's observation, that if James had told Frederic decidedly to reject the Bohemian crown, he would have rendered the world a service. Delay as usual took the immediate responsibility off James' shoulders. The news was brought in that Frederic had made his own choice without

waiting for his father-in-law's advice. 'Das mindeste, writes Professor von Ranke, 'was man von ihm sagen kann ist, 'dass seine Natur in diesem Augenblick der Förderung der 'Sache nicht gewachsen war.'

A second crisis came when, as Mr. Gardiner thinks, the Palatinate would have been saved from invasion if James had let Spain know that he should take up arms in its defence. Rather than make up his mind to this step, James preferred to believe, on the representations of Gondamar, that the forces collecting in the Netherlands were not intended to march against the Palatinate. Afterwards, when the Spaniards were in the Palatinate, he took for granted, again on Gondamar's representations, that the invasion was a mere diversion for the sake of getting back Bohemia. In the face of such evidence as this, the reviewer objects to Mr. Gardiner's speaking of James 'being in Sarmiento's net.' If this is the 'old partial prejudiced view,' it is certainly not 'finally dis-'sipated by the agency of Mr. Gardiner's own narrative.'

We are, however, further informed that

'the Spaniard was just the kind of quarry James liked to be after. The king was far more than a match for the ambassador. Had it been otherwise, there was plenty of counter-check. Winwood, the most Protestant and anti-Spanish of statesmen, took the oaths as secretary just about the time of Gondamar's arrival; and a bishop was lord-keeper while the marriage negotiations were at their height.'

It is really hard to believe that the writer of these lines can have read Mr. Gardiner's book. It is true there was an anti-Spanish party in James' Council, but this party was never admitted into the secret of the negotiations which were going on. What 'counter-check' they made it is, therefore, hard to see. How could they tell whether James was leading Gondamar, or Gondamar James? Ignorance incapacitated them from giving advice, even when they were asked for it. Thus on one occasion we find James consulting a commission of the Privy Council on the subject of the Spanish marriage, but the whole thing is a mere farce. 'The only question which was practi-'cally laid before them was whether a Spanish princess with 'a portion of 600,000*l.* was not better worth having than a 'French princess with a portion of 200,000*l.*' There was indeed one concession—a concession of such a nature that it might almost be described as criminal. Raleigh was allowed to sail to Guiana in search of a gold mine. Thus was a sop flung to silence the opponents of the Spanish marriage, while James relieved himself of responsibility, if things went wrong, by binding Raleigh down to keep the peace with Spain. The

consequences followed which all who did not wilfully shut their eyes foresaw would follow when the expedition sailed. The English and the Spaniards fought. For Raleigh, the penniless adventurer, who had broken the peace with Spain, there was no pardon. James, we are told by the reviewer, 'on 'small and on great occasions was capable of generosity, even 'of magnanimity.' We cannot ourselves recall to mind a single action of James I. which deserves to be called magnanimous. If he possessed the quality, here at any rate was the fit opportunity for its exercise. We think most readers will acquiesce in the judgment of Professor von Ranke, who on this occasion observes, 'Die Ader freier Grossmuth, wie sie Königen 'geziemt, schlug nicht in Jacob I.'

The views taken in this article give as false a representation of James' home as of his foreign policy. It would take us too long, however, to enter upon any criticism of these, and we shall only ask our readers to follow us while we say a few words more on the subject of James' selection of ambassadors, in which the reviewer discovers proof of remarkable sagacity and insight. As a matter of fact, James' ambassadors were not invariably well chosen. Sometimes very unfit men were appointed to fill important diplomatic posts; nor were they as a body especially remarkable for ability. James, however, had plenty of natural shrewdness, so that when not influenced by any personal feeling he was quite capable of selecting fit men for employment abroad. In his choice of councillors he was less happy; partly because he was a little afraid of genius too near him; partly also because, through the corruption of his government and the power exercised by his favourites, men of honour and real ability were not attracted to the service of the crown. It is to be observed, however, that if James could choose an ambassador well, his sagacity stopped short at this point. When a wise policy was proposed to him, he either rejected it altogether or marred it in the handling. Thus Chichester's advice concerning the settlement of the Ulster Plantation was not followed, and he himself was afterwards recalled from office, for the only apparent reason that he was opposed to a policy of persecution: 'a worthy end,' Mr. Gardiner writes, 'to the 'policy of such a man.' 'If full powers had been granted 'to him to deal with Ireland according to the dictates of his 'own wisdom, the blackest pages in the history of that country 'would never have been written.' Besides Chichester, James had another remarkably able man in his service, Sir John Digby, his ambassador in Spain while the marriage treaty was on foot. Digby was opposed to any Spanish marriage at all,

His advice, however, not having been taken on that point, he endeavoured to make the match the basis for a European peace. He saw that in order to obtain from Spain any effectual assistance, Philip must be made to understand that James could, in case of need, draw the sword. In 1621 it seemed as if James had found the energy to follow the path marked out by Digby. He called a Parliament and obtained a grant of money for support of the troops already in the Palatinate. But he could not win the confidence of the Commons because he could not bring himself to lay any decided policy before them. When they gave him their view of the policy he ought to follow, he grew angry, entered into a dispute with them on a question of privilege, and, urged on by Gondamar, dissolved the Parliament. 'The king,' wrote the Spaniard in his despatches home, 'will no longer be able to succour his son-in-law or to 'hinder the advance of the Catholics.' 'The sole importance 'of Gondamar,' the reviewer tells us, 'is that he remained 'from first to last the genuine furtherer of the Spanish mar-'riage.' On the contrary, Gondamar's importance lies in the fact that, being a foreign minister representing a country with ends and interests adverse to those of England, his advice was followed by James as that of a disinterested friend. The rupture with the Parliament ruined Digby's policy. Alone amongst the men of his time he had laboured to bring about a pacification which was possible because its terms were satisfactory to the majority of the German nation. In speaking of Digby's policy, Mr. Gardiner's language is pervaded by a tone of mingled admiration and regret such as he rarely allows himself to use: 'If amongst the many miseries with which history 'teems, there is one more sad than another, it is to see so noble 'a policy so utterly discredited and mishandled.'

Though the reviewer maintains the contrary, James' policy, let us look at it from whichever side we will, was one of complete and miserable failure. He had tried by a close union with Spain to introduce an era of peace and forbearance, and during the last years of his life the flames of a religious war were devastating the Continent. He had tried to mediate between the contending parties, and when he died England herself was taking up arms and joining in the conflict. He had tried to lessen the intolerance of English Protestants, and what he had really done was to lay the train for a second religious struggle in his own land. He had tried to exalt the prerogative, as something divine in origin, and to suppress the rising influence of the House of Commons, and when he died an able and strong Opposition had been formed to his

government, Plantagenet precedents had been revived, and the Commons of England stood ready prepared to wrest from the grasp of his son powers which were not exercised for the good of their country. Truly, as Mr. Gardiner says, 'James 'sowed the seeds of revolution and disaster.'

Mr. Gardiner always writes from an impartial point of view. Whether he has in all cases given a complete representation of the standpoint of either party is, we think, open to question. Thus the conduct of the Commons in trying to crush the High Church party cannot be adequately explained without taking into account the political motives by which many members were undoubtedly actuated. In Mr. Gardiner's narrative we seem to be reading simply of a struggle between two rival religious systems. Yet had no question of civil government been involved, it is doubtful whether the suppression of the so-called Arminian doctrines would have been called for by the House of Commons; it is certain that the Opposition would have been weakened by the defection of some very influential members. The composition of the Opposition to Charles' ecclesiastical policy is not a little remarkable. There were to be found in it men representing all shades of religious opinion, ranging between the extremes of moderation and fanaticism. Such names as those of Coke, Cotton, Selden, Sandys, Eliot, and Pym suggest of themselves that some other cause besides devotion to the formulas of Calvinism brought the House into collision with the High Church party. To Coke, Cotton, and Selden the doctrinal dispute in itself was no matter of overwhelming importance. Coke may have been a Calvinist, he certainly was not tolerant, but he was no bigot to head a crusade against Arminianism. His interests were those of the lawyer, not of the churchman. The standpoint of Cotton and Selden was, like Coke's, secular. Scholars and not divines, they represented the most cultivated and catholic minds of their day. Their friendship and services were open to all lovers of learning without distinction of creed or of party. The extremes on either side admired but hardly approved them. Their want of religious zeal offended the Puritan, the part they took in politics the High Churchman. 'If Selden,' Mr. Gardiner writes in one of his earlier volumes, 'had had his way, 'there would have been very little religious zeal left to inter-'fere with. To such a man the one-sidedness, the violence, the 'very excitement of theological partisanship were eminently 'distasteful. . . . He never forgot that strong feeling contains 'the germs of possible tyranny over the opinions of others, 'and, in his heart, he fixed his hopes upon a calm and philo-

'sophical religion in which, though there might be no fanati-'cism, there would be but little life.'* Cotton, if we may trust the assertion of Gondamar, once told that ambassador in the course of the negotiations on the marriage treaty, that he was delighted with the prospect of being able to live and die a professed Catholic, as his ancestors had done before him. Cotton was probably laughing at the ambassador in his sleeve, but his words were not the words of a Puritan.

Sir Edwin Sandys was on the same side as Cotton and Selden, and his name in some respects is even more significant. He was a very moderate-minded, observant, intelligent man. Anticipating Ranke in modern times in his 'View of the State 'of Religion,'† he has traced out the causes of the reaction which had taken place on the Continent in favour of the Roman Catholic faith. He draws attention to the careful selection of preachers made by Catholics; their books of devotion, from which Protestants themselves were compelled to borrow; the revival of the Inquisition, as a bridle of freedom of mind and liberty of speech; the establishment of the order of the Jesuits, with their free schools and care of education; the readiness of the Catholics to fight the Reformers with their own weapons, instanced in the reform of their own Church and their martyrologies, lives of reformers, and other books written in imitation of Protestant works; last, but not least, the miserable divisions existing between Lutherans and Calvinists, which contrasted so painfully with the care taken by Catholics to conceal their own divisions from the eyes of the world. A man able to form such a clear and correct judgment on the facts of his own time was not likely to be a violent partisan. Nor was Sandys such. He had travelled in France and Italy, conversed with Jesuits, attended Catholic services, and had found much to approve as well as much to blame in Catholicism. A preacher of that charity which recognises and approves what is good in enemies, the dogmatism of Calvinism was exceedingly distasteful to him. Ceremonial in services he approved as tending 'to quicken and nourish reverence and 'devotion.' He did not doubt that the practice of confession was a benefit to many, though he dreaded its introduction into the reformed churches, because of the abuse to which he had observed it to be liable in Catholic countries. In short, Sandys, though a determined enemy of Rome, had a

* Prince Charles and the Spanish Marriage, ii. 61.

† Europæ Speculum, or a View or Survey of the State of Religion in the Western Parts of the World. 1629.

High Churchman's sympathy for many of the ceremonies and practices of that Church.

In such feelings Pym and Eliot did not share. Yet they were not Puritans, even in the modified sense of rigid or dogmatic Calvinists. In Eliot's nature there was nothing of the fanatic. He was a man eminently intelligent, eminently capable of discerning goodness under whatever guise of creed, and one whose range of friendship was wide enough to include alike the secular-minded Cotton and the pious though tolerant Bishop Hall. Pym even less than Eliot was a devotee to any particular form of faith. If he desired to put penal laws in force against Catholics or to silence the mouths of Arminians, it was not because he was thinking of the welfare of their souls or the falseness of their creed, but because he was thinking of the welfare of the State. Every utterance he made on the religious question from first to last of his long political career contains practically the same grounds of policy. 'He did not 'wish,' he said in the short Parliament of 1640, 'any new 'laws against popery, or any rigorous courses in the execu- 'tion of those already in force; he was far from seeking the 'ruin of their persons or estates; only he wished they might 'be kept in such a condition as should restrain them from 'doing hurt.'

It is not our purpose to endeavour to justify the policy adopted by the Commons in the first years of the reign of Charles I. We wish merely to render it more intelligible by bringing into notice motives which exerted a strong influence at the time, and to which no prominence whatever is given in Mr. Gardiner's book. We shall begin by tracing the gradual rise and formation of the High Church party.

Though the English Reformation was inaugurated and carried through by the sovereign, a glance at the Statute-book shows us that Parliament was the means by which the religious changes were in the main effected. After the year 1571, however, the Reformation having proceeded as far as Elizabeth cared that it should go, she interpreted her supremacy to mean that Parliament had no voice in ecclesiastical affairs. It followed that, as soon as the accord previously existing between sovereign, clergy, and laity began to give way, the queen's interpretation of the royal supremacy was contested.

The changes desired by the Commons may be divided into two classes. The first, the reform of abuses such as attached to the ecclesiastical courts and the system of pluralities and non-residence; the second, alterations in the Prayer-book. That abuses existed was a generally admitted fact, but it

was by means of Convocation, not of Parliament, that the queen wished reform to be made. The canons, however, which were passed for this purpose, like the orders of the Lord Chancellors, either applied ineffective remedies, or soon fell into abeyance. Archbishop Whitgift, who had to meet the complaints of the Commons, sharply rebuked the Bishops because so little was done. 'I would rather with 'severity reform an officer than hear these complaints, which 'in the end may turn to the scandal of our ecclesiastical juris-'diction.' On the question of alterations in the Prayer-book the queen would make no concessions. On the contrary, she made use of Convocation to prevent non-conformists from creeping into the Church. Canons were passed requiring subscription to the Articles generally (1571, 1575), and Whitgift demanded subscription on three points, the Royal Supremacy, the lawfulness of the Book of Common Prayer and the Ordination Service, and the truth of the Thirty-nine Articles. The Act of 1571, however, the last instance of Parliamentary interference, was understood to mean that the clergy should subscribe to those articles only which concerned the confession of the Christian faith and the doctrine of the sacraments. The consequences of two sources of legislation, not in union with one another, were at once apparent. Bills were brought into the Lower House to prohibit the use of any oath or subscription except according to statute; while ministers, doubtless acting on legal advice, refused to sign Whitgift's Articles, on the plea that the requirement could not be borne out by law.

Though Elizabeth would not allow Parliament to share in ecclesiastical affairs, she did not allow the Bishops any independent authority. They were merely her instruments to carry out her policy, and she never let them forget their position. She robbed the bishoprics; she issued commissions for hunting out concealed crown lands held by the clergy; she threatened to 'unfrock' the Bishop of Ely; she rated Whitgift for allowing the Lambeth Articles to be drawn up without her knowledge or consent. Such a galling dependence the Bishops preferred to bear rather than submit to the interference of statute law in ecclesiastical affairs; but their successors reaped the benefit of their submission and patience. The conception which James I. and Charles I. formed of the ecclesiastical supremacy was quite distinct from that held by Elizabeth. These princes were both religious in the sense that they could not with a safe conscience have robbed the Church of her lands to gratify a courtier's avarice. Bancroft and Laud never reminded them, as Whitgift in terror for church property reminded Elizabeth,

that there were statutes which pronounced a curse against the breakers of Magna Charta. In the hands of Elizabeth the ecclesiastical supremacy had been a weapon of offence by which to compel submission from the clergy to the royal will; in the hands of the Stuarts it became a shield of defence to preserve inviolate a church as sacred as the monarchy itself.

The theory of the divine right of episcopacy was not unknown during the last decade of the sixteenth century. It was evidently, however, not very compatible with the doctrine of the royal supremacy; and Elizabeth's Bishops did not venture to say in plain words that the powers they exercised had any other source than the crown. In Elizabeth's Council were to be found representatives of all parties, and the Bishops knew they had powerful enemies ever ready to seize an opportunity of bringing them into disfavour with their mistress. Thus, when Bancroft, in a sermon preached at Paul's Cross in 1588, said that Arius was condemned as a heretic for holding that there was no difference by the word of God between a priest and a bishop, Sir Francis Knollys, the Privy Councillor, accused the preacher of asserting by inference that bishops exercised authority *jure divino*, and of thereby denying the royal supremacy. Elizabeth had not been dead many years before the Divine Right of Bishops became an article in the creed of the higher classes of the clergy. To make amends for any injury done to the royal supremacy they adopted that inflated theory of the Divine Right of Kings, which taught that the monarch was above the control of law. The theories were dovetailed into one another, and for all that the King gave the Bishops, the Bishops made an ample return to the King. The consequence of this union was that James followed out the policy of Elizabeth only more consistently in yielding nothing to the Parliament, while he forsook her policy in allowing the Church to have a platform of her own and a spiritual existence independent of the royal will. He gained the support of a party amongst the clergy, but he lost the confidence of the country gentlemen and the lawyers.

When James came to the throne the term Puritan was no longer applicable to the House of Commons. For though still bent on the reform of abuses, the laity as a body had ceased to care about introducing alterations in the Prayer-book or in the system of Church government. Bacon, to whom Puritan preciseness, Puritan pride and exclusiveness, Puritan intolerance, even Puritan zeal, were all thoroughly distasteful, himself shared the views of the Lower House on the ecclesiastical question. He proposed to James that means

should be taken by Parliament to remedy the principal abuses complained of, and that some few concessions should be made in matters of ritual to satisfy the zealots. 'I would ask 'why the civil state should be purged and restored by good 'and wholesome laws made every third or fourth year in 'Parliaments assembled, and contrariwise the ecclesiastical 'state should still continue upon the dregs of time, and receive 'no alteration now for these five-and-forty years and more.' A policy which opened wider the doors of the Church and revived the action of Parliament might have borne noble fruits. But James had not the courage to carry it out. He was afraid of the Puritans, and he could not trust the Parliament. Drifting with circumstances rather than pursuing any settled principle, he took the reverse course. He urged on a fresh persecution of ministers who refused to sign to the truth of the Articles. The settlement of the religious question he left to Convocation, which under the guidance of Bancroft drew up a large body of canons. Of these some concerned ecclesiastical abuses; others more especially concerned the clergy; Whitgift's three articles were inserted, and ordination and preferment made dependent on subscription. The framers of the canons, however, did not stop at this point. Not content with legislating for the clergy, they proceeded to legislate for the laity also. Thus they declared excommunicate all who asserted that the Prayer-book or the Thirty-nine Articles contained anything superstitious or contrary to the word of God; all who denied that Convocation was the representative of the true Church of England, or that those who were not present in Convocation, laymen or clergy, were bound by its decrees in ecclesiastical causes. The sentence of excommunication, it must be remembered, incurred temporal penalties, for the excommunicated person could not enforce the payment of debts, and was liable to imprisonment. James ratified the canons, ordering them 'to be observed, executed, and equally 'kept by all our loving subjects,' and thus allowing the claim of Convocation to legislate with himself for the nation. The Commons met this challenge by a clear and decided statement of their view of the royal supremacy. 'In matters of religion,' they said to the king, 'it will appear by examination of the 'truth and right that your Majesty should be misinformed if 'any man should deliver that the kings of England have any 'absolute power in themselves either to alter religion (which 'God forefend should be in the power of any mortal man 'whatsoever), or to make any laws concerning the same, 'otherwise than in temporal causes by consent of Parliament.'

In 1606 Convocation again drew up a book of canons. Each canon was prefaced by a chapter of Bible history whence the doctrine which it contained was deduced. The government of the world, this book said, rested in the hands of Christ, its Maker. He appointed princes to rule over kingdoms as his deputies. He appointed ecclesiastical governors to rule particular churches. All authority, therefore, came from God, and the people had no authority to chose or withstand their rulers ecclesiastical or temporal. Obedience was due to princes, 'how evil soever they be, yea though they seek the lives of 'their subjects.' Neither government by one chief bishop, nor government by presbyters, was of God's appointment. Episcopacy was established by the Holy Ghost in the Apostles' time, and he only was a lawful minister who was ordained by a bishop. This was certainly a remarkable production when we consider its source. It related as much to the laity as to the clergy; it dealt as much with temporal as ecclesiastical matters. It was simply a political treatise enunciating with the voice of authority certain theories of government, and declaring all dissenters from its conclusions in error.

James had reasons for not approving all that was contained in the book, so that it escaped publication at the time. The Commons, however, to whom the canons of 1604 gave great offence, and who, of course, were aware of what kind of work Convocation was engaged upon, passed a Bill to restrain the execution of all canons that had not been confirmed by Parliament. The Bill met with the fate of others of its kind, and was rejected by the Upper House.

The attempts made by Convocation to legislate for the nation formed but one half of the quarrel between the Bishops and the Commons. Another cause of offence was found in the attempts made to extend the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts, and to free them of the control of the Common Law courts. The procedure of the High Commission, as well as its powers of fining and imprisoning, had brought it from the time of its first establishment into great odium with all professors of the Common Law. The use of the oath *ex officio*, requiring men to swear to answer truly any question asked, was attacked as of Romish origin and as being now illegal in England. To the defence of the civilians that the oath was already used in the Courts of Chancery and the Star Chamber, it was answered, that in both these courts a charge was exhibited before any oath was demanded, and the defendant was only examined on his oath concerning the charges contained in the bill of complaint. In the High Commission a

man was accused upon secret suggestion, and sworn to answer truly before he knew what he was to answer to. Large numbers of prohibitions had been issued by the Common Law courts while Elizabeth was on the throne. James' principles of church government did not lessen the rivalry between the two jurisdictions. The new theories of Divine Right were not very favourably received by the lawyers: for while the Church and the Prerogative were taken under the protection of the Divine power, the Common Law was left out in the cold to shift, as best it might, as a mere human institution. Both in and out of Parliament the lawyers offered a sturdy resistance to the growing pretensions of the new ecclesiastical party. The Judges shared the same feelings modified by their position; but even the strong tether of office did not restrain them from sending out prohibitions on every possible pretext. Bancroft brought under the notice of James a long string of complaints. The civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions, he argued, being now united *de facto* and *de jure* under the crown, were like two separate streams issuing from the same fount, and there was no longer any reason for the interference of the temporal courts with the ecclesiastical. Yet the Judges, under colour of interpreting statutes relating to ecclesiastical affairs, sought to make ecclesiastical causes matters of temporal cognisance. They, moreover, granted prohibitions on frivolous and false grounds, as because the case was neither testamentary nor matrimonial, or because the trial of custom on payment of tithes must be made in a temporal court. The powers of the High Commission itself were obstructed. Two persons, fined and imprisoned, had been let out of confinement, one by the King's Bench, the other by the Common Pleas, on the ground that the High Commission could proceed by ecclesiastical censures only. Another man had obtained a prohibition from the King's Bench upon the suggestion that he ought to have a copy of the articles before he could be called upon to answer them on oath. Why, Bancroft concluded by asking, should not excommunication be as freely put in use to defend the ecclesiastical jurisdiction as prohibitions to defend the temporal?

James was inclined to favour the views of Bancroft and the civilians; but no exercise of royal authority could bring the Judges to yield an iota of the claims of their courts. They drew up answers to the archbishop's complaints; and the Court of Common Pleas, by a series of decisions, resolved that in all cases the determination of what power the ecclesiastical judge can exercise belongs to the temporal judge; that all

Acts of Parliament, without exception, shall be expounded by the judges of the Common Law, and not by canonists and civilians; that the High Commissioners cannot fine or imprison except in cases of heresy or schism; that the High Commissioners ought not to have cognisance of scandal against themselves, because they are parties; that the ecclesiastical judge cannot examine a man upon his oath on the intention and thought of his heart, and if any man is so examined he is not bound to answer. And so long as a man does not offend either in act or word any law established, there is no reason that he shall be examined upon his thought, for, as it has been said in the proverb, 'Thought is free.'

However much, in these disputes, lawyers and civilians were actuated by the desire each to bring grist to their own mill, at the bottom the same question was at issue between the Bishops and the Judges as between the Bishops and the House of Commons. When the Bishops proposed that prohibitions should be granted by the Lord Chancellor, the Judges proposed that the dispute should be settled by an Act of Parliament. When Bancroft brought forward a canon to support his views, Coke told him that all canons contrary to Common Law, Statute Law, and Customs were void. A few years later a great effort was made to obtain from the Judges a recognition of the right of the High Commissioners to fine and imprison in other cases besides heresy and schism. Office had often a tempering effect on opinion, and James issued a new commission in which he inserted the names of Coke and six other judges. But the new commissioners one and all refused to take their seats in a tribunal which exercised, as they thought, illegal powers.

Amid the clash of contending jurisdictions professors of the Common and Civil Law were not disposed to place a very high estimate on each other's learning. Whitgift long since had made mention of the 'barbarous knowledge of the temporal 'lawyers, whose learning is no learning anywhere but here 'at home.' Civilians wrote books in defence of their courts and their law. There now arose on the side of the Common Law a foeman well worthy of his adversaries' steel. In the preface to his 'History of Tithes' John Selden assured his readers that he did not intend to enter upon the question whether tithes had been set aside for the priesthood by an immutable law of God. Such a question was better left to divines to deal with. His book was a mere narration and history of tithes. The work, however, he said, was not only taxed by mistaking its subject, but also in regard of its author.

'What has a Common Lawyer to do (so they murmur) with 'writing of Tithes, for by that name it pleases them to style 'me; and I must confess I have long laboured to make myself 'worthy of it.' After this graceful defence of his profession, Selden proceeded to show that his special studies had better fitted him to write a history of tithes than the special studies of the divine or civilian had fitted either of them. As far as the theory of the 'Divine Right of Tithes,' rested on an assumption of facts, Selden completely undermined it. He showed how, for four hundred years after the Christian era, there had been no payment of tithes; how their payment had afterwards arisen; how the theory of 'Divine Right' had gradually been formed, how it had been subject to various modifications and always contested. As far as the theory made no appeal to facts, but rested on the bare assertion of its holders that God had reserved tithes for the priesthood, Selden did not venture to express an opinion. Nevertheless the book roused a storm of indignation amongst the clergy, and Selden, in obedience to the requirement of the High Commission, set his hand to a submission expressing his regret for having furnished any argument against the 'Divine Right of Tithes.' The sale of his work was prohibited, and he was forbidden to reply to the answers of his numerous opponents. The suppression of Selden's book marks the rapid growth of ecclesiastical pretensions during James' reign. In 1618 a man might not assert as matter of history opinions which had been held by members of the English Church fifteen years previously. Hutton, Archbishop of York, writing to Whitgift, had said that in his opinion it did not in the least signify whether ministers were provided for by tithes or in any other way. Bacon, about the same time, made a like statement. Nor could it be said that there was the slightest revolutionary tendency in Selden's book. If, as the author remarked, the clergy rested their sole claim on *jus divinum*, disbelievers in that theory might say that tithes were not due at all. By basing their claim on law positive, he had given them the surest guarantee for their payment. But here it was in fact that Selden's chief offence lay. His clerical opponents preferred to rest their claims on Canon rather than on Common Law. In treating of Canons and Divine Right at all Selden had entered upon a 'question proper to a higher profession.' His book under the name of a 'History of Tithes' was also a history of the durance in which canons had been held by temporal laws. To all who knew history, he had said, 'it was clear by number-'less examples that the laity had limited the canon law, so that

'to argue from any old Church canon to practice was much like 'proving the practice of a custom from Plato's Commonwealth, 'or Aristophanes' City of Cuckoos in the Clouds.' Montague, in answering Selden, accused him of having two main ends in writing the book: the one to show off his learning, the other to bring all causes, in which the payment of tithes was a point in dispute, to the decision of the temporal courts. If Selden lowered the authority of canons by showing how temporal laws had disregarded them, Montague raised them above the Common Law by claiming for them Divine authority. Canons, he said, were the expression of the eternal and absolute law of the Highest. Though laws contrary to justice and right had crossed that which stood upon Divine Precept, this was no proof for the invalidity of canons. What men do is one thing, what they should do another. 'And though it be true that some Common Laws 'have in some countries opposed and torn canons down before 'them, I can make it good, and will do so if you put me to it, 'that canons have as often and in as main matters upon as 'good a right, overtopped and ruled the municipal laws in 'sundry kingdoms in temporal things.'*

The question at issue between the party which Selden and the party which Montague represented, was simply whether the nation was to be self-governed in ecclesiastical as in temporal matters, or whether it was to submit to the government of a Church, owning indeed the royal supremacy, but aiming at freedom of control from Parliaments and Law Courts. Such a difference of view was not to be easily bridged, and as soon as the nation should find cause of offence with divines of Montague's school, lawyers and country gentlemen were sure to be found in the foremost ranks of their enemies. It was the theology of the new party which aroused the antipathy of the populace. Many persons amongst the cultivated classes but more especially amongst the clergy had adopted a *via media* between the extreme views of Calvin and of Rome. The reaction taking place on the Continent in favour of Rome, the great interest bestowed on all theological questions, had necessitated a study of the Fathers in order that Roman Catholic writers might be answered from their own ground. That study had reacted on the minds of the students, causing them to take a more comprehensive and sympathetic view of the standpoint of their opponents. There was indeed no reason why room should not have been found in the Church both for Arminians and Calvinists. Both adhered to the Articles, and if these

* Diatribe upon the First Part of the late 'History of Tithes.' 1621.

were to be virtually re-written and narrowed to suit the views of either party, the progress of principles of toleration would be retarded by a distinctly backward step. The tendency of the age was on the side of the Arminians, and under favourable circumstances their theology might have gained ground even amongst the uneducated classes. This, however, was not to be. Causes combined to bring on a struggle between Arminians and Calvinists. In the first place, James' foreign policy, together with the advances Catholicism was making on the Continent, caused theology or ceremonies that had the smallest appearance of a Romish tendency to be regarded with aversion and suspicion by the nation. In the second place, the High Church party became definitely formed and began to play a definite part in politics. Men who upheld high sacerdotal doctrine, such as is found in the Convocation Book of 1606, rejected the personal religion of Calvin for the new theological tenets. James himself, who, as years passed on, had in all questions relating to Church and State been attracted to the side of the holders of the theories of Divine Right, was carried along with the stream, and adopted the theology that was now becoming distinctive of the same party. Men, again, who found that their views on questions of doctrine and Church government were not accepted by the nation, began, in all points at issue between the King and the Parliament, to take up a prominent position as supporters of the prerogative. The High Church party, therefore, could reckon on no friends in the House of Commons. Almost every member opposed them, either as theologian or lawyer or politician.

With the accession of Charles all possibility of compromise between Arminians and Calvinists was destroyed. James, in spite of the change in his own theological views, had to the last maintained a fairly neutral attitude between the two parties. His more narrow-minded son, with the spirit of a partisan, joined the side which supported him in politics. For his use was prepared a list of the names of clergymen, marked P. and O., signifying Puritan and Orthodox. He named a committee of five bishops, all High Churchmen, to decide whether Montague's 'Appello Cæsarem' was in accordance with the doctrine of the Church of England. Laud appeared by his side as the political leader of the High Church party, whose views, doctrinal and political, were forced in a most offensive manner upon the attention of the nation. The Calvinists were plainly told that they were intruders into the fold, and that the party now in power were the true interpreters of the Articles. Obedience to the commands of princes

was inculcated as the chief duty of subjects, and refusers of a forced loan were 'guilty of impiety, disloyalty, and rebellion.' Abbot, the Primate of England, for refusing to license a sermon containing these last tenets, was suspended and his jurisdiction handed over to four High Church bishops.

The Commons, in answer to this programme, attacked leading members of the High Church party as teachers of false doctrine and disturbers of Church and State. It was not, however, until the session of 1629 that they proposed in so many words to silence the whole body of Arminian preachers and writers. Shortly before the meeting of Parliament, Charles had published the Thirty-nine Articles with that Declaration attached to them which still stands in the Prayer-book. He virtually said to the Commons: You must admit that Parliament has no claim to interfere in the government of the Church; you must submit to any ritual observances Convocation imposes; you must accept any interpretation Convocation lays upon the Articles. On the other hand, we undertake to silence preachers and writers upon disputed points of doctrine, Arminians as well as Calvinists; but we offer you no guarantee that we will be impartial in our judgments. High Churchmen will judge offenders, and you must trust implicitly to their sense of justice. The Declaration was received by the Commons as a gauntlet of defiance. It was, indeed, exactly suited to knit firmly together the extremes of the Opposition. The mere politician, who might have acquiesced in a policy of silence on disputed points of doctrine, was offended with the claim of freedom from Parliamentary control made for the Church; the mere fanatic, to whom at the moment the suppression of false doctrine was the point of importance, was offended with what he took to be a proposal to silence his party and give liberty of speech to his opponents. Intended, as it probably was, to facilitate agreement between the King and the Parliament, this Declaration was as thoroughly unstatesmanlike a document as the hand of minister ever drew.

The Commons met it by denying that Convocation could impose doctrine or discipline upon the laity without consent of Parliament, and demanding that Arminian tenets should be suppressed and their holders discountenanced and ejected from high office in Church and State. It is easy to call this simply a policy of suppression of unpopular opinion, but the leaders of the Commons certainly would not have been content to describe it themselves as such. The suppression of Arminian doctrine undoubtedly was regarded by them as a

means for the preservation of liberty. Even a man so strongly influenced by religious feelings as Eliot always looked on the question from its political side. If he desired unity of religion, it was because he believed that the tenets of Roman Catholics and of Arminians alike were productive of injurious consequences to the State. Nor is it sufficient answer to say that the political views of the High Churchmen were not necessarily a result of their doctrinal tenets. This might or might not be the case, but at the time they were held by the same men, and the only way to suppress the one was to suppress the other. They were undoubtedly incompatible with free institutions. England was not short of men intelligent enough to foresee that if the crown might on every occasion of presumed necessity replenish an empty exchequer without asking the consent of the nation, Parliaments would in the course of time cease to be summoned, or if summoned meet merely to ratify royal decrees. The Constitution could not stand still; advance it must, either in the direction of an absolute monarchy or of a free government. Charles, therefore, might have no intention of subverting liberty, yet had he been permitted to govern on these principles and transmit them in security to his successors, the history of 'freedom slowly 'broadening down from precedent to precedent' must have been relegated to the Utopia of unfulfilled possibilities. Nor was there, we must remember, any question of moral suasion here. The preacher who had dared to assert, what hundreds were thinking, that the contributor to the forced loan was guilty of impiety to his God and treason to his country, would have paid the penalty of his boldness by a life-long imprisonment, if not a traitor's death. Need we wonder that the Commons sought to silence the preacher who informed his hearers that the king's demands could not be resisted without danger of eternal damnation, 'though every of those circumstances 'be not observed which by the municipal law is required'?

In addition to these purely political motives which might lead men who had no sympathy with the doctrinal views of the Calvinists to join with them in demanding the suppression of Arminians, there was further the strong aversion naturally felt by lawyers and country gentlemen to the principles of Church government maintained by the same party. The small degree of intellectual liberty the High Churchmen were willing to admit was not likely to counterbalance in the minds even of tolerant men the danger of putting the nation under the yoke of a clerical assembly. Selden doubtless had not forgotten the suppression of his 'History of Tithes' and the

uncourteous manner in which his opponents had replied to his arguments, while they forbade him to reply to their own. We think, indeed, that Mr. Gardiner is inclined to lay too much emphasis on the liberality of the High Church party. It was, no doubt, an advance that the range of dogmatism should be restricted, but at the same time it must be remembered that the toleration which they exercised had no kinship with that toleration which allows the free expression of opinions held to be false. They only allowed men to think for themselves on points on which *they* held that doubt was admissible. There was indeed nothing special to the Calvinists in the idea of silencing opinions held to be false or, in other words, unpopular opinions. The High Church minority held exactly the same idea. They could not conceive, Buckridge, Laud, and Howson wrote to Buckingham, what use there was 'of civil 'government in the commonwealth, or of preaching and external 'ministry in the Church, if such fatal opinions as some which 'are opposite and contrary to those delivered by Mr. Montague 'are and shall be publicly taught and maintained.' Their proposed compromise of silence on disputed points of doctrine was aimed solely at the suppression of Calvinistic dogma that was distasteful to themselves. Allowing that they could treat in an impartial manner preachers who disregarded the king's Declaration, the silence they imposed on their own pulpits was to them a matter of indifference, if not of advantage. The higher branches of theological teaching were, in their opinion, not fitted for a popular auditory. The people were to follow the guidance of their spiritual pastors, but not to take part in controversies too deep for their uninstructed minds. It must be remembered, moreover, that the High Churchmen were entire masters of the situation; for though numerically weaker, in position they were far stronger than the Calvinists. They were supported by the king, and practically all important ecclesiastical offices, not to mention civil offices, were at the king's disposal. The Court of High Commission, as well as the Star Chamber, was theirs to work in whatever manner they pleased. In short, had time as well as power and patronage been at their command, the policy they adopted was eminently suited for the advancement of their own views and the quiet eradication of Puritan doctrine.'*

Of course the House of Commons was the very reverse of

* The case of Samuel Ward before the High Commission is a good illustration of the manner in which the system of silence on doctrinal questions affected Puritan preachers. 'Calendar of State Papers,' Dom. Ser., 1635–1636.

a tolerant assembly. It was composed mainly of Calvinists, who had as little idea as their opponents of allowing the free expression of opinion which they regarded as erroneous. Yet it was with the House of Commons rather than with the Bishops that the hope of a more liberal policy in the future lay. For while Convocation was a clerical assembly representing the views of a small minority, the House of Commons was at least a lay assembly representing the views of the majority of the nation. When that majority was out of danger, it was possible that the Commons would cease to persecute the minority. From this point of view the attitude taken up by the Commons in 1641 is worth observing. Lawyers and statesmen then turned the weight of their indignation against the late system of church government. They attacked the ecclesiastical courts, the doctrine of the Divine Right of Episcopacy, the withdrawal of causes in which the clergy were interested from the ordinary temporal jurisdiction, the endeavours of some of the bishops to introduce a blind dependence of the people upon the clergy and of the clergy upon themselves, the political importance given to the clergy, their seats upon the benches at the sessions of the peace, their seats in the Star Chamber, their seats at the Council Board, the appropriation of the word 'Church' to Convocation, together with the claim of Convocation to make laws for the nation, illustrated as this had been by the canons of 1640, which imposed an oath on clergymen and, in some cases, on laymen, and required ministers to read four Sundays in the year at morning prayer certain statements concerning the Divine right of kings and the duty of passive obedience. On the other hand, the doctrinal question, which had aroused so much fervour twelve years earlier, received hardly more than a passing notice. At first we might suppose that while Laud had failed in gaining acceptance for his idea of conformity in ritual and his principles of Church government, he had yet succeeded in dulling the edge of the people's appetite for the discussion of disputed points of doctrine. But this was not the case. Though the most zealous Calvinists had left the country for New England, yet the flame of theological controversy burst out amongst preachers and people as strongly as ever. The cause why the suppression of erroneous opinion had become a matter of indifference to a majority of the House of Commons must be sought elsewhere. In 1628 and 1629 the free expression of Arminian doctrine was understood to imply the suppression of Calvinism, the introduction of new forms of ritual, the exclusion of Parliament from the entire

sphere of ecclesiastical matters, the spread of arbitrary principles of government in the State. In 1641, when the Commons took into their own hands the reform of the government in Church and State, imprisoned Laud and convicted Strafford of treason, Arminian doctrine lost its political significance, and its holders were no longer regarded as dangerous. Government in Church and State lost its political significance and its holders were no longer regarded as dangerous. Hence though dissent was unrecognised, no attempt was made to bind consciences over to the formulas of Calvinism. The wave of reaction, produced by the political position, had spent its force, and the tide again flowed in its natural direction. Arminian tenets made way, and gained converts amongst the opponents of episcopacy. It is curious to find Baxter complaining that he found in the sectarian army soldiers who 'vehemently de-'claimed against the doctrine of election and for the power of 'free will.'

The religious question was one chief cause of quarrel between Charles and the Commons. There was a second, which at the time was of hardly less interest or of less importance—that of taxation. The Commons, through dislike of the King's policy, refused to grant supplies, and Charles in consequence raised money without consent of Parliament. This led to the passing of the celebrated Petition of Right in 1628, which enacts 'that no man hereafter be compelled to make or yield 'any *gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or such like charge*, without 'common consent by Act of Parliament.' It has been ordinarily held that when the Commons passed this law they intended to render all taxation without consent of Parliament illegal. Mr. Gardiner does not hold this view. The special terms, he observes, to include customs duties, which Charles at the time was levying by prerogative, were not inserted. Further, the words 'tax or such like charge' could only have reference to inland taxation. 'It was notorious that the 'crown lawyers had for many years been arguing that a cus-'toms duty was something altogether different in kind from 'a "tax or such like charge," and therefore something which, 'as falling upon goods before their entrance into the kingdom 'or after their exit from it, could be imposed by the mere pre-'rogative of the crown.'* Are we then, he asks, to suppose that the popular lawyers were so ignorant as not to know the proper terms to include customs duties, or so stupid as to use a term of which the meaning was certain to be contested by

* England under Charles I. and the Duke of Buckingham, ii. 311.

the advocates of the crown? Accordingly Mr. Gardiner regards the appeal made by the Commons to the Petition of Right in their Remonstrance against the levy of customs without consent of Parliament, as a daring attempt to take up new ground which would place the right of their House above the decision of the Court of Exchequer, which in the previous reign had given the crown the right of levying customs by prerogative and had hitherto been contested in vain.

From this view we dissent in several important points. Before entering on the question it will be necessary to state shortly the three branches of duties levied at the ports in the time of James I. and the technical name for each branch.

I. *Customs.*—These were duties fixed at a stated sum. They comprised the *antiqua custuma*, duties on wool, woolfells, and leather, fixed by statute in the time of Edward I., and the *nova custuma*, duties which had originated in the time of Edward I. and Edward III., some being imposed by the crown, some being undertaken by merchant strangers. No special grant of these duties was made in the Tonnage and Poundage Acts.

II. *Subsidies*—These were duties granted to the king for life by a so-called Act of Tonnage and Poundage, passed at the beginning of each reign. They comprised (1) a subsidy of tonnage, as 3*s.* on every ton of wine; (2) a subsidy of poundage, as 12*d.* on the value of every 20*s.* worth of goods exported or imported with certain exceptions named; (3) additional subsidies on any special articles, as 33*s.* 4*d.* on every sack of wool.

III. *Imposts or Impositions.*—These were duties in addition to any of the former, imposed by the crown without consent of Parliament. All these duties were in general language sometimes called 'impositions,' sometimes 'customs.' Mr. Gardiner, speaking in modern language, of course calls them 'customs.' To avoid the ambiguity which would arise from using either 'imposition' or 'custom' in a double sense, we shall use the word 'port duties,' for the collective name of all three branches.

'Impositions' were comparatively modern. Mary had first laid impositions on a few articles of import. Elizabeth had continued them. In James' time their legality was disputed by Bate, a merchant who refused to pay an imposition on currants. The case was brought before four judges in the Exchequer and judgment was given in favour of the king (1606). After this James laid impositions on many articles of export and import. The question attracted the attention of the Commons,

and the decision of the judges was vehemently contested as bad law in the Parliaments of 1610 and 1614. Bills introduced into both these Parliaments to render impositions illegal did not pass, and in 1628, when the Petition of Right was framed, the power exercised by the crown of laying impositions was still a cause of quarrel between King and Commons.

No one, we suppose, will attempt to maintain, in the face of Mr. Gardiner's arguments, that the Commons intended to include the special question of port duties in the Petition of Right. If they had so intended, the special terms would undoubtedly be there. But admitting this, the question yet remains unanswered whether the Petition of Right was intended not merely as a law against loans and benevolences, but also as a general law against all unparliamentary taxation, and if so, whether the Commons could fairly appeal to it against the continued levy of port duties by prerogative. In stating our reasons for differing from Mr. Gardiner's conclusions on both these points we shall, in the first place, criticise his statement that the crown lawyers had for many years been arguing that a port duty was different in kind from 'a tax or such like 'charge.' We shall afterwards give a brief sketch of the chief arguments employed while James was on the throne for and against the right of the Crown to lay impositions. Thirdly, we shall show how when Charles came to the throne the whole question entered on a new phase; and lastly, we shall treat of the Commons' intention in framing the Petition of Right, and of Mr. Gardiner's charge that they took up new ground in saying that the raising of port duties not granted by Parliament was 'contrary to your Majesty's royal answer to their 'late Petition of Right.'

Mr. Gardiner's language implies that a port duty was supposed to differ in kind from an income tax or other inland charge in not falling on the consumer. But this certainly was not the case. The documents of the time give conclusive evidence that merchants, lawyers, and members of Parliament all knew as well as we do that the consumer paid in the last instance. Thus the Levant merchants in the time of Elizabeth begged that they might not be obliged to pay an imposition on certain currants which they had already sold without 'en-'hancing their price a penny.' The Commons, in a Petition of Grievances, complained to James that since the impositions had been laid on currants, the price to the subject had quadrupled. Baron Fleming, in giving judgment in Bate's case, said: 'The impost to him [the merchant] is nothing, for he 'rateth his merchandise according to that. The impost is

'imposed upon currants, and he who will buy them shall have 'them subject to that charge.'*

There was, however, a certain distinction recognised by the lawyers on both sides in the use of the terms 'tax' and 'imposition.' The more special term for an inland charge such as tithes or tenths was 'tax' or 'tallage'; the more special term for a charge on merchandise, 'custom' or 'imposition.' But the crown lawyers did not urge that the two differed *in kind* from each other; they argued merely that the law relating to the two was dissimilar; that while Acts of Parliament had deprived the king of power of imposing 'taxes in the 'land,' they had not deprived him of power of imposing 'im-'positions on merchandise.' On the other hand, imposition as a *general* term was undoubtedly applicable to inland charges, and 'tax' as a *general* term, was undoubtedly applicable to port duties. It was indeed often so used both by the crown and the popular lawyers. For instance, Baron Fleming, after saying that the king is to obtain relief for English merchants when oppressed by foreign princes, continues, 'and if he [the 'merchant] be not remedied thereby, then *lex talionis* shall be 'used, goods for goods, and *tax for tax.*' So Hakewell, in speaking of port duties in 1610, says: 'The merchant is not 'the man alone that is subject to *taxes*, and all other men 'free.' The following instances may serve to show that 'tax' was commonly employed in relation to port duties on occasions when the use of correct terms was a matter of moment. In a report of a case connected with the payment of port duties, in the thirtieth year of Henry VIII., we find the law stated as follows:—

'Customs for merchandise to be exported out of the realm is an inheritance in the king and by the common law, and not given by any statute. . . . And a *subsidy* is a *tax* assessed by Parliament and granted to the king by the Commons during the life of each king only, for the defence of merchants upon the sea.' †

* The same judge also said that he omitted the question whether the king could impose upon the subject or his goods. At the time when the impost was imposed, the currants 'were the goods of the 'Venetians, and not the goods of the subject, nor within this land, 'but only upon those which shall be after imported.' Fleming is, of course, here speaking not of the consumer but of the English merchant. This argument was never repeated, and with good reason, for it undoubtedly restricted the king's power of imposing to articles of import. 'State Trials,' ii. p. 390.

† Sir James Dyer's 'Reports,' 43 b. 'Les Reports des Cases,' by Sir John Davies, p. 9. The record showing that the *antiqua custuma*

In 1600 some English merchants trading to the Levant refused to pay impositions on wine, oil, and currants, which, as they averred, had previously been demanded only of aliens. Their goods were stayed and only restored upon their giving bond to pay such impositions as should be adjudged reasonable. The merchants drew up a list of reasons to lay before the Privy Council, showing cause why they ought to be released from their bonds without payment. In this document the impositions are constantly called taxes. Thus the merchants say:—

'With all humbleness and submission to authority they think there can be no *tax* lawfully imposed upon them being free merchants, natural subjects, unless the same be established by Act of Parliament or particular agreement of themselves, or at the least that it be beforehand expressly published by proclamation, or under her Highness's great seal, privy seal, or signet, that if any bring in such goods they shall pay such a *tax*.' *

The charter granted to the Virginian Company in 1609 authorises them to export all shipping, armour, &c. necessary for the said plantation,

'without yielding or paying *subsidy*, *custom*, or *imposition*, or *any other tax or duty* for the space of seven years . . . and that they shall be free of all subsidies and customs in Virginia for the space of twenty-one years, and from all *taxes and impositions* for ever, upon any goods or merchandises, either upon importation thither, or exportation from thence, into our realm of England, except only the five pounds per cent. due for custom . . . which five pounds per cent. only being paid, it shall be lawful for the said adventurers to export into foreign parts without any *custom*, *tax or other duty*, to be paid to us, our heirs, or successors.' †

In 1610, after the whole question had been thoroughly sifted, the House of Commons sent a Bill up to the Lords against Impositions. The Bill runs thus:—

'For that in former times divers good laws and statutes have been made to give merchants free liberty to bring into this realm their goods, wares, and merchandise, paying the customs, subsidies, and other profits thereof reasonably due, without any evil toll or charge; so that no custom or imposition should be taken but by the common assent of the realm, except the ancient *aides and taxes*, as by the said statutes appeareth; which notwithstanding of late years new *impositions, taxes and charges* are laid upon merchandise without the com-

had been fixed by statute in the third year of Edward I. was discovered by the popular lawyers in 1610.

* 'Cott. MSS. Titus iv. F. pp. 232–234.

† 'Hist. of Virginia,' Appendix. W. Stilts.

mon assent of the realm . . . may it please your majesty that no *tax, imposition, or charge* be at any time hereafter taxed upon any goods, wares, or merchandises, &c.' *

In 1621 James I. made a grant of Nova Scotia to Sir William Alexander. By colonists, who were subjects, might be transported

'omnes commoditates et mercimonia quæ iis videbuntur necessaria, sine alicujus *taxationis, custumæ, aut impositionis* pro eisdem solutione nobis vel nostris custumariis,' &c.†

In 1626 the Commons drew up a Remonstrance in which they complained to Charles I. that the subsidies of tonnage and poundage were still levied as in the time of his father, though not granted by Act of Parliament,

'as if there might be any *subsidy, tax, or aid* levied upon them without their consent in Parliament, or contrary to the settled laws of this kingdom.'

The chief arguments employed for and against the right of the crown to lay impositions in the Exchequer case in 1606 and the Commons' debates in 1610 are interesting, as showing the legal view of the question while James was on the throne. None of these, it will be observed, draw any distinction in kind between 'tax' and 'imposition,' while some are equally good for the imposition of inland charges as of port duties.

The crown lawyers had two main lines of argument. They argued first from law and precedent. The king's prerogative of imposing, they said, had always been recognised by the law, or rather was part of the law. 'Customs' must originally have been 'impositions,' and if 'customs' were now fixed at a certain sum, this did not deprive the king of the power still to lay impositions. The subsidies of tonnage and poundage were not granted to restrain the king's power to impose, but for the special purpose of maintaining a navy and guarding the seas; even when Acts of Parliament granted supplies on condition that the king should not lay impositions, they implied a power in him to do so. As a matter of fact there were many precedents of impositions which Acts of Parliament had never been able to restrain. To this the popular lawyers answered that customs had not originally been impositions, but were due to the king either by Act of Parliament or by Common Law. If by Common Law he had no more power to increase them than he had to raise the relief for an earldom or the fines for

* Parliamentary Debates in 1610, 162. Camden Society.
† Hazard, i. 241.

original writs. Yet what were impositions but an increase of customs under another name? If Edward I. and Edward III. had tried to raise impositions, Parliament had always interfered to prevent them. Their impositions, moreover, were no precedents for the present; those were raised in time of war and for a short period; these in time of peace, and declared due to the king, his heirs, and successors. Finally, allowing the king had originally power to impose, this power had been taken away by Acts of Parliament; and, as a matter of fact, from the time of Richard II. to that of Mary no king had ever attempted to lay an imposition.

The second line of argument held by the crown lawyers took higher ground. Shortly put, it was the argument of State necessity. Sir Edward Coke has left us the result of a conference held between himself, then Attorney-General, and Chief Justice Popham. After quoting various statutes intended to deprive the king of the power of laying duties on merchandise, he continues:—

'Upon all which and divers records which we had seen it appeared to us that the king cannot at his pleasure put any imposition upon any merchandise to be imported into this kingdom or exported, unless it be for the advancement of trade and traffic *pro bono publico* . . . for this is not against any of the statutes which were made for the advancement of merchandise, and of the statutes of Magna Charta, for the end of all such restraints is *salus populi*; and so in the case of currants which was now lately adjudged in the Exchequer. . . . And note for the benefit of the subject the king may make an imposition or toll within the realm to repair highways, bridges, and to make walls for defence, but then the sum imposed ought to be proportionable to the benefit; so the imposition for equality ought to be for the public good.' *

Amplified, Coke's and Popham's argument of 'necessity' took various forms. The king must be furnished to make defence in time of war, and may not be able to wait for a parliamentary grant. The ports belong to the king, and when he sees just occasion he may close them, and only reopen them conditionally. The king maintains a navy, and supports ambassadors for the good of trade, and he alone can know the charges to which he is thereby put. To these various arguments it was answered that equality between English and foreign merchants could be maintained as well by Act of Parliament as by prerogative; that in case of an offensive war, the king had time enough to obtain aid from Parliament; in case of an unexpected invasion, he could call on his subjects to serve at

* Reports, xii.

their own charge. If the king protected merchants in their trade, this charge was provided for by the Tonnage and Poundage Acts. It was true the king had the prerogative of restraint; he might shut up a port for a time, and refuse merchants passage for a time; but he had no power to restrain all merchants for all time. Yet this was what was inferred when it was said that the king had power to open the ports conditionally. Towns were the king's, so were highways, and in time of plague, or for other good reason, he might restrain passage along a highway or through the gates of a town. Might he therefore close the gates of London to all persons for all time, and demand a tax upon all goods brought into the city? This was to sell government, trust, and common justice. No man ought to be restrained in the exercise of his calling; and the merchant had as much right freely to plough the sea as the ploughman had to plough the land.

This second line of argument was sometimes put in stronger language, and carried to conclusions which were displeasing even to those who maintained a right in the crown to levy impositions. The king's absolute power, it was said, which he exercised by prerogative, was something quite superior to his ordinary power exercised in Parliament and in courts of justice. All questions relating to merchants, being matter of state and policy, fall within the scope of this absolute power; and hence, if the king sees good, he may lay duties on merchandise. The King of England, moreover, is as absolute as any other prince; and if he does not impose excises and other charges in the land, this moderation is not for lack of powers inherent in his crown. In answering these arguments the popular lawyers took equally high ground. The king's sovereign power, they said, was exercised in Parliament; any other power he possessed was inferior to this, and therefore to be controlled by Acts of Parliament. It was not true that matters relating to merchants were beyond the scope of the positive law of the realm; if it were true, how came it that Bate's case had been adjudged by the Common Law judges.

With the accession of Charles I. the whole question entered on a new phase. James did not levy the subsidies of tonnage and poundage in right of the Exchequer decision, but in right of an Act of Parliament which had granted him those duties for life. Charles levied, under the names of 'subsidies, customs, and imposts,' all the duties which had been paid to his father, without receiving any grant from Parliament; that is, as impositions in the technical sense of the term. The question at once arises, Had he any legal judgment in his favour

for doing this? Baron Clerk, in giving judgment in Bate's case in 1606, said: 'As to that which was objected that the 'defendant had paid poundage granted by the statute of the 'first of the king, that is nothing to this purpose; for that is a 'subsidy and not a custom;* for when any imposition is 'granted by Parliament, it is only a subsidy, and not a 'custom, for the nature thereof is changed.' 'That,' said Baron Fleming, 'which is given by Parliament is not an im-'post but a subsidy.' In the fifth year of James' reign the Attorney-General of Ireland exhibited an information against the corporation of Waterford for using for their own purposes the great and small customs. Besides the special points at issue, the general question was taken into consideration, what manner of duties customs and subsidies were, their origin and their difference. Customs were declared to be duties upon merchandise, certain and perpetual, an inheritance of the crown; subsidies to be duties payable upon merchandise exported and imported, granted by Parliament. Imposts or impositions were divided into two classes; 1st, such as were rare and assessed by Parliament, and then took the nature of subsidies; 2nd, such as were imposed by prerogative royal to support the necessary charges of the crown.† It is certain, therefore, that Charles was not acting within the letter of the law, nor does it appear that the crown lawyers relied on the judgment given against Bate to maintain the right of the crown to raise subsidies ungranted by Parliament. In his commission of 1626 for the collection of port duties, as well as in his Declaration published after dissolution of Parliament in 1629, Charles is made to rest his claim to those duties on the necessity of his having the means to defend the seas and the practice of his predecessors, who had been accustomed to levy them by prerogative until they received a grant from Parliament. In 1629, the Attorney-General brought an information against four merchants for refusing to pay 3*s.* 4*d.* imposi-

* The word seems here used simply in opposition to a parliamentary grant.

† Le case del customes payable pur merchandises. Les Reports des Cases, by Sir John Davies. In his history of the Rebellion, Book III., Clarendon remarks that the Tonnage and Poundage Act of 1641 not only 'declared against any power in the crown of levying tonnage and 'poundage'—a revenue which he admits 'was not legally vested in the 'king till an Act of Parliament'—'but also any power of imposi-'tion upon any merchandises whatsoever, and in any case whatsoever, 'which had the countenance of a solemn judgment in the Exchequer 'Chamber.'

tion and 1*s.* 6*d.* subsidy per hundredweight upon currants. In support of the king's claim to the *imposition*, he pleaded the judgment given against Bate; in support of the king's claim to the *subsidy*, he pleaded the Tonnage and Poundage Act of the first year of James' reign, as also the fact that Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, Elizabeth, and James I. had received subsidies of Tonnage and Poundage without opposition from the time of their accession until a life grant was made in Parliament. The merchants pleaded in answer that the tax of 3*s.* 4*d.* was not set by consent of Parliament but by the late king's letters patent, which was against the laws of the realm; that as to the judgment mentioned in support of the tax of 3*s.* 4*d.*, they were not bound by it, because they had not been parties; that the Tonnage and Poundage Act of James had granted the subsidy of 1*s.* 6*d.* for the life of the late king only, and that the duty could not now be raised except by Act of Parliament.*

The distinction between subsidy and imposition seems, no doubt, exceedingly technical. If Charles might raise port duties by prerogative, it mattered little under what name he raised them. Then, however, the distinction must have seemed less technical than now. Impositions on a large scale were too novel to have already had the effect of making the nation regard the passing of a Tonnage and Poundage Bill as a mere formality. Besides, law in itself is technical. Ship-money and inland subsidies were both levied on real and personal estate, yet surely Charles would not have been acting within the letter of the law if, relying on the decision of the Judges in Hampden's case, he had levied subsidies by prerogative. Mr. Gardiner's position really is, that it was legal for Charles to levy tonnage and poundage without consent of Parliament on the strength of a judgment in which it had been distinctly laid down that subsidies were not impositions because they were parliamentary grants.

It was, we imagine, open to the Judges to have extended the law and declared the king entitled to subsidies as well as impositions. This, however, would have been a somewhat bold course for them to adopt, and so far as our knowledge extends they never ventured upon it. Their decision in the case of merchants refusing to pay duties on currants carefully avoided touching the question of the king's right to subsidies. Bate, who first brought the question to trial at law in 1606, had paid

* Court of Exchequer. 'Bills and Answers, London and Middlesex, 'Charles I.,' No. 498. The merchants' names were John Cordall, James Traves, John Langham, Humphrey Browne.

without opposition 1*s.* 6*d.* subsidy, but had refused to pay 5*s.* 6*d.* imposition. Judgment having been given against him, merchants were required to pay in all 7*s.* duty per hundredweight. James, however, not long afterwards lowered the imposition to 3*s.* 4*d.*, so that subsidy and imposition together amounted only to 4*s.* 10*d.* The Judges decided that so long as the judgment against Bate was in force, they must continue the king in possession of the same imposition as had then been adjudged due to James. The whole sum was 5*s.* 6*d.*; yet because this was not required of other merchants but only 4*s.* 10*d.*, the defendants were to pay after the same rate.*

It is easy to see why Charles did not entrench himself behind the Exchequer decision and levy all duties as impositions. Such a course would have been incompatible with the attempt which he did make to govern by means of Parliaments. Had no principle been involved, yet the conversion of the old parliamentary grant into a royal imposition would have aroused an overpowering opposition from the mere conservative instincts of merchants and lawyers; while even members of the Commons who upheld the claim of the crown to levy impositions could hardly have regarded the change otherwise than an insult to the Parliament. Charles indeed never proposed to enter upon such a revolutionary course as to abolish the grant of tonnage and poundage. He would gladly have passed a Bill, if the Commons would have given him for life all the duties he was actually levying, without in any way questioning the prerogative of imposing or interfering with the Book of Rates.† This, however, was to ask too much. For though at this time the Commons might have made a life grant, merely legalising the impositions and containing no explicit statement

* This order was first made against Samuel Vassal, but it was repeated in the cases of Langham, Browne, and other refusers. Possibly the information against Vassal was only for 5*s.* 6*d.* imposition, but judging from the 'Exchequer Decrees and Orders' it was identical with that exhibited against the other merchants. In Hyde's speech in 1641 we see the interpretation laid upon this order at a time when the popular lawyers wished to increase the weight of the charges against the impeached judges by making out that they had given the king Tonnage and Poundage as well as Impositions. 'Rushworth,' vol. iii. part 1, 335–343; 'Exchequer Decrees and Orders. Charles I.' Vol. viii. f. 186, 270, 319; vol. ix. f. 31; vol. x. f. 324; vol. xi. f. 111.

† Impositions and subsidies were generally so much in the pound on the value of the goods taxed. Mary first published a Book of Rates. James raised the rates considerably. In Charles' time many complaints were made of their inequality.

of right, their terms were a resettlement of the rates in their own House and according to their own satisfaction.* After the passing of the Petition of Right, finding that Parliament was to be shortly prorogued, they offered the king a Tonnage and Poundage Bill for a year, which he refused. They next proposed that Parliament should be adjourned and not prorogued, then the Bill, which they would pass at the next session, would take effect from the first meeting of the Parliament and give a retrospective sanction to all duties levied since that time. To this request also Charles refused to accede. He required the House to pass a life Act immediately without resettling the rates, or to consent to the continued levy of port duties by prerogative. The Commons refused to accept either alternative. Laying aside the Tonnage and Poundage Bill, they drew up a Remonstrance, in which they said that the receiving of tonnage and poundage and other impositions not granted by Parliament was a breach of the fundamental liberties of the kingdom and contrary to the Petition of Right. If the Petition was intended merely as a law against loans and benevolences, this appeal is doubtless rightly characterised by Mr. Gardiner as a daring attempt to take up new ground. If, on the contrary, the aim of the Petition was to render illegal all taxation without consent of Parliament, the Commons could not have left the appeal unmade, without retreating from the position they had before held and being consenting parties while Charles sapped the foundations on which the new law rested. The cause why they had not included the special question of port duties in the Petition is sufficiently obvious.† A Tonnage and Poundage Bill was

* The entries in the Commons Journals show the opposite views of the King and the House on this point. See under dates 7th, 9th, 11th April; 17th, 19th, 21st May, 1628.

† Mr. Gardiner asks whether we are to believe that the lawyers did not know that 'subsidy, custom, and impost' were the proper terms to exclude 'impositions.' We object to this use of language. 'Impositions' and 'customs' were words used for port duties generally. But 'subsidy' was not a proper term for 'imposition' in the technical sense of a duty levied by prerogative. 'Custom' may occasionally be used in that sense, but strictly the word meant those duties which were levied under the name of 'customs.' It is clear from the resolutions of the Commons in 1641 that the past collection of 'customs' was not reckoned illegal, although no Tonnage and Poundage Act had been passed. 'Journals,' ii. p. 163. The words used in the Acts of 1641, after Charles had been levying all duties without a parliamentary sanction, does not prove that 'custom' and 'subsidy' were proper

actually before the House, and the special question was left to be dealt with there. Could they indeed have foreseen that Charles would require them to pass a life Act in a week, the omission would be simply inexplicable. The readiness with which they passed the Subsidy Bill of itself, however, shows that they were not contemplating a second struggle with the king. Nor need we wonder at their confidence. Charles had practically given his word to the country that an Act should pass this session. After the dissolution of the last Parliament, he had issued a commission for the continuance of the collection of port duties, in which he set forth at some length the causes which obliged him to levy them without consent of Parliament, and stated that the collection must continue 'until 'such time as by Parliament as in former times it may receive 'an absolute settling.'* Now Charles must have known in what sense the Commons would interpret the words here used. If by an 'absolute settling' he meant no more than a life Act hurried through the House in a week without the resettlement of the rates, he had better have said as much. He seems already to have entered on that course which was afterwards to prove so fatal to him. He thought to gain future advantages for himself by wrapping up his meaning in ambiguous terms, and allowing his opponents to hope for more than he intended to yield. All that he ever gained was the distrust of his Parliaments and his people.

With what intent then was the Petition of Right framed? It was without doubt intended not merely as a law against loans and benevolences, but as a law against all unparliamentary taxation. It was framed on the broad basis 'that the 'ancient and undoubted right of every freeman is that he 'hath a full and absolute property in his goods and estate.' It was held to be a revival of Magna Charta and other statutes of the Plantagenet period, guarding the liberties of the subject, which kings of the houses of Tudor and Stuart had broken through. Not only is this its recognised purpose in the Commons' debates,† but the same is summed up in the preamble of

words to exclude 'impositions.' Neither term is found in the enacting clauses of the Bill against impositions drawn up in 1610.

* Rymer, xviii. 737.

† Mr. Gardiner observes that in the debates on the Petition of Right the question of port duties was rarely mentioned. This fact of course shows that there was no intention of including the special question; it is no proof that the Petition was not intended as a law against taxation without consent of Parliament. It is no doubt correct to say, as Mr. Gardiner does, that the Tonnage and Poundage Bill was postponed

the Petition itself. The Petition opens by quoting part of the statute *De Tallagio non concedendo*, that no tallage or aid should be levied by the king or his heirs without consent of Parliament, and thus continues: And by authority of Parliament holden in 25 Edward III. it is decreed, that no person should be compelled to make any loans to the king against his will, and by other laws that none should be charged by any charge or imposition called a Benevolence, 'by which statutes 'afore-mentioned and other the good laws and statutes of this 'your realm, your subjects have inherited this freedom: *That 'they should not be compelled to contribute to any tax, tallage, 'aid, or other the like charge not set by common consent in 'Parliament.*'

'Aid' was a general word used constantly and undisputably for port duties, while the statute *De Tallagio non concedendo* was one of those on which the popular lawyers mainly relied to support their view of the illegality of levying port duties by prerogative. On what grounds then is it to be said that the Commons intended to exclude an entire branch of taxation from the purview of the Petition and thus give to the statute *De Tallagio* and the general terms they employed a far narrower meaning than these were ordinarily held to have? A general term for port duties which was not at the same time a term for inland charges they could not have inserted. There was no such term in use.

In addition to the absence of special terms and his interpretation of the word 'tax,' Mr. Gardiner relies on what seems to us very insufficient evidence in support of his view that the language of the Petition did not cover port duties, namely, that in the case of Chambers in the Exchequer Chamber in 1629, his counsel did not appeal to the Petition. But what does an isolated case of this description show? Merely that the pleaders shrank in the interest of their clients from pleading the Petition of Right. And justly so; the first duty of the advocate is the interest of his client, and they must have known that the surest way to lose their case would be to plead the Petition of Right apart from the possible consequences of fine or imprisonment which it might entail upon themselves. Charles' speech at the prorogation of Parliament in June 1628, in which he denied that the question of port duties was included in the Petition, had been printed and dispersed over the

---

because of the pressure of other business, but this statement must not be understood to mean that the question of port duties was forgotten, or did not occupy a very considerable share of attention. The Commons' Journals give ample evidence to the contrary.

country. 'I command you all,' he had said, 'to take notice of 'what I have spoken at this time to be the true intent and 'meaning of what I granted you in your Petition; but especi- 'ally you, my lords the Judges, for to you only under me belongs 'the interpretation of laws.' In November 1626, Chief Justice Crew had been dismissed from office because he refused to acknowledge the legality of a forced loan, and there could be little doubt that after this example the Judges would follow their instructions. We have indeed met with evidence for believing that it was not the question of law which deterred the merchants' advocates from pleading the Petition of Right. The answer to the information of the Attorney-General in the case of the four merchants before referred to, recites the statute *De Tallagio*, and the 25 Edward III., as in the Petition of Right. It then continues: 'By which the statutes before 'mentioned and other the good laws and statutes of this realm, 'his Majesty's subjects have inherited this freedom: *That* '*they should not be compelled to contribute to any tax, tal-* '*lage, aid, or other like charge not set by common consent in* '*Parliament.*' After this quotation follow four or five lines through which a pen has been drawn for the most part in a very effectual manner. The first words, however, we were able to decipher; they ran as follows: 'And whereas in the 'Parliament holden in the third year of his Majesty's reign that 'now is, a Petition was exhibited by the Lords spiritual and 'temporal, and Commons in that present (?) Parliament as- 'sembled, concerning divers rights——' By whose hand was this appeal struck out? If by counsel's, we can hardly suppose that any question of law was the motive, when the pleading left standing was taken almost word for word out of the preamble of the Petition. In fact, though not named, the Petition of Right was pleaded.

Allowing, then, that the Commons had no intention of including the special question of port duties in the Petition of Right, we hold that they did intend to lay down a general law against all taxation without consent of Parliament. Hence when they appealed against the continued levy of port duties by prerogative, they were but endeavouring to maintain the position which the Petition had been intended to assure them. Nor can their appeal fairly be characterised as an attempt to set the right of their House above the Exchequer decision. In the first place, that decision had not given the crown the right of levying subsidies by prerogative; in the second, the Commons were appealing to a law which had been aimed at all taxation with out consent of Parliament, which had been passed since the Exchequer decision, and had not been interpreted against them.

It happens that we are not left quite in the dark even on the question as to how far port duties were considered to fall within the purview of the Petition by legal authorities of that time. When Hampden's case was tried, Sir Robert Berkley defined a 'tax' as a 'tenth,' a 'fifteenth,' or a 'subsidy,' and said that ship-money did not fall within the meaning of any of the terms used in the ancient statutes or in the Petition of Right.* Chief Justice Finch, speaking on the same side, said that the Petition was intended merely as a law against loans.† On the other hand, Sir George Croke, who gave judgment in favour of Hampden, contended that the king was restrained by statute law from levying money by prerogative for defence of the realm; and he finally came to the Petition of Right, 'which is,' he said, 'a full and perfect statute, showing in this point the liberty of the kingdom, prayed and allowed, which was not done without advice of the Judges, whereof I was one, whose opinions were then demanded and resolved, that the same did not give any new liberty, but declared what the liberty of the subject was in this amongst others, that they should not be compelled to contribute to any tax, tallage, aid, or other the like charge not set by Parliament.' Clearly, Croke interpreted the Petition to be a revival of all the old statutes, and had the case come before him and he been of the same mind and heart as when he gave this judgment, he must have allowed that the levy of port duties had been rendered illegal as well as the imposition of ship-money without consent of Parliament. 'I do conclude,' he says, in another report of his judgment, 'that no charge can be imposed upon the Commons without their consent in Parliament. We that are judges must go according to the intention and meaning of those laws. The meaning of the laws in this kind was that *no manner of charge, aid or tax* should be laid upon the subject but by consent in Parliament. The judges are to expound them according to their intention.'‡

We believe that Croke truly expounded the Petition of Right according to the intention of the Commons. It is another question whether Finch and Berkley truly expounded it according to the intention of the king. With all deference to Mr. Gardiner, we cannot help thinking that in this instance, in his endeavour to do justice to Charles, he has failed to place before his readers a true representation of the standpoint of the Commons.

* State Trials, iii. 1095. † Ibid. 1237. ‡ Ibid. 1134.

ART. V.—1. *Richard Wagner and the Music of the Future: History and Æsthetics.* By FRANZ HUEFFER. London: 1874.

2. *The Music of the Future: a Letter to M. Frederick Villot.* By RICHARD WAGNER. Translated from the original German by E. DANNREUTHER. London: 1873.

3. *History of Music from the Christian Era to the present Time; in the form of Lectures.* By FREDERICK LOUIS RITTER, Professor of Music at Vassar College. London: 1876.

4. *Rienzi, der Letzte der Tribunen: grosse Tragedie Oper in 5 Acten.* Von RICHARD WAGNER. Dresden.

5. *Tannhaüser: a Romantic Opera in Three Acts.* By RICHARD WAGNER. Edited and translated into English by NATALIA MACFARREN. P. F. score. London.

6. *Lohengrin: a Romantic Opera in Three Acts.* By RICHARD WAGNER. Edited by BERTHOLD TOURS, and translated into English by NATALIA MACFARREN. P. F. score. London.

7. *Der Ring des Nibelungen: ein Bühnenfestspiel für drei Tage und einen Vorabend* (viz.: *Der Rheingold—Die Walküre—Siegfried—Götterdämmerung*): *im Vertrauen auf den deutschen Geist entworfen und zum Ruhme seines erhabenen Wohlthäters des Königs Ludwig II. von Bayern vollendet Von* RICHARD WAGNER. Vollständige Partitur. Mainz, Brüssel, Paris, London, und Leipzig.

8. *Tristan und Isolde: Oper in 3 Acten.* Von RICHARD WAGNER. Vollständiger Klavierauszug von HANS VON BÜLOW. Leipzig.

THE history of Art—using the word in its widest sense—is in the main the history of certain epochs of creative energy, manifested now in one, now in another form or medium of expression, each of which has proved the birth-period of some one of the 'Fine Arts,' or at least the occasion of its highest typical development. Such were the periods when the Greek artist embodied his ideal in sculpture which has formed the highest model of excellence for all aftertime; when architecture arose as the expression of the religious aspiration of the mediæval mind; when painting became the great power and pride of the Italian life of the Renaissance. Such epochs are usually of comparatively short duration; nor can they, as far as all past analogy teaches, be arbitrarily initiated,

prolonged, or revived. The circumstances which led to the employment, at a given period, of a special medium of expression may be partly traced, but the creative impulse itself is beyond the reach of analysis. We can hardly assign any definite reason for the display at one time of such prodigality and power in some special branch of artistic creation, while a succeeding age of perhaps greater intellectual culture can produce with the same means nothing bearing the impress of originality or inspiration; but it would almost seem as if the discovery of a new and untried medium of expression were itself the most powerful stimulus to artistic creation, while after its development up to a certain point that stimulus ceases to operate, and a period of decay and stagnation inevitably follows. The art productions of such a period are permanent possessions —*κτήματα ἐς ἀεί*—but the power of reproducing their like is not bequeathed with them; and the subsequent continuation or revival of the same form of art is always, by comparison, tentative in process, uncertain in aim; the result of self-conscious effort and critical method, in place of the undoubting, uncontrollable impulse of the season of original creation.

Thus, of all the forms of art practised in the present day, there is but one which is the result of an impulse and feeling peculiar to the modern period, and having no reference to precedents of a former age. Music is the offspring of the latest springtide of creative energy, which has reached its height, we may almost say, within the experience of men of the present generation. It is true that in a certain sense the pedigree of the art may be traced further back than such an observation would suggest. Without counting the echoes of popular or of religious song which reach our ears faintly from more remote periods, we have the solemn interwoven harmonies of the school of Palestrina, and the part songs and madrigals which gave a sober gaiety to the festivities of old English homes. But music has run a new and great career since Milton invoked the 'Sphere-born harmonious sisters, Voice 'and Verse.' Not to speak of the extension of their combined triumphs in Oratorio and (with certain limitations to be hereafter considered) in Opera, it has been long since discovered that the younger sister was not dependent on the elder—that music had her own language and her own utterances apart from poetry, and had strength and resources for pursuing her own independent course. Commencing with forms of composition appealing rather to the reason than the fancy of the listener—with expositions of the logical elaboration of themes according to a prescribed form and in direct

reference to a scientific basis—instrumental music has gradually invaded the realms of sentiment and imagination, has extended and amplified her forms of expression, and called to her aid new resources in the tone-colouring afforded by the *timbre* of her various organs of speech, till in the Symphony, as developed by Beethoven, we have some of the deepest and most intense expressions of poetic feeling which have ever stirred the hearts of mankind. After such a triumph an anticlimax was inevitable; and though we can by no means say that the poetic fire has been quenched—though new and genuine voices have spoken to us since then, if not with the same deep pathos, yet in tones which have the touch of original genius—we cannot expect but that music, following the analogy of all previous forms of art-creation, should 'have its winter, too, of 'pale misfeature;' nor can we shut our eyes to the signs that we are passing from the great period of spontaneous musical art into the literary and self-conscious phase which usually marks the decline of an art; the period of weighing and criticising, defining principles and aims, which has never hitherto been largely indulged in until the minds of men, set free from their absorbing interest in the production of great works, have been at leisure to regard their art as a subject for speculation and theorising. If, however, we find the present crisis in musical art characterised by this peculiarity, that these very critics themselves proclaim the decease of music in regard to its hitherto accepted forms, while they point to a composer who promises to give renewed and even higher life to the art by leading its streams into a new channel; if this musical prophet bases his claims not only on critical writings displaying, in spite of some bigotry and one-sidedness, a distinct and in some respects a consistent theory, but upon compositions of the most ambitious character in regard to scale and elaboration; if these compositions have found acceptance with a considerable and apparently increasing public; such a claim certainly merits serious and impartial consideration from all who are interested in the art, more especially at a juncture when the subject seems, for the time at any rate, to have laid hold of the public mind in this country to an extent which a few years since would certainly not have been anticipated.

It is not very easy for English critics on Wagner to obey the usual recommendation from the Bench to the jury, and to 'dismiss from their minds all they have previously heard 'in regard to the case.' The composer was for many years heard of in this country only as a kind of impracticable musical madman. We learned incidentally how Herr Wagner

had determined to extinguish operatic 'stars' and put down melody; how he was his own poet; how he kept a king to pay for the performance of his operas. Peripatetic English critics who had sat through performances of operas on the new system, brought home pathetic accounts of the manner in which they had been wearied—'insulted' was the word used in one case—by combinations of sound without tune, offered to their unwilling ears as 'music.' An engagement to act as conductor of the London Philharmonic Society, which it was supposed might receive some fresh impetus from what was certainly regarded as a sensational appointment, at one time brought Herr Wagner temporarily into direct relation with the musical world of England. The connexion was short; the Society and their conductor mutually failed to appreciate each other, and the latter shook the English dust from his shoes without having done anything to convince the insular Philistine of his claim to be regarded as the great musical light of the day. It is only during the last two or three years that, owing mainly to the exertions of the composer's allies among what may be termed the Anglo-German musical colony in this country, it has been admitted that there is at least more method in Wagner's madness than had been supposed, and that at all events, whether right or wrong, he and his friends are determined that he should be heard. In spite of the violent and almost rabid partisanship of the latter, however (which has made almost as many enemies as friends to the cause), we should probably have waited a good many seasons longer for an opportunity of hearing any one of his works in England, but for the conviction, occurring as it would seem simultaneously to the managers of our two great theatrical establishments, that Wagner could be made to 'pay;' a consideration which of course operated like magic, and we had the spectacle of two rival 'houses' each playing Danaë to the golden shower, and crowds struggling for places to hear what a few years before would have been scouted as an absurdity. It is not our purpose here specially to review 'Lohengrin,' which thus became the fashionable excitement of the last operatic season. We are concerned rather with the general principle and tendency of Herr Wagner's theory and practice in the art, of which the work in question is hardly a typical development, and which infers a more radical and extended *bouleversement* of orthodox notions on music than was suspected, probably, by the majority of the thousands who went to hear what they regarded as merely a new form of opera. It may be most convenient, however, to examine Herr Wagner's

position as an operatic reformer in the first instance, before glancing at the wider bearing of the theory of music which he wishes the world to accept as the future basis of the art.

Musical drama, commonly called opera, is a form of art which has not been much in the odour of sanctity. Its logical basis, as a combination of poetry and music, has been little considered; and while the opportunities it presents for brilliant climax of musical and spectacular effect have made it always a favourite entertainment with the wealthier section of the mob (using the word in Fielding's sense), by the minority who take their pleasure thoughtfully it has usually been regarded, in England especially, as an illicit union of music and drama, greatly to the dishonouring of the latter; and our literature, from Swift and Addison to Thackeray, abounds in gibes on the subject, intensified perhaps by the lack of musical organisation and sympathy in the English literary mind since the Elizabethan era. But even in Germany, where opera has always ranked more as an art and less as a mere entertainment than with us, there has been a frequently recurring dissatisfaction amongst thoughtful critics with the one-sided principle on which the marriage of music with not very immortal verse has been carried out, and which is curtly summed up by Wagner in his definition of the popularly accepted idea of opera as 'a tightly-built scaffolding 'of musical forms, to which the poetry was to conform.' In other words, the primary object of opera having usually been to give opportunity for brilliant or passionate musical expression, with whatever additional effect could be contributed by spectacle and by free action on the part of the singers (which latter is a more important element in the effect of declamatory singing than is sometimes recognised), the result came to be that the musician had it all his own way (always with due submission to the singers), the story and situations being regarded merely as furnishing the needful opportunities for composer and singers to display their respective powers. As it was not to be expected that any dramatic poet of genius would move in these shackles, operatic *libretti* afforded in general only too good an excuse for the ridicule of the English critics before mentioned —for the sarcasm of Voltaire, '*Ce qui est trop sot pour être* '*dit, on le chante*'—for the contemptuous wonderment expressed by Goethe at the 'arrangement in some people's natures' by which they were enabled to enjoy beautiful music, though illustrating a miserable subject—for such a more serious and detailed arraignment of opera as that quoted from a German critic of the last century by Professor Ritter, whose two lectures on Opera, forming the fourth and eighth chapters in his lectures on the

'History of Music,' should be read by those who are interested in the subject:—

'In that extraordinary spectacle to which the Italians have given the name of *opera*, there is to be found such a mingling of the great and the small, the beautiful and tasteless, that I hesitate in what terms to write about it. In the best of operas, we see and hear such stupid and trivial things, that we might think them only calculated for children, or for a childish populace; and in the midst of their revolting silliness, passages occur that pierce the heart with horror, fear, pity, or refined voluptuousness. A scene during which we have forgotten ourselves, and felt the liveliest interest in the characters, is followed by one in which the same characters strike us as blundering fools, awkwardly trying to astonish and alarm a vulgar crowd. While we cannot bear to recall the senselessness which has disgusted us in the opera, we cannot help remembering its charming scenes with emotion, or without wishing that artists would unite to make of this great spectacle that perfect thing which it is capable of becoming. The opera might be the most powerful of all spectacles, because all the fine arts unite in it; but it is a proof of the superficiality of the moderns that they have lowered, and exposed to contempt, all these arts.' (*Sulzer: Theorie der schönen Künsten.*)

These words are the more significant, inasmuch as the writer of them was nearly contemporary with Gluck, who, as most of our readers must be aware, occupied in his own day somewhat the same position in regard to opera as Wagner occupies now, and at whose work it is necessary to glance in order rightly to appreciate both the coincidence and the divergence between the modern composer and the one who is now habitually spoken of as his predecessor in operatic reform. The part played by the composer of 'Alceste' and 'Iphigénie' may be stated in his own words, which we again borrow from Professor Ritter's 'History':—

'When I undertook to set to music the opera of "Alceste," I proposed to myself to avoid the abuses which the mistaken vanity of singers and the excessive complaisance of composers had introduced, and which, from the most splendid and beautiful of all public exhibitions, had reduced the opera to the most tiresome and ridiculous of spectacles. I wished to confine music to its true province—that of seconding poetry by strengthening the expression of the sentiments and the interest of the situation, without interrupting the action and weakening it by superfluous ornament. I thought that music ought to give that aid to poetry which the liveliness of colouring and the happy combination of light and shade afford to a correct and well-designed picture—animating the figures without injuring their contour. I have therefore carefully avoided interrupting a singer in the warmth of a dialogue, in order to wait for a tedious ritornel; or stopping him in the midst of a speech, in order to display the agility of the voice in a large passage.

I have not thought it right to pass rapidly over the second part of the air, when it is the most impassioned and important portion of it, in order to repeat the words regularly four times; or to finish when the sense is not complete, in order to give the singer the opportunity of showing that he can vary a passage in several ways according to his own fancy. In short, I have endeavoured to reform those abuses against which good sense and good taste have long exclaimed in vain.'

In these words Gluck indicates the nature of the æsthetic deficiencies in the opera of his day, and in a general way the extent to which he was prepared to go in reforming them. More particularly, it may be observed that he gave much greater space to the free recitative, a form of composition in which the music and words are more interdependent and more synchronous than in any other, and which indeed there seems reason to believe was the form in which musical drama first arose at the end of the sixteenth century; and he employed the orchestra not as a mere accompaniment, a background of sound against which to relieve the voice, and with which to fill up the harmony; but, by his characteristic use of special instruments, made it an important element in the musical colouring of the scene, and in enforcing and illustrating the actions and feelings represented on the stage. It is also important to observe that he selected for the subjects of his dramas, almost exclusively, stories of a legendary character, drawn mostly from the great pre-historic tales on which the Greek drama was founded. In these two last-named points he may be considered as the direct precursor of Wagner. But Gluck did not carry the subordination of the music to the poem so far as to abrogate musical forms of composition altogether, and render the music entirely dependent for its motive and interest on the stage situation. On the contrary, even in nearly his latest opera, 'Iphigenia in Tauris,' there is an air ('O Malheureuse 'Iphigénie') which may be and is frequently transplanted to the concert-room, without losing, perhaps, much of its effect; and it is worth remark that it never seems to have occurred to Gluck that, on the principle of rendering the music strictly subordinate to the poem, there was no logical halting-place at the point at which he chose to stop. If it be a question of rendering music subservient to dramatic action, the shearing off of the conventional 'repeat' of the air, and giving it a freer form, was only after all a half-way step. The problem, of course, really turns upon the question, what degree of conventionality is aimed at in musical drama? All dramatic art of a high class is conventional—is removed back from the plane of realism—and we require that the special standard of conven-

tionality adopted should be consistently maintained. A perfectly logical scheme of lyrical drama may be framed, if we regard the music as only employed to illustrate, heighten, and prolong the expression of feeling at certain points where it rises to a climax suitable for lyrical utterance; the intermediate or connecting links of the poem being treated in a more desultory musical form (recitative), chiefly with the view of preserving tonal unity and continuity. This principle is very nearly realised in such an opera, for instance, as 'Don Giovanni'; indeed, the adherents of Wagner admit that the dramatic demands of opera were by no means overlooked in the main by Mozart, whom, in fact, they rather adroitly manage to claim as an ally on the plea that he 'unconsciously worked to the same end,' though they (correctly) adduce instances in which he uses the lyric form where stage situation does not admit of it; as, for instance, in the duet in 'Figaro' before the page jumps out of the window. But there is nothing essentially illogical or shocking to the critical sense in this form of lyric drama, if consistently carried out; the conditions of the representation are understood beforehand; there is really no more æsthetic *lapsus* in it than in people talking in blank-verse or rhymed couplets in the spoken drama. It may no doubt be objected that in such a form of composition the music is of primary and the poem of secondary importance, but it must be remembered that much of the effect and even the meaning of the music are dependent upon the existence of well-contrasted characters and telling 'situations,' which must be defined by the poet, not to say that the very objection supposed involves a begging of the question and an entire shifting of the ground of criticism. Waiving that, however, it must, we think, be admitted that there is a consistent form of *lyrical drama*, which has been the *point de départ* in the operatic works of Mozart, Beethoven, and Weber (not to mention lesser names), and which Herr Wagner himself adheres to, to a considerable extent, in his 'Tannhäuser.' But there is also what we should distinguish as *musical drama*, in which the poem occupies altogether the first place, and in which the musical setting is employed purely as a means of adding force and colouring to dramatic expression, and the musical form compelled to bend entirely to the form and progress of the drama. To this principle of the combination of music and drama Gluck's method tended, though, as we have inferred, he never fully realised it, the outlines of the old regular musical forms constantly showing themselves through the dramatic veil hung before them; and this principle Wagner has definitively adopted in its entirety,

as the only legitimate and satisfactory solution of the problem of the union of music with dramatic story and stage action.

The process of reasoning by which he arrived at this conclusion, and the theoretic basis upon which his form of musical drama is founded, are clearly set forth by Wagner in a letter to M. Villot, which summarises a good deal of what was expressed more at length in his 'Oper und Drama,' a treatise he admits to be at the present time rather of interest to himself than to the public. We may briefly touch on the stages in the development of Wagner's ideal theory of musical drama; recommending the perusal of the letter *in extenso* to all who wish, in making acquaintance with his works, to arrive at a just estimate of their aim, whether from a critical or an appreciative point of view. At the very commencement of his studies as a dramatic composer, the style of contemporary Italian opera, with its vocal displays illogically dragged in, its degradation of the orchestra into 'a monstrous 'guitar for the accompaniment of *arias*,' seems to have impressed him much as it would impress all who look upon music as more than a mere plaything. French musical drama, as then displayed at the Paris Grand Opera, had more of attraction for a composer who seems to have been possessed naturally with a love of brilliant scenic effect and of characteristic instrumentation. The traditions of Gluck may be said to have so far left their impression on French opera, that, in spite of their radical divergence in spirit and aim, the modern operas of the French school display a richness of orchestral treatment, and a completeness of design in the relation of parts to the whole, to which the normal form of Italian opera is quite a stranger. That Wagner was carried away by the splendour and dazzle of this class of work as displayed with every advantage of *mise en scène* in Paris, is evident from the fact that his first important work, 'Rienzi,' written with a view to the 'Grand Opera,' is completely in the cut and style of Meyerbeer, though not showing anything like the point, brilliancy, and individuality of treatment attained by that consummate master of scene-setting. But the fascination of the Grand Opera style soon palled upon the composer, who declares himself to have been inspired with a desire for a higher ideal of musical drama partly by his admiration for the genius of Mdme. Schroeder-Devrient, and for the effect she produced even in spite of the defective *genre* of the art which she had to illustrate, and which suggested the reflection 'what an in-'comparable work of art that might be, which should be per-'fectly worthy of such an artist, or of the dramatic talents

'of a number of such artists!' Perhaps, human nature being what it is, the critic may be excused for thinking that the non-acceptance of 'Rienzi' at the Paris opera, where the star of Meyerbeer was in the ascendant, may have had its share in the composer's revulsion of feeling against the 'vulgar 'craftsmanlike performance' of modern opera,* and his resolution, shortly after, to drop once for all any connexion with 'that frivolous institution.'

With the aim of substituting for this art, which could claim no higher title than being a diversion, something which would raise the audience from the vulgar interests of daily life and 'enable them to comprehend and adore the highest and most 'significantly beautiful that the human mind can adore,' the composer was led, in the first instance, to abandon altogether the field of history or real life for that of popular tradition or *Mythos*, on the ground that in the personages who act in such legends all which is merely conventional or accidental disappears, and they become rather concrete representations of abstract qualities in human nature, and therefore both of more universal interest and more suitable for illustration by music, which is not then required to deal with incongruous and prosaic circumstances, but only with broad types of human character or phases of human feeling. We pointed out that Gluck also drew his subjects almost entirely from Greek legend, though retaining a good deal more of real humanity than is to be found in the fantastic figures that occupy Wagner's stage. If, however, it be objected on the one hand that human semblance is almost entirely eliminated from these personages of Gothic fable, and that it is impossible to feel a dramatic interest in them, on the other hand it may be conceded that musical drama, being so far removed in its very nature from realism, finds its most congenial subjects in the region of romance rather than of real life. The more important aim of Wagner, however, was the solution of the problem of the union on equal terms of music and poetry, in place of

* The fact that Wagner in the first instance failed where Meyerbeer was enjoying a brilliant success, seems the most rational explanation, also, of the almost childish spite and vituperation with which the very name of the composer of the 'Huguenots' seems to inspire the faithful adherents of Wagner; as far, at least, as the word 'rational' can be used in such a connexion. The Hebrew cohort of composers, of whom Meyerbeer was the Coryphæus, seem indeed to have rendered themselves equally obnoxious to both camps, judging from the icy sarcasm of Rossini's reply to an inquiry, when he was going to write another opera—'*Quand les Juives ont fini leur Sabbat.*'

the previous almost invariable subordination of the poem to the musical form. Wagner seems to have been led to his attempt in this direction by considerations somewhat distinct from those of Gluck, and based on a more definitely constructed philosophical theory. His aim is not merely to retrench and repress incongruous development of the music at the expense of the poem and the situation, but to arrive at a union or blending of the two arts in which they shall be completely interdependent, and in which the form of the musical setting shall arise directly from that of the poem, and the progress of the two be synchronous. Such a union is not only, in his scheme, the means for the resuscitation of opera, but is the natural end to which the art of music has been tending. The tendency, as he believes, of every separate branch of art is, after having arrived at the full extent of its own capabilities, to ally itself to a sister art. Thus, recognising instrumental music in the form it was brought to by Beethoven as the complete and highest expression of the possibilities of that art, he was seized with the ambition of 'turning the whole stream of 'Beethovenian music' in the direction of the drama, and achieving by the union of the two a higher and more intense expression than either separately could rise to. The initial difficulty in the way of such a combination of course is that while poetry produces its effect by concentrated expression, music, as we usually understand the term, works by extension in time, by repetition and sequence, and is under the dominion of strict rhythm which will not bend to follow the multitudinous and varied alternations of speech and action in all the details of an elaborate drama. Either the poem, as heretofore, must give way to the music, or the musical form must give way to the poem. Wagner practically does not deny the dilemma; in the work which forms the most complete example of his method, he elects the latter alternative, in fact, and deprives his music of the two qualities of *rhythm* and *tune* (which latter unsophisticated people term 'melody') to make it interpenetrate with the words and the stage action; but he assures us that, so far from music being in any way weakened or degraded thereby, tune and rhythm are, in fact, not only non-essential qualities of music, but even indications that it is in a primitive and incomplete state.

The reasoning on which this sufficiently audacious theory is maintained is worth attention, as it touches a broader question than mere opera reform, and we shall have to allude to it again. Looking back to the beginnings of music, Wagner considers that the quality of rhythm came to be engrafted on music,

and regarded as an essential characteristic of the art, from the fact that the first use of music, by the Greeks, was as an accompaniment to the rhythmical movement of the dance. When the early Church adopted or adapted their primitive melodies, she dropped their vivacious rhythms as being only connected with the heathen art of dancing, and thereby deprived them of their sole means of expression; and 'we can 'convince ourselves even to this day of the uncommon poverty 'of expression in ancient melody when deprived of its orna- 'ment of rhythm, by imagining it without the harmony which 'at present supports it.' But 'the Christian spirit, in order 'to raise the expressive power of melody, invented polyphonic 'harmony on the basis of the four-part chord, which by its 'characteristic changes served henceforth as a motive of ex- 'pression to the melody—an end which had formerly been 'attained by means of its rhythm.' When, with the decline of the Church, a vivacious inclination became predominant in the Italians also, in regard to the application of music, 'they 'solved the difficulty by restoring to melody its original 'rhythmical properties, and thus applying it to song as it had 'formerly been applied to dance.' This Wagner regards as nothing less than 'a relapse into Paganism,' the result of which has been that modern melody is almost entirely indifferent to the verse, and its variation-like movement was in the end dictated solely by vocal virtuosi, while the resource of polyphonic harmony was entirely thrown aside, Italian operatic melody remaining 'satisfied with a harmonic basis of such 'astounding poverty that it might exist without any accom- 'paniment whatever.' The treatment of the rhythmical form of music by the German composers we pass over for the present, as it touches more closely on another part of our subject; merely remarking that the final result of Wagner's theory is the adoption of a musical setting of his poems, in which rhythm is discarded in the voice parts, and to a great extent evaded or concealed in the accompaniment, and which aims at a completely polyphonous character; i.e. it is music in which no one part or melody stands out from among the rest as predominant, but in which the effect is produced by the combination of the whole. Even the voice is no exception; for musically the voice is for the most part treated as an instrument among the other instruments, distinguished by its *timbre* and enunciation rather than by the character of the passages assigned to it; and æsthetically the voice, the actor, may be regarded as supplying the text for the musical commentary of the orchestra. As for the demand for 'melody,'

'the reiterated cry of superficial musical amateurs' for this desired element only proves that they derive their notion of melody from works 'in which, side by side with melody, there 'is a sustained tunelessness serving as background.' As, according to Wagner, music *is* melody, and no music is possible without melody, this complaint must merely mean that he does not give the 'superficial' critics the particular kind of melody they wish for. They wish for the first narrow form of melody as it appeared in the dance-tune. He offers them a combination of melodies which are to be as the multitudinous voices, for example, of the forest on a summer night; where, however many sounds strike upon the ear, they all appear as the one great forest-melody—a melody which will haunt the listener, but which cannot be hummed or repeated; 'to hear it again 'he must return to the woods on a summer night. Would it 'not be folly if he were to catch a sweet wood-bird, so as to 'train it at home to whistle a fragment of that great forest-'melody?' We are not, therefore, to condemn the composer for not giving us what he never aimed at or intended. We are to accept or to judge his work as what it is intended for—a poem recited by the actors in musical tones and accompanied by an orchestra whose combined sounds form a perpetual illustrative tone-picture of the actions and passions of the drama, towards which the orchestra occupies the same position as the chorus in the Greek drama; a comparison used by the composer perhaps rather to render his aim clearer than as implying a precise parallel between the two, which it may be readily seen that there is not.

It is not to be supposed, however, that this complete and rounded theory of musical drama was arrived at immediately on the composer's flight from the blandishments of popular opera, or that it is fully represented by those works which have been performed in England, either partially or entirely.* On the contrary, Wagner is particularly desirous to impress on his critics that his theories have arisen to a great extent from the direction in which he was impelled in the course of composition; and that he is not open to the charge constantly made against him of deliberately putting music together upon *à priori* principles. We are, of course, bound to give due weight to such a statement, however irreconcilable with some apparent facts. The chain of sequence of the composer's works exhibits, however, a gradual progress in one direction. The

* Two only have been given complete on the English stage—'Lohengrin' and 'Der fliegende Holländer.'

'Fliegende Holländer,' the successor of 'Rienzi,' is by its comparatively small dimensions and the romantic and legendary character of its subject, direct evidence of the re-action from the *genre* of the Paris opera; but the composer was still under the influence of the traditional power of operatic music, 'which 'had hitherto made a poem that did not admit of numerous 'verbal repetitions nearly impossible.' In 'Tannhäuser,' again, a great deal of the extended musical form and verbal repetition was retained, to which the lyrical nature of many of the situations naturally tended; though we see the beginning of the composer's recoil from rhythmical form in his refusal even to allow the minstrels in the competition a true lyric song, a concession which would have been quite consistent with, and even demanded by, the situation; while the more connected lyrical form assigned to Tannhäuser in his praise of Venus seems an exemplification of the 'pagan' theory of rhythm. Still, in its main features and design, 'Tannhäuser' may be called a work of the Weber school, or at least with strong reflections of Weber. In 'Lohengrin' the departure from precedent is carried further; with the exception of the wedding chorus, which of course is a metrical hymn, there is not a single connected melodic piece with the to-and-fro sway and rhythm which we call 'tune;' though there are snatches of melody in the old style, such as the outburst of Elsa at the triumph of her deliverer, which presents a melodic 'subject' such as a composer of the traditional school would have worked up into a grand *prima donna* air. The treatment of the orchestra approaches much nearer than in 'Tannhäuser' to that broad and vague tone-picturing to which the composer was tending; and the instrumental preludes to the acts lose all reminiscence of the old *Overture* form. The chorus on the stage, however, still retains its old dimensions and importance, and indulges in set pieces longer and more elaborated in form, indeed, than operatic choruses have generally been. After 'Lohengrin,' it appears that the composer's genius 'fell among thorns,' and that he was occupied long and wearily with considerations, antipathetical, as he says, to the very nature of the artist temperament, as to the establishment of a correct theoretic basis for the further prosecution of the art in the channel he had adopted. From the depression resulting from these wanderings in the tortuous labyrinth of theory, he was raised again to his natural temperament, 'as if recovered from a long malady,' by the ambition of embodying his ideas in a great work on a scale which would in itself put it out of the category of ordinary opera, and the performance of which was only to be attempted

under extraordinary circumstances, when all the means required for an undertaking on such a scale could be ensured. This was the now much talked of Tetralogy, under the title of 'Der Ring des Nibelungen,' which, as everyone knows, is to be given at Baireuth in the autumn of this year, and in which, as is immediately evident, Herr Wagner has in his mind the revival in a modern form of the great dramatic festivals of Greece, which had always hovered before him as an ideal, in times past, of a national artistic entertainment. The composition of such a work of course spread over some years; and it was whilst still engaged in it that he was induced, partly by hearing of the growing acceptance of his earlier works on the part of the public, to pause from his task for the composition of a smaller opera which would give him the chance of at once hearing something of his own written in accordance with his latest feelings and views on the art. The work written in accordance with this impulse is 'Tristan und Isolde,' which is in fact later in order of composition than most of the Tetralogy, and which represents more completely than any other of his works the artistic result of the theory of opera which he has evolved and to which he may be said to have pledged himself. In this work the subordination of the music to the drama, or, as its composer would probably prefer to say, the interpenetration of the two, is complete. Not a vestige of lyrical form is left (saving a rough song by the men on Tristan's vessel in praise of his exploits); the operatic chorus has utterly disappeared, and 'the entire extent of the music is, as it were, pre-'sented in the tissue of words and verses—that is to say, 'that the musical melody is already contained in the poem.' The step from 'Tannhäuser' to 'Tristan' is accordingly, as the composer himself observes, much longer than that from 'Rienzi' to 'Tannhäuser.' We may readily concede that a much more intimate amalgamation between the poem and the music is attained by this method of procedure, and find no difficulty in believing that this prefiguration of the musical form in the poem may have proved rather a help and stimulus than a hindrance in composing the latter. There remains the question, 'whether by this procedure the musical form of melody 'is not prejudiced by being deprived of its freedom of move-'ment as well as development'? That is indeed the point upon which, as we are disposed to think, Wagnerian opera must ultimately stand or fall. The composer's answer to it we have already inferred in our *résumé* of his views as to tune and rhythm: we will now endeavour to frame our own.

Of Herr Wagner's theoretic basis for the position he assumes

we must say at once that it appears to us to be equally contradicted by nature and by art-history. We can hardly be expected to waste space in collecting formal evidence that the love of rhythmical accent is something inherent in human nature, and not dependent on accidents of time, place, and habit: we may just allude to the fact, certainly not insignificant, that even the very physical basis of music is rhythm, since the distinction between what we recognise as musical sounds and those which are not so consists in the isochronous character of the vibrations in the former. The statement of the case on historical grounds, methodical as it appears in Herr Wagner's way of putting it, is based upon a complete *petitio principii*. Granting that we had data sufficient to enable us to say positively that Greek music consisted in rhythmical tunes used only as an accompaniment to the dance, why is the dance to be the cause and the music the effect? Surely it were at least as reasonable to regard both as springing from the same innate tendency to rhythmical expression; or even to go further and regard the dance as arising out of the music, and impossible without it. The tune can be invented and played without the dance; the latter cannot be danced without the tune. Admitting, however, the dance-form of pre-historic music to be established, Wagner points to the noble school of unrhythmical polyphonous music of which Palestrina was the great name, and asks who, after hearing his 'Stabat Mater,' and contrasting it with the mere tune-writing of the modern Italian opera, 'could suppose the latter to be the legitimate daughter 'of that wondrous mother?' Fully sympathising with the main tendency of the feeling implied by the question, we reply, that even supposing the historical connexion between the two schools cannot be traced (as we think it can), the deduction as to the inherent supremacy of music unfettered by rhythm is no fair one from the premisses. In the first place, it must be remembered that the early Italian church school, however grand and elevated in style, is very restricted in its range, and is in fact only the somewhat monotonous though solemn and impressive rendering of a special phase of religious feeling; while it would be most unfair to deny to the modern Italian school the creation of melodies, some of which have stirred all hearts, and whose charm, such as it is, seems to be imperishable. But the light *genre* of the modern Italian school generally—the 'poverty of harmonic basis' which Wagner satirises—is no intrinsic characteristic of rhythmical music. The German school also 'reverted' (if we are so to speak) to the rhythmical or 'dance-tune' form of melody, and

treated it polyphonally in a grand series of works the greatness of which Wagner does not venture to deny; and the fair comparison would be between this and the early Italian school — between polyphonous melody *plus* rhythm and polyphonous melody *minus* rhythm. We will not insult the critical faculty of our readers by asking them whether or not they consider the choral works of Handel and Bach, or the school of instrumental music which culminated in Beethoven, an extension of the boundaries of the art as practised by Palestrina and his compeers. The educated world, with the exception of a few ecclesiological enthusiasts, has fully made up its mind on that point. A somewhat similar logical fallacy is apparent in Wagner's assertion, repeated still more authoritatively by his literary satellites, that so far from melody being cramped or interfered with by his system, it is greatly extended, and that his operas are, in fact, one succession and blending of melody from beginning to end. It is obvious that this is a mere arbitrary playing with language. We all know what we mean by 'melody;' and if its essence be more easily felt than defined, we at least know that it is dependent on measured accent in time as well as on measured intervals in pitch, for that symmetrical proportion which gives it an individual and recognisable form. Wagner may plead that his music presents opportunity for higher expression than can be attained through melodic form, but it is absurd to pretend that he is offering the world the quality which it understands by the term 'melody.' It is open to a dramatic poet to maintain, if he please, that prose is a more suitable or even a nobler means of expression for his art than verse, but he would be justly derided if he were to urge that it was in fact the highest and most complete development of verse.

Passing by for the moment the question, whether the principle of musical composition advocated by Wagner is absolutely a higher development of the art, is it so relatively to the objects and theory of the musical drama? Is it the best and most consistent theory of the union of music and poetry? Admitting at once that such a form of art must in the end be judged by its results—by its power over the listener's feelings (which is the sole defence that can be set up for the form of most works now occupying the lyric stage), and that we have hitherto had scant opportunity for forming such a judgment, we can nevertheless hardly fail to see that the consistency of Wagner's method is sorely menaced when subjected to an impartial examination. We noticed above the differentiation between the methods of poetry and music respectively; the

power of concentration in the former, the almost absolute need of extension and repetition in the latter. This has been well brought out by Mr. Matthew Arnold in his thoughtful little essay in verse, rather than poem, 'An Epilogue on Lessing's 'Laocoon,' where he discriminates the province of music, in relation to words, by instancing the depth and extension which the musician imparts to the feeling expressed in such a concentrated phrase as *Miserere Domine*—

> 'Beethoven takes those two
> Poor bounded words, and makes them new;
> . . . .
> Page after page of music turn
> And still they glow and still they burn,
> Eternal, passion-fraught, and free,
> "*Miserere Domine.*"'

So Handel, when he would tell us how 'the children of 'Israel sighed, by reason of the burdens,' does so by the repetition, the persistence with which the grief and sighing are drawn out until the impression has sunk into our hearts. So, to glance at instrumental music, when Beethoven invented that deeply pathetic *allegretto* in his Seventh Symphony, it is not by the mere enunciation of the theme that he touches us; it is not till the leading proposition, so to speak, has been drawn out, repeated, amplified, contrasted, heard now in this form now in that, till its last broken accents die on our ears, that we realise the feeling which he meant to awaken in our souls. But the compositions referred to are not dramatic in their form. True: but do not such examples, and innumerable others, practically testify to the truth of the theory as stated by Mr. Arnold, and does it not follow that in a system which implies the detailed interpenetration of the music and the poem, precisely the reverse of the old error has been committed—that the music has been sacrificed to the poem? And yet further inconsistencies seem to arise as we look more closely at the conditions of the combination. Whatever his contempt for rhythm, the composer is obliged to employ the division into 'bars' which originated with rhythm—the very possibility of getting his music executed depends upon it; and so we find him not only in his latest work, but even in many parts of 'Lohengrin' in a continual strife between the rhythmical accent implied by the barring, and the effort to conceal and escape from it by devices of syncopation and other means of breaking up and nullifying the recurring bar accent. This is a matter of form comparatively; a still stranger inconsistency is that rhythm should be retained in its most marked

and recurrent form in the versification, and yet that the consistency of the music with the poem is to be obtained by obliterating the rhythm of the latter. There seems to us to be an absolute perversity of reasoning implied in such a method. Then, again, though the poem and the dramatic action are to be the basis of the whole, without which the music can have no *locus standi* whatever, yet the actors, who are to sing the words, are in the musical construction completely secondary, and in absolute bondage to the orchestra, in the fetters of whose intricate movement they are entangled. This is a singular result of a theory which professes to regard 'the human word' as the primal cause and motive of music. Surely the theory of what we have called *lyrical* drama (as distinct from *musical* drama), in which music in its extended forms of construction is used to amplify and intensify the emotional expression at the great crises of the poem, is as consistent as this. Wagner himself admits the power and beauty attained by some of the great composers in this *genre* of opera —admits also that in their finest scenes they have entirely surmounted what is (no doubt) the weak point in it, 'the juxta-'position of absolute recitative and absolute aria, so detrimental 'to a perfect style,' and that the recitative has received already with them, in such cases, 'a melodic and rhythmic significance, 'and unites itself insensibly with the broader structure of 'melody proper.' Yet, in his pursuit of that *ignis fatuus*, a perfectly logical theory, the modern composer, instead of working up to its further capabilities a system which he admits to have produced such great effects, cuts the knot by discarding altogether what he here truly defines as 'the broader 'structure of *melody proper*,' and adopting the imperfect recitative form, as the sole means of expression for the deeper emotions as well as for the lesser incidents of his drama. A greater unity of form, a more close connexion between words and music, may be thus obtained; but it is at the cost of forbidding to music all her old freedom of flight, of clipping her wings and putting her in a strait-jacket.

Such a conviction, however, by no means implies a denial of the real power to be found in such a work as 'Tristan' (to which we still refer as representing the Wagner theory in its purest form), whether existent in accordance with or in spite of the method employed; or of the real interest attaching to such an attempt at a new basis for the combination of music and drama. Though it is beyond our scope here to go into detailed criticism of Wagner's music, which indeed could hardly be made intelligible or interesting without extensive

quotations, we may look a little more closely at the results of his method as here displayed. An important feature in the relation of the music to the drama, not yet touched upon, we may give in the words of Mr. Hüffer, who appears to be, or to have constituted himself, the prophet of Wagner in England:—

'For every important idea or passionate impulse of his characters, Wagner introduces a certain striking harmonious or melodious combination, as the musical complement of their dramatic force. Whenever in the course of the drama this impulse comes into action, we hear at once its corresponding motive, either sung by the voice or played by the orchestra, and in manifold variations, according to circumstances.'

This idea of labelling a character with a special phrase is of course not new; it has been suggested by Mozart and carried further by Weber and others; but Wagner first has applied it as a ruling principle pervading a whole work. However such a system may aid in giving unity and completeness to the musical expression of the drama, it is at once open to question whether this arbitrary selection of phrases to represent certain ideas is not a mechanical and prosaic, rather than an imaginative and emotional use of music. The main subject of the legend of 'Tristan' probably is, certainly ought to be, best known to modern English readers by Matthew Arnold's beautiful version of it in his early poem 'Tristram and Iseult'; a work of far higher poetic tone and tendency than the Laureate's *bizarre* treatment of the legend. After a prelude in which the leading *motivo* of the work is prominent, in the manner we are familiar with in the 'Lohengrin' prelude, Wagner's drama opens, like Arnold's poem, on board the ship in which Tristan is conveying King Mark's bride to Cornwall; the scene opening (musically) with an unaccompanied song of a young sailor, who starts off with a phrase containing such 'intervals' as no sailor in this world ever sung except in a Wagner opera. The serious action of the drama is set in motion by an imperious message from Queen Isolde to Tristan, which excites the contempt of his squire Kurwenal, whose braggart song in contempt of her and in praise of his lord, taken up by the crew, is the only approach to a 'tune' in the work; and the giving of the enchanted cup arises in the end out of no 'courtesy,' but is administered and partaken by Isolde, apparently, under the impression that it is a 'Todes-trank,' in a fit of injured pride at her own treatment by Tristan and of desperation as to her future lot. Their long word-fencing is interrupted at intervals by the shouts of the crew raising or lowering the sails, a sort of 'yo-heave-yo!' put into a musical

form little different from what one might actually hear, and which illustrates how completely the old tradition of the opera-chorus has been thrown over. At last the fatal draught is drunk; during a pause filled only by a troubled murmur from the *tremolo* of the basses in the orchestra, with broken snatches of the first *motivo* of the overture, the two gaze on each other, and almost at the moment when they realise their new madness and fall into each other's arms, the land is reached, the cheers that greet King Mark are heard, and the curtain falls eventually upon the shouts of 'Cornwall, hail!' the tumultuous jubilation of the full orchestra, the clangour of trumpets on the stage, and the vain endeavours of their astonished attendants to rouse the dazed and enchanted lovers to the comprehension of their position. The second act opens on the warm bright summer night in the palace gardens, before the chambers of Isolde, who issues thence with her attendant Brangäne to await her lover. The suspense is long drawn out; at last, after an interlude of some length, the entry of Tristan is led up to with that tumultuous rush and *crescendo* of the band which Wagner makes so effective in securing a climax, and the two, after hurried and broken ejaculations in which the line separating singing from ordinary speech is as nearly crossed as possible, run through the whole gamut of passion in a scene compared with which even what has been termed 'the 'everlasting duet' in 'Lohengrin' must hide its diminished head. At length the storm of passion subsides, and after a passage of intense pathos at the words 'O sink' hernieder, 'Nacht der Liebe,' the anticlimax is reached, and 'Tristan 'und Isolde, versinken wie in gänzliche Entrücktheit, in der 'sie, Haupt an Haupt, auf die Blumenbank zurückgelehnt, 'verweilen;'* while over them is heard from the battlements the song of Brangäne—

'Einsam wachend in der Nacht,
Wem der Traum der Liebe lacht'—

the singer invisible, her voice sustained by a soft *arpeggio* accompaniment. The introduction of this interlude of Bran-

* So runs the stage direction. The peculiar stolidity which the German mind seems able to bring to bear on the treatment of such a subject is rather calculated to excite a smile than any more serious comment. Still, we are inclined to think that no English audience would ever witness the above scene, or the wedding-chamber scene in 'Lohengrin,' without an uneasy half-suspicion that the veil had been somewhat too rashly withdrawn from the sanctities of passion and of affection respectively.

gäne, warning the dreamers that the night is waning, is a masterly stroke of dramatic effect. But the lovers are roused at last only to hate the day, to desire death, to dream of some state in which even their own identity is merged and lost in an eternal sea of passion—

'Wie sie fassen, wie sie lassen,
Diese Wonne, fern der Sonne,
Fern der Tage Trennungs-klage!
Ohne Wähnen sanftes Sehnen!
Ohne Bangen süss Verlangen,
Ohne Wehen hehr Vergehen!
Ohne Schmachten hold Um-nachten!
Ohne Meiden,
Ohne Scheiden,
Traut allein,
Ewig Heim,
In un-gemess'nen Räumen,
In über-sel'ges Träumen:
Du Isolde—Tristan *du*—
Tristan ich, nicht mehr Isolde—
Ich Isolde, nicht mehr Tristan!
Ohne Nennen, ohne Trennen,
Neu Erkennen, neu Entbrennen:
Endlos, ewig Ein-bewusst;
Ewig heiss erglühter Brust,
Endlos höchste Liebes-Lust!'

and here, just as the musical expression has risen to a delirious whirl in which all form and restraint seem to be lost, enter King Mark and Melot (the traditional 'betrayer' of all drama), and the castle folk in hunting array, and the act ends eventually with Tristan sinking down wounded in an affray with Melot. In the third act we are at Tristan's castle in Brittany, where he slumbers wearily while the faithful Kurwenal and a countryman look anxiously for the ship that is to bring Isolde. The mental and physical struggle of the hero between hope and remembrance, weakness and longing, are portrayed in a scene too long for description here, till the ship arrives with the dramatic effect which Wagner knows how to impart to such an incident, and Isolde rushes breathless in, only to see her knight expire in her arms. Hard upon the catastrophe comes the cry of 'ein zweites Schiff!' on which Mark and Melot are discerned. The latter meets with the usual fate of the betrayer (in drama) at the hands of Kurwenal; and after King Mark has expressed his sorrow at the general untoward course of events, the work concludes, not with the traditional chorus-singing, but with the swan-song of Isolde, the final strife

between love and death; and as she imagines her re-union, she knows not how, with the soul of him who is all to her—

'In dem wogenden Schwall,
In dem tönenden Schall,
In des Welt-Athems wehendem All
Ertrinken, versinken—
Unbewusst,
Höchste Lust!'

her accents grow weaker, and with the last broken wail she sinks on the body of Tristan, while the orchestral movement dies away to a faint *pianissimo*, and the curtain slowly falls on 'Grosse Rührung und Entrücktheit unter den Umstehenden.'

As Herr Wagner claims to be a poet as well as a musician, and the composition of his drama is an essential part of his work, we have quoted these passages, in justice to himself, from the original text. The *libretto* of an opera has seldom much claim to literary merit; but of all the doggrel we ever met with 'to be said or sung' on the stage, Herr Wagner's verses appear to us to be the worst. Childish jingle and tasteless alliteration take the place of rhythm and poetry; and whatever he may have done with the art of Mozart and Beethoven, he has certainly prostituted the language of Schiller and Goethe. But it would be cruel to judge such trash by any known literary standard.

Yet the mere perusal of the work shows a certain power and intensity in the general treatment of the legend, so wild and exciting in itself, so full in one sense of human interest. We cannot but remark in particular the genius for dramatic effect displayed in the manner in which Wagner opens each act; how he gives the local colour and feeling of the surroundings; on the ship—in the palace gardens on the summer night—in the castle where the horn of the Breton herdsman heard outside gives the first indication that we are on new ground; and the art with which he excites the expectation of the spectator by one device after another, while withholding the climax of the scene. Yet when we regard the work from a musical point of view, we are full of misgivings. Points there are which at once assert themselves, no doubt: such as the prelude and scenic music of the second act; the ecstatic rush of the violins in a phrase which becomes a prominent feature of the great scene between the lovers, entering first at the words, 'O 'Wonne der Seele;' the short low 'Ha!' upon a high note, amid the dead silence of everything else, with which Isolde recognises that her lover is dead; the opening and close of the final dirge; and others which have been and might be adduced.

But without repeating what we have already said as to the place of rhythm in music, the vocal portions seem for the most part to be written with an absolute and determined ignoring of the fact that certain intervals are more natural to the voice and the ear than others. Even the sailor and the herdsman cannot be allowed to sing and pipe naturally; they sing and pipe in Wagnerian intervals. Wagner speaks in one place, and speaks eloquently, of the wonderful power of music 'which, by means of the firm precision of melodic expression, 'lifts even the least gifted singer so high above the level of his 'personal performances.' But even the *most* gifted singer will look in vain for this 'precision of melody,' except in a few isolated sentences. The voice is dragged through such tortuous and unnatural paths that the really free expression of feeling on the part of the singer seems often almost incompatible with the strain on the ear, and the attention necessary to keep in correct relation with the labyrinth of orchestral accompaniments, in regard to which the singer is, as before observed, only an instrument among the other instruments. Without forgetting the stricture which Gluck passed upon those who judged of his operas apart from their effect on the stage, we cannot but think that the uncertainty and confusion of tonal relation in the vocal melodies, as well as in the harmonic construction of the orchestral part, implies not merely an indifference to scientific method (which is debateable ground), but an ignoring of the physical basis of music, which rests on demonstrable facts, and by which its æsthetic form must necessarily, within certain limits, be determined. That Wagner, in his attempt to give to musical drama the unrestrained freedom of spoken drama, has overstepped these limits, must, we think, be the ultimate conclusion based on such a work as 'Tristan.' Nor do we believe that the brilliant and powerful points in the work can ever, with any but a very partial audience, adequately atone for the tedium inseparable from a method which allows so little relief and contrast of manner and effect, and which, discarding the resources of amplification and extension of musical form, and emphasising every detail of the words, keeps the musical expression, so to speak, at a white heat throughout, and never allows the listener a moment's repose. Nevertheless, we are of opinion that an adequate performance of 'Tris-'tan und Isolde' ought to be given in London at an early date, and this unique experiment in musical drama be subjected to a fair test.

Of the gigantic combination of four operas on the largest scale, which is to be represented at Baireuth in August, under

the title of 'Der Ring des Nibelungen,' we cannot pretend to speak in detail here; the mere description of its plot and arrangement would occupy far more space than we can afford, and our object here is rather the consideration of principles than the criticism of detail. The plot, which mainly turns on the acquisition by one character or another of the magic Ring, which confers extraordinary powers upon its possessor, is probably known to all our readers who are interested in the subject by the detailed descriptions which appeared in the leading daily papers during the period of the first rehearsals at Baireuth recently. Speaking generally, we may observe that the style of the first two dramas at least of the Tetralogy is much less 'advanced' in regard to musical form than that of 'Tristan.' We find for the most part much clearer outline, a distinct and even persistently-marked rhythm in much of the music, especially that for the minor beings (*characters* they can hardly be called) among the *dramatis personæ*. Indeed, we could imagine the 'Rheingold,' the first work which forms the prelude to the whole, becoming in England a very popular opera of the faërie and stage-machinery school. The opening scene, with the three Rhine-maidens swimming about and chasing each other laughingly from rock to rock, while the orchestra keeps up its incessant flowing and undulating accompaniment, is as effective a thing of the kind as could be wished for. As we turn the pages of the score, we gain at least (if we had it not before) an idea of Wagner's remarkable power and originality as a picturesque orchestral colourist. When we descend into Nibelheim, where Alberic, the Nibelung dwarf and possessor of the Ring *pro tem.*, is lording it over the wretched Mimes and making them work for him, we are half startled at the reality of effect achieved by the eighteen anvils, great and small, behind the scenes, which in their combination of heavy thud and rapid clatter, working in time to the characteristic music of the band in front, remind us of the terrible and systematised battering which assailed the ears of Sir Scudamour in the 'House of 'Care;'* and, in a sufficiently opposite way, the last scene in the 'Rheingold,' where the gods with renewed youth cross the rainbow bridge to their abodes, amid the continuous shimmering accompaniment of the violins in a rapid tremolo (in eight parts), and the glancing arpeggios of the harps, is a climax which ought to be almost irresistible as a bit of brilliant effect. Other points may be noticed: the dreamy effect of the low note of the violoncello and the hushed taps of the drum, as

* 'Faërie Queen,' Book iv. canto 5, stanzas 35–7.

Siegmund sinks to slumber by the dying fire in the first scene of 'Die Walküre,' and the change when a breeze blows the door open and the bright moonlight shines in, and the sounds of the harps in the orchestra awake in sympathy with it; the gloom which overspreads the score, so to speak, when Brünnhilde comes as the messenger of death to Siegmund; the bright and sparkling passages for strings and wind alternately, almost like laughter in a musical form, which accompany the sports of the Walküre, and the rich and brilliant effect of the instrumentation in the last scene of the same opera, where the magic fire that burns around Brünnhilde's resting-place seems to glow and flicker in the sounds of the music. This last is perhaps one of the best instances of the power of Wagner's method in using music to intensify stage effect and situation. The mere lighting of the stage fire, though the spectator is told of its magical and important influence over the heroine, would produce little effect; but the accompanying music imparts quite a prophetic significance to the incident.

On the other hand, one cannot but be struck, in reading these scores, as we were in hearing 'Lohengrin,' at the sometimes almost absurd disproportion between the orchestral effect and the poem and action. The rush of the band, with the whole added power of more brass instruments than we have time to count up, to emphasise with an overpowering *fortissimo* some word or gesture which seems totally unworthy of such tremendous emphasis, almost provokes a smile at times at the disproportion between cause and effect. Big scores do not necessarily make great music, either. Meyerbeer has not thrown Gluck into the shade, nor has Spontini superseded Mozart. We cannot ignore the fact, again, that we meet in Wagner's scores with a constant recurrence of certain resources of effect, repeated to an extent which amounts to mannerism. One of these, the incessant reiteration, namely, of a particular orchestral phrase or figure, till it mechanically takes the ear by storm, seems to us to be little more than a trick played on the physical susceptibilities of the audience, and, as Wagner sometimes uses it, a very cheap trick.* But a still more serious

* We were witness to an amusing exemplification of this on the first occasion of our acquaintance with the Tannhäuser overture at a very crowded concert, when the less conventional section of the audience found the reiterated violin passages at the climax so exciting that their feelings could not be restrained till the end of the overture, the last part of which was played amidst a *crescendo* of hand-clapping! Wagner's partisans are welcome to this instance of the popular effect of his music; they will, perhaps, also reflect whether this kind of homage

drawback to our allegiance is the puerility, to English ideas, of much of Wagner's dramas, which illustrate only too well that peculiar childish element in the German mind, the presence of which to a certain extent even in Goethe formed perhaps the one national weakness of that otherwise most cosmopolitan genius. When 'Lohengrin' was produced in London last year, probably a good many besides ourselves may have wondered whether it was possible in any country but Germany that such a mere fairy extravaganza should be made the subject of such solemn and elephantine moralising as has been expended upon what is supposed to be the *morale* of this opera. The case is certainly not bettered when we come to the 'Ring 'des Nibelungen;' and as we light on the passage where Fricka (the Juno of the mythus) shakes her sleeping spouse at daybreak, and says, 'wake up, man, and bestir yourself!' or where Alberic changes himself first into a serpent, and then into a frog, and his windings in the one case and jumpings in the other are grotesquely illustrated by the band; when we see the pages on pages of elaborate scoring in accompaniment to the movements of creatures whose efforts at speech extend little beyond 'Heia!' 'Wallaha!' or 'Ho-jo-to-ho!' when we hear of the special contrivances by which the stage will be filled with different coloured mists at pleasure, or read the stage-direction in the scene of the fight between the hero and Fafner in the form of a dragon, in 'Siegfried'—'The machine, 'which represents the dragon, is during the fight brought 'somewhat nearer the foreground, to a point where a new 'trap-door (Versenkung) opens under it, through which the 'player of the part of Fafner sings through a speaking-trum-'pet'—we may, perhaps, be pardoned if we find the sentence about 'the highest and most significantly beautiful that the 'human mind can adore' recurring rather oddly to us, or if we even feel some doubts about the raising of music to its highest intellectual province by associating it with the ordinary 'business' of a Christmas pantomime. These daring decorators exactly challenge the sarcasm of Pope:—

> 'Knights, squires, and steeds must enter on the stage.
> So vast a throng the stage can ne'er contain.
> Then build a new, or act it on the plain.'

For it is not only as a new exponent of musical drama that Wagner comes before us. His theory aims at much more than placing this one form of musical production on a new

---

has been usually bestowed on what is highest and most intellectual in the art.

basis. His position amounts to nothing less than this: that purely instrumental music is practically dead; that it has run its course and said all that it has to say; has been weighed in the balance and found wanting; and that the highest mission and true end and object of music is only realised when it is the exponent of poetry, and that this is the climax towards which music has been consistently progressing; and Beethoven, the great poet of instrumental music, is claimed as the inaugurator of this new era. On what principle this claim is made we may indicate by a quotation or two (necessarily brief) from Mr. Hüffer's treatise before referred to. In the preface to 'The 'Music of the Future' we find the remark that, though the first three movements of Beethoven's 'Ninth Symphony' may be called the triumph of absolute music, yet—

'In this very splendour of artistic perfection we indistinctly, but no less certainly, feel the want of something that remains unexpressed; and by acknowledging this want, as founded in the nature of music itself, and introducing into the last movement of his D Minor Symphony the human word, as a firm basis for his lofty aspirations, Beethoven has at the same time ushered in a new period of his art.'

And in the same work we find the following (page 45), which we extract from a long dissertation on the futility of absolute music:—

'He (Beethoven) was the first to condense the vague feelings which were all that music had hitherto expressed into more distinctly intelligible ideas. He even brings the song of birds, the thunder, and the murmuring brook before the ear, not as a portrait of nature, but as at once a suggestion and embodiment of the feelings which would be called up by them; *Mehr Ausdruck der Empfindung als Malerei*, as he wrote at the head of his Pastoral Symphony. . . . Indeed, there are passages in Beethoven's later instrumental works, such as long distinct *recitativi*, which can only be explained by the presence of some occult idea struggling for self-consciousness, or, if it may be, expression. This idea being previous to all musical conception, the forms of absolute music had to submit to its harmonious expansion, and in this way the spell of their unlimited sway was broken for ever. It therefore was Beethoven who restored the true relations of the two arts, which henceforth became inseparable.'

The ingenuity with which a theory that upsets all the recognised standing-ground of the art, and depreciates indefinitely the value of nearly all Beethoven's principal contributions to it, is thus made to stand, like a pyramid upon its apex, upon one movement of one of his symphonies, with a few props from random passages in his works, is noteworthy enough. But what does all this really amount to? So far from the existence

of the choral *finale* to the 'Ninth Symphony' proving that Beethoven had abandoned the idea of pure instrumental music, it might be said with more probability that the very fact of his having once used this resource afforded the strongest presumption that he would not have recurred to it again. The inexhaustible variety of Beethoven's genius is only paralleled by that of Shakspeare. He never repeated himself, either in great things or little (except in the avowed working up of a favourite theme once or twice in a new form, as in the *finale* of the 'Eroica Symphony'); and there is not a tittle of evidence to render it improbable that his 'Tenth Symphony,' had he lived to write it, would not have been as purely an instrumental work as any of the first eight. Had he died just after writing the 'Pastoral Symphony,' it might equally have been urged that he had adopted what is now called 'programme 'music' as the true end of the art; but his two next symphonies (the first of them a much greater and more recondite work than the 'Pastorale') are without note, hint, or comment of any kind. About the middle of his career he wrote a pianoforte fantasia with chorus, but so far from subsequently confining himself to this form, he never repeated it, and his most elaborate works for pianoforte solo were written long after. The reference to the *recitative* passages in his instrumental works is the most absurd of all. They are literally infinitesimal in extent in proportion to the mass of his compositions; they occur in his earlier as well as in his latest works (ex. gr. the D Minor Sonata), and they are not new there. The slow movement of one of Haydn's finest quartetts consists entirely of a recitative in vocal and dramatic style for the first violin; and if Mr. Hüffer can condescend to look into anything so degraded as Mozart's pianoforte works, he may find in the Variations on Grètrys' old air 'Une fièvre brulante,' evidently considered an important pianoforte composition in its day, a whole page of recitative as impassioned in style as that in Beethoven's Op. 110 Sonata. But we are asked to regard these accidents as essentials, because it suits the theory of Wagner's disciples; while the fact is ignored that Beethoven's very last great pianoforte sonata concludes with a set of variations as brilliantly and symmetrically elaborated, as purely music for the sake of music, as anything that Mozart (or even Bach) ever wrote. Nor can the view which regards the *finale* of the 'Choral Symphony' as the roof and crown of the composer's works be accepted by a sound and calm criticism. The theme to which the first verse of Schiller's ode is set is magnificent, and the whole movement full of the

grandest suggestions of genius; but if a work of art is to be judged, as surely it ultimately must be, by its finish in form as well as by its greatness of idea, this *finale* must be regarded rather as a colossal sketch than a finished picture—vast and glorious in its perspectives, but wavering in outline, uncertain in composition, unequal in finish, in comparison with many previous works of its author. It is a popular fallacy to suppose that Beethoven was a kind of vast irregular genius (as the French critics used to imagine Shakspeare), overflowing with *Geist*, but indifferent to artistic form and finish. On the contrary, he was one of the most consummate artists in feeling and practice that ever lived, and the minute and detailed finish of all his finest works is as remarkable as their pathetic power. But these qualities are ignored, and a wholesale misrepresentation of the scope of his genius put forth, because the adherents of Wagner are determined to persuade the world that Wagner is a Beethoven, in pursuance of which end they use all their ingenuity to prove that Beethoven was no more than a Wagner.

We have thought it worth while to point out the manner in which Beethoven is manipulated by a clique of critics who think they can pay no greater homage to so transcendent a genius than by endeavouring to make him the hobby-horse of their theories. But what are we to say of the theory, taken in the abstract, which denies to Music any voice of her own, which represents her only as the medium for assisting the expression of words, as dependent entirely on a defined intention as a basis? It is difficult to know how to reach the minds of people who are capable of such an assertion. The very power and pride, the very *raison d'être* of music, is that it expresses that which words are powerless to express, which can be expressed in no other way. Mr. Browning has put this well in one of the finest of his shorter poems, the reverie of 'Abt Vogler' after he has been extemporising on the organ. If he had painted it as a picture, or written it in verse, says the musician, still 'effect proceeds from cause':—

'Ye know why the forms are fair, ye hear how the tale is told;

. . . . . .

But here is the finger of God, a flash of the will that can,
Existent behind all laws, that made them, and lo, they are!
And I know not if, save in this, such gift be allowed to man,
That out of three sounds he frame, not a fourth sound, but a star.
Consider it well; each tone of our scale in itself is nought;
It is everywhere in the world—loud, soft, and all is said:
Give it to me to use! I mix it with two in my thought,
And there! ye have seen and heard; consider and bow the head!

. . . . . .

Sorrow is hard to bear, and doubt is slow to clear,
Each sufferer says his say, his scheme of the weal and woe:
But God has a few of us whom he whispers in the ear;
The rest may reason and welcome: 'tis we musicians know.'

No doubt the musician does write from a previous impulse; no doubt, too, that modern music is more purely emotional than that of the older writers. But the change is one of feeling, not of principle. The transition from the earlier contrapuntal style of music to that of Beethoven is nearly analogous to that which has taken place in painting, from the figure-drawing of the great Italian painters to the landscape art of which Turner unlocked the treasury, and the idyllic subjects to which our best painters are now so much devoting themselves. As Michael Angelo took a delight in the drawing and foreshortening of a figure for its own sake, and thereby expressed the power that was in him, so the older composers took a delight in the working out of a theme for its own sake, and thereby expressed the power that was in them, and gave us that which speaks no definite language certainly, but which appeals to what is beyond the reach of language—to the metaphysical sense of a divine order and harmony, of which music is the most subtle and at the same time the most direct and comprehensive expression. But, says Wagner, Beethoven's symphonies, and all instrumental music expressing anything more than mere 'tone-play,' awaken in the listener that troublesome question, 'Why? Wherefore?' which the musician cannot answer, and which only the addition of the dramatic action can satisfy. We might perhaps be allowed to question whether Wagner's own employment of all the resources of a great orchestra to illustrate such glorified pantomime as 'Lohengrin' and parts of the 'Nibelungen' amount to, with their 'real horses,' and dwarfs, and dragons, and phantasmagoric effects, is not calculated in its own way to provoke a more unanswerable '*warum?*' than anything in Beethoven's symphonies could awaken; or whether it can be seriously urged that a listener who felt the want of an ultimate meaning to the first movement of the 'Eroica Symphony' would really feel his intellectual enjoyment and perception heightened by the vision of the hero behind the footlights with a tin helmet and shield. But the fact is that the 'Why?' spoken of only exists in the minds of those who are under the domination of a theory, or who are deficient in musical education, perception, or sympathy, and consequently unable to apprehend the 'unknown 'tongue' of the musical poet; or if to others the 'Why?' exist at all, it is in a form which neither wishes nor requires

an answer. To attempt to answer it by a definite explanation is to substitute a finite pleasure and significance for an infinite one—to bring down music from its real 'poetic basis' to the prosaic level demanded by listeners who are destitute of feeling and imagination. This is the case to some extent even with so poetic a piece of programme music as the 'Pastoral 'Symphony,' which is accordingly the one generally presented to 'popular' audiences, who are furnished with annotations telling them where to look out for the nightingale, and where for the thunderstorm, &c. Its successor, the Symphony in A, appeals to higher intellectual perceptions, and demands a much higher class of audience for its appreciation. That this also sprang from some definite mood or impulse in the composer's mind, we may readily imagine; but when the edifice is complete, what further need of the plans or the scaffolding? Should we gain anything if, in listening to that wonderful intermediate episode in the *Scherzo*—that slower movement which seems to speak of some vague and solemn glory such as 'eye hath not seen, nor ear heard,' we were to be offered a label to tell us the meaning of it? Would we not rather listen in the spirit a modern poet has expressed in a sonnet 'written during music':—

'O! what is *this* that knows the road I came?'

The absurdities, again, which the attempt to tack a definite meaning to music sometimes gives rise to, are instructive enough. In Mendelssohn's 'Meerestille' overture, for instance, the little flourishes for the flute before the *allegro* commences have always been explained to mean the first 'catspaws' of the breeze on the water; but it appears that the composer, when asked one day about it, laughingly confessed that he believed the passage had been suggested by a little pasteboard figure of an opera-dancer on the mast of a Naples fishing boat, which kicked up a leg when the breeze caught it. Last season an overture by a clever young English musician, Mr. Gadsby, was played at the Crystal Palace concerts, which its author had named 'The Witches' Frolic' (a heading from the 'Ingoldsby 'Legends') as a title appropriate to a work of rather piquant and faërie character. But this was not enough; and three or four pages of the programme were filled with a reprint of Barham's vulgarity, that the audience might lose nothing towards the right understanding of the music. It is due to the composer to say that he denied any complicity in this remarkable effort of programme analysis; but such a *reductio ad absurdum* is none the less suggestive of what the 'poetic basis' theory may lead

us to. A more serious possible result, already too largely illustrated, is that if music is to be valued for an arbitrary meaning attached to it, beauty of melody and purity of harmonic relation come to be, theoretically if not practically, of no consequence; and a determined theorist may persuade his ears, on principle, to like almost anything. It is only on such a supposition that we can understand the existence of the extraordinary cacophony presented to us as music in some recent instrumental compositions, and in many parts of Wagner's operas.* Of course we know all that has been said and will be said by the apologists of the new theory; how every innovator in composition has been condemned in turn; how Mozart's quartetts were scouted as inharmonious, and the *andante* of the 'Pastoral Symphony' drove a gifted but conservative English musician from the room; and all the rest of it. But this is an argument which is not capable of the indefinite application claimed for it, because there is the irrefragable fact that music is founded on a basis of physical law and mathematical proportion, which you must ultimately bow to. There is only one combination of sounds on which the ear can finally rest with satisfaction. Wagner himself, in the close of 'Lohengrin' furnishes a curious instance of the despotic nature of this law. The chorus parts conclude with a discord, as illustrative of the distress as Lohengrin disappears; and to keep up the illustration strictly, the work ought so to close, for the stage group is left in unalleviated anguish. But the physical law of music is inflexible, and the composer is obliged to use the orchestra to veer round into the full 'common chord' of the key before he can drop the curtain and dismiss his audience. And the whole philosophy of musical composition, broadly stated, is the art of progressing logically and yet with apparent freedom from one such point of repose to another. The final resolution may be indefinitely deferred—even, as in Wagner's later practice, throughout an entire act; though we think the ear feels keenly the want of repose in that case. Combinations the most inharmonious in themselves may recur over and over again (as is constantly the case with the two greatest

* Some of those who heard Lizst's 'Pianoforte Concerto in A' at the Sydenham concerts last season will appreciate the point of this remark. Look at such a passage, again, as that for the horns in the 'Rheingold,' at the moment when Alberic puts on his helmet, with its horrible false relation which almost sets the teeth on edge. To write such a sequence is almost like declaring that two and two make five. But in music two and two make four—*always*; and music will revenge herself, ultimately, on any composer who endeavours to ignore this.

masters of construction, Bach and Mozart), but they will never offend so long as the ear, which, as it were, unconsciously reasons, can recognise their logical relation to the context, and to the unalterable statics of harmony. In this light even Haydn, who is mentioned by the new school (if at all) with a kind of patronising condescension, was a profounder thinker in music than Lizst or Wagner. It may be open to the critics of their school to say that the rule which shall reduce to order their system is not yet comprehended, just as there is no doubt that Beethoven wrote passages which, regarded as abnormal in his day, are since seen to be logically embraced by a more extended theory of the genesis of concords. But as a fact, the tendency of the modern school seems to be to deny the existence of any rule or law whatever, either in regard to detail or general form; and not long since we read in an 'advanced' critique on a work by Lizst, that though the composition might seem fragmentary and incoherent, 'What was 'wanting in form was supplied by the poetic impulse which 'pervaded the whole.' That is a fair specimen of the loose and shallow talk about music which passes for philosophical criticism at present; to which one can only reply that those who use it simply do not know what 'Art' means. Art is Form; and to suppose that poetic impulse without form can give rise to anything worth calling a work of Art, is as reasonable as to imagine that an organised being can be generated by a father without a mother.

Nothing, we may add, tends more to awaken suspicion as to the real importance or greatness of Wagner's contribution to the progress of the art than the atmosphere of intolerance, exaggeration, and what we fear must be called 'humbug,' which seems to surround it everywhere. A reference to the essay by Mr. Dannreuther, in 'Macmillan's Magazine' of May last, in which the ground is cleared for Wagner by the direction of a fire of abuse against every previous and contemporary opera composer (with a partial reservation in favour of Gluck and Mozart), will give some idea of the lengths to which the fervour of the clique is carried. On the other hand, if we were to quote some average specimens of the eloquence of inspired Wagnerian prophets, most of our readers would probably think a hoax was being put upon them. What the smaller fry of the Anglo-German critics are equal to may be partly imagined from what we find in the writing of Mr. Hüffer, their best representative, where, amid repeated sneers at 'the British Philistine,'* we read

* It is, perhaps, scarcely worth while, but we may just remind these

such sentences as, 'the Titan was again making giant strides 'towards Utopia,' or are invited to recognise, in the critic's 'rough outline' of Wagner, 'the features of a grand immortal 'countenance, wrought by Nature's own hands, and stamped 'by her with the indelible sign of genius; a man whom you 'must reckon with one way or another; if not, the book of 'artistic revelation will be for ever sealed against you with 'seven seals:' a sentence which only wants Mr. Burchell's monosyllabic comment to make it complete. To point out the futility and vulgarity, even from a literary point of view, of this kind of writing, would probably be as useless in regard to those who are content to indulge in it, as it would be superfluous in regard to most of our own readers.

We have no wish, however, to saddle Wagner with all the sins of his admirers, and may admit that the time has not arrived for forming a decisive judgment on the place of his works in the art. We do, however, distinctly decline to contemplate his method and his productions as the vestibule to a higher and more intellectual development of the art of music than has yet been attained; not only for reasons already given, in regard to the union of music with spectacle, but also because the whole *genre* of his art shows the qualities which have always marked a period of decadence—the preference for impulse and sentiment before form, colour before outline; and the intense self-consciousness as to method and principle; for, in spite of the sneers with which this argument is greeted by the partisans of Wagner (whose peculiar irritability on this point betrays their consciousness of its significance), the unquestionable fact remains that in no past art, and in no past period, have any of the greatest and most enduring achievements of art-creation arisen out of theories proclaimed with sound of trumpet in the market-place. Theories are the refuge of a genius deficient in spontaneous power. Wagner's first noteworthy opera, 'Rienzi,' is a comparatively weak work, much inferior even to the works of Meyerbeer, of which it was an imitation. Beethoven's two first symphonies, on the contrary, placed him at once nearly on a level with Mozart, as

gentlemen who (together with Wagner himself) are perpetually sneering at English musical taste, that the greater artist and man whom Wagner professes to idolise, left no precedent for such a feeling; on the contrary, he seldom mentions the English in his letters without special expressions of respect, and it was one of his chief wishes 'to spend 'some time amongst them in their own country.' But Beethoven, like every genius of the highest order, was cosmopolitan in his sympathies.

his first pianoforte sonatas placed him at once in advance of Mozart. But for his subsequent wonderful development of the art he advanced neither theories nor explanations, nor did he surround himself with a cohort of laudatory scribes. To pronounce on the value of Wagner's works as a form of musical drama is, as we have observed, premature. We may direct attention, however, to deductions to be drawn from a somewhat close analogy between this and what was sometime called the 'pre-Raffaellite' movement in painting. Both referred in the first instance to early Church art as a model; both have directed violent and exaggerated condemnation against what they have termed the 'Pagan' school represented in the one art by Raffaelle, and in the other by Mozart; both have combined a strong feeling as to the *morale* of art with an indifference to the ordinary elements of beauty and to the higher grade of technical power; both have been at daggers drawn with all the art of their contemporaries, and have been the centres, each, of a clique of critics, distinguished by the 'solidarity' and the bigotry of their opinions and what they call their judgments. It is not unreasonable, perhaps, to infer that the ultimate results of the two movements may be equally similar; and that as the pre-Raffaellite school has exercised a permanent influence on English painting, infusing into it a greater intensity of purpose and aim, and rendering impossible again the acceptance of the flaccid execution and weak sentimentality which distinguished the style immediately preceding it, while the extravagances and uncomelinesses of the new style have insensibly dropped away and been almost forgotten; so it will be ultimately recognised on all hands, that while Wagner has given a new impulse to musical drama, has indicated new possibilities in it for musical effect, and has rendered impossible for the future any recurrence to the weak, gaudy, and (in a sense) almost demoralising tinsel style of modern Italian opera, that nevertheless such a reform is consistent with, if not dependent upon, the abrogation of much of his extravagance both of theory and practice, and that it offers no excusable or logical ground for the combination of a clique of German critics to defame and deface that fair and stately temple of absolute music, which is, or ought to be, the great intellectual pride and glory of their race.

ART. VI.—1. *First and Second Reports from the Committee of Public Accounts, together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, and Appendix.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 9th July, 1873.

2. *Seventeenth, Eighteenth, Nineteenth, Twentieth, and Twenty-first Reports of the Postmaster-General on the Post Office* (1871–5). Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.

3. *An Account of Receipts and Payments by the Postmaster-General in respect of Telegraph Undertakings, Extensions, &c., for Six Months ended the 30th September,* 1873; *also for Six Months ended 31st March,* 1874, *together with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor-General thereon.* Presented pursuant to Act c. 83. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 31st May, 1875.

4. *Report of a Committee appointed by the Treasury to Investigate the Causes of the Increased Cost of the Telegraph Service since the Acquisition of the Telegraphs by the State; with Correspondence thereon.* Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty, 17th July, 1875.

IT is high time that the public understood the circumstances attending the acquisition of the Telegraphs by the Post Office and their subsequent management, with the gross irregularities in dealing with many hundred thousand pounds of public money which were withdrawn from their legitimate objects and spent without the authority of Parliament—the more especially, as we shall prove that, notwithstanding the various investigations which have been made, the matter has not even yet been probed to the bottom, a discrepancy of more than 500,000*l.* being still unaccounted for! And this discrepancy, as we shall show, points to a solution of the enigma that so puzzled the Treasury Committee last summer*—the apparent progressive diminution of the net revenue notwithstanding a rapid increase in the number of telegrams; a solution, too, which seems to nullify the gloomy anticipations of their report. An exposition of this matter is the more called for since it has been subjected to far less investigation and discussion than its great importance demands.

* Report of a Committee, &c., p. 11.

In January 1869, after the passing of the Act of 1868, which authorised the acquisition of the Telegraphs and settled the terms on which the compensation for them was to be based, but before the measure was irrevocably adopted,* we felt it our duty to expose† the monstrous extravagance of the agreements which had been made with the telegraph and railway companies, and the certainty that they must subject the public to a payment enormously greater than what those bodies were justly entitled to, and manyfold what it would cost to erect the Telegraphs anew. We analysed the thirty-seven agreements which had been signed, and proved to demonstration that they were of a most improvident character—that the twenty years' purchase of profits,‡ which all had bargained for, were terms such as no business man would dream of giving for what was in effect a commercial concern (not a solid property like a railway or canal), even if the posts, wires, &c. belonged to the seller absolutely; whereas in several instances the selling telegraph company had but a limited term in them —sometimes of not more than six years unexpired—after which they reverted to the railway companies along whose lines they stood, which reversion these companies had bargained with the Post Office to purchase—a stipulation which has turned out most onerously for that Department. We also showed that most of the telegraph companies had bargained for important items of remuneration in addition to twenty years' purchase of profits, which indeed in some cases amounted to buying the concern several times over. In fact, by a comparison of the covenants in the respective agreements—the extravagant character of many of them, and the presence in some agreements of stipulations which were absent from others where the circumstances were identical—it became evident that each negotiator had obtained from the Post Office whatever he chose to ask for. In the debate in Parliament upon the Bill the exor-

* By a clause in that statute the purchase was made contingent on the requisite monies being voted, while it was admitted that Parliament was not under any obligation, legal or moral, to complete the transaction. Indeed another clause in the Act provided that if Parliament declined to vote the monies, the Companies should be indemnified for the expense and trouble to which they had been put.

† Ed. Rev., No. cclxiii. p. 154. January 1869.

‡ The year's profits too, designated as the basis, were not to be those of a *past* year—a known quantity—but of the *then current* year —an unknown quantity, and one open to be enhanced by processes well known to company managers.

bitant stipulations of these agreements were to a considerable extent exposed; yet neither the Government nor the public seems to have understood the business, and thus this most improvident arrangement was confirmed. We are sorry to say that it is but too common a practice with the permanent officials of the Treasury to strain after the most paltry minute economics, and then to throw away millions with reckless indifference.

One dangerous provision of the Act of 1868 which we pointed out was, however, repealed by the Statute of 1869. By the first Act it was provided that the Post Office should have no monopoly of telegraphic messages. Had the purchases been economically managed so as to admit of a sixpenny rate (in Belgium and Switzerland the charge is half a franc only), competition need not have been feared; but it requires no great sagacity to see that, considering the small cost at which telegraphs can be erected (stated to the Committee of 1868 to be 27*l.* to 30*l.* a mile), for a few hundred thousand pounds all the busy towns in the kingdom might be connected, a rate less than a shilling charged, and thus the Post Office be deprived of all the profitable part of the business.

But the upshot of the measure has more than fulfilled our forebodings. The gross extravagance of the terms conceded is proved by the unerring test of the Share List, whence we learn that the 100*l.* shares of the Electric and International Telegraph Company stood in January 1867 at 132. In October of that year the intention of Government to purchase the telegraphs had oozed out, and consequently in the following January the price of these shares had risen to 153, while in February 1870, just before the completion of the sale, they were quoted at 267, or double the price of 1867. In the same period the shares of the British and Irish Telegraph Company rose from 90 to 190, those of the London and Provincial from 1½ to 3½, and of Reuter's Company from 17 to 90, while the United Kingdom Company's shares advanced from 1½ to 7½; and all this during a period when the prices of shares in general were rather falling than rising. In every case the greater part of the rise took place in the three weeks during which the Commons' Committee stood adjourned to enable the Second Secretary of the Post Office to make agreements with the companies. The report of Reuter's Company, which appeared in the 'Times' on January 25, 1870, and was afterwards adopted by the shareholders, is a remarkable document. It states that 726,000*l.* was awarded to the company, the market

value of whose whole capital before the Government scheme was broached (as shown by the Share List) was 170,000*l.* only. This booty the Report recommends to be dealt with by allotting to each 25*l.* shareholder 7*7l.* in cash, and also an 8*l.* paid-up share in the continuing Company—handing to the senior counsel a bonus of 1,000*l.*, and to the solicitor one of 2,000*l.*; to the secretary, 750*l.*; 5,000*l.* to Mr. Reuter; 4,000*l.* to the directors; and it is 'further recommended that '2,000*l.* be placed at their (the directors') disposal for distri-'bution among certain other persons whose services had been 'of value in reference to the concession and in promotion of 'the interests of the Company.' It would be interesting to know who these persons were and what were their services. An amusing proof of the high good fortune of a small telegraph company was afforded by a Chancery suit in which a person who had been employed to negotiate for the company with the Post Office sued his principals for remuneration. It appeared that he had bargained for a commission upon the amount to be got out of Government, which was to advance in a sort of geometric ratio. The minimum price he was authorised to accept was 5,000*l.*, whereas he managed to obtain 25,000*l.*; and the commission he claimed, and which was decreed to him by the Court, amounted to more than the whole of the minimum price which he was permitted to accept!

The recklessness displayed in the conduct of the negotiation seems to have been continued by the Post Office—as we gather from the reports of inquiries named at the head of this article—in its subsequent dealings with the companies, which really recall the favourite maxim of East Indians under the old régime—'John Company has a strong back.' Indeed the back of John Post Office must be of Sampsonian capacity to bear the loads laid upon it. Excessive charges of all sorts have been submitted to, and in nearly every dispute the Post Office has given way; indeed the extreme vagueness of the agreements of 1868, under which the claims were made, perhaps rendered it unsafe to contest them.

Although the late Second Secretary informed the Parliamentary Committee in 1868 that the compensation to servants of the companies was to be paid by those bodies, it turned out that, under the agreements, this burden also had to be borne by the Post Office, thus further swelling the cost of the acquisition. Many of these persons have not only received handsome compensation for the loss of their places, but are employed by Government at wages far higher than they had ever obtained before. But prodigality and pinching are usually

found together, and thus, with all this lavishness, some of the *employés* of the Department have been dealt with in a spirit of cruel parsimony, not receiving for their telegraphic work enough even to cover the disbursements occasioned by it.

The upshot of the whole business is that the purchase and extension of the telegraphs—which was originally estimated by Mr. Scudamore to cost 2,500,000*l.* (though after the agreements were made he calculated the purchase-money at 6,000,000*l.*), and although the portions purchased, had they been erected anew, could not have amounted to one million * —has already cost the country nearly *ten millions*, while important claims of railway companies still remain to be met!

The estimates of working expenses and profits proved to be as untrustworthy as that of purchase. Thus, in 1869, the Postmaster-General told the House of Commons that if 4 per cent. interest was charged against the Post Office for the capital sunk in purchases and extensions, the net profits, after paying working expenses and interest, would be 44,000*l.* yearly, and if 3½ per cent. only were debited, then 78,000*l.* would be realised. Now in the year ended March last, the excess of income over working expenses which went to meet the interest of capital—nearly 300,000*l.*—was 36,725*l.* only, leaving a deficit of about 260,000*l.* In June 1869 Mr. Scudamore presented to the Postmaster-General an estimate of the annual cost of working the telegraphic service, which amounted to 359,484*l.*, whereas the Treasury Committee calculates the working expenses of 1875–6 at (exclusive of 293,706*l.* interest of capital) 1,191,180*l.*! Moreover, it was estimated that the additional officers needed for the telegraphic service would be 1,528 clerks and 1,283 messengers, while, even so early as 1870,

* The aggregate mileage of telegraphs bought by Government was 16,588¾ (Return 'Electric Telegraphs,' 1868, No. 202) only; and it was given in evidence to the Committee of 1868 that the cost of erecting a telegraph was from 27*l.* to 30*l.* a mile, which, however, probably did not include instruments and stations. Making every allowance for the expense of these and also for the value of a few marine cables which were included in the Government purchase, the cost of making anew what would be equivalent to all that was bought from the companies could not amount to 1,000,000*l.*, particularly when we recollect that those bodies were rival concerns whose lines often duplicated each other. By making anew, too, the Post Office would have had the advantage of new plant of the most modern construction. Of course we do not maintain that it would have been just to take such a course without having first offered to the companies to purchase their concerns on fair and liberal terms.

4,913 of the former and 3,116 of the latter were employed; and it was deemed necessary to pay these persons far more highly than the companies had done. Much economy, too, was looked for from the unity of management of the Post Office; but it has turned out that, even under this head, the Department spends much more than did the companies. Under their arrangements with the telegraphic companies the railways carried materials for repair gratis, or at a very low rate; but now they exact full charges from the Post Office.

Our readers will not have forgotten the Post Office scandal, as it was called, of 1873, which was followed by the resignation of the Postmaster-General and the translation of Mr. Lowe from the Exchequer to the Home Office. We are far from desiring to rake up the details of a matter of which the public has already heard so much. And, indeed, the reports of the investigating committees are by no means agreeable reading, showing as they do a state of things such as has been unheard of for many years—on this side of the Atlantic, at least, and which we trust never to hear of again—when the Post Office authorities were compelled to admit that the Act of Parliament requiring the full receipts of the telegraphic service (as of the other revenue departments) to be paid without deduction into the Exchequer, had not only been violated, during the first difficulties attending the transfer of the telegraphs, to the extent of 812,800*l.*—to recoup the Consolidated Fund for which a Bill had to be carried through Parliament in 1871—but had been systematically set at nought during a long period subsequent to that transaction, and to the extent of some 800,000*l.* more without even the excuse, such as it was, of initial embarrassments. The cross-examination brought out that the Post Office accounts had been falsified in various ways—as by withdrawing large amounts of the Savings' Banks' deposits—by placing to the Capital account numerous items which properly belonged to Revenue, including, indeed, such matters as coals, gas, winding up of clocks, wages of charwomen, &c.; and this was persisted in even after it had drawn forth strong remarks from the Auditor-General. Such doings might not be very surprising in the case of the companies whose prospectuses we receive every morning (and which, if we are wise, we throw straightway into the waste-paper basket), but are melancholy indeed on the part of a public department which until recently had for many years been held in the highest estimation for regularity and straightforwardness.

Sad, however, as is this retrospect, we shall prove that the full depth of the mischief has not even yet been plumbed.

Year ending 31st December.	Gross Revenue of the Post Office (exclusive of telegraphic earnings), as shown by the Report of the Post-Master General. (21st Report, p. 40.)	Payments into the Exchequer during the same periods, as shown by the Revenue accounts published by the Treasury.*	Amount of Post Office Revenue not accounted for in each year.
	£	£	£
1870	4,848,605	4,650,000	198,605
1871	4,900,454	4,690,000	210,454
1872	5,208,922	4,860,000	348,922
1873	5,348,040	4,880,000 †	468,040
1874	5,751,600	5,750,000	1,600
Total for the five years	26,057,621	24,830,000	1,227,621

The foregoing table, which includes the whole period from the beginning of the Post Office Telegraph Service to the end of 1874, shows that, in the five years ended December 31st of that year, the gross revenue of the Post Office, exclusive of telegraphic earnings, amounted to 26,057, 621*l.*; but instead of paying this sum into the Exchequer, as required by the Act of Parliament, the Department handed over 24,830,000*l.* only, leaving 1,227,621*l.* of postal revenue unaccounted for, although in the preceding five years we find that the aggregates of postal revenue (as shown by the Postmaster-General's Report) and of payments into the Exchequer balanced within 27,000*l.* At the investigation of 1873, the Second Secretary admitted that 652,000*l.* of the Post Office revenue had been employed to pay the expenses of the Telegraph Department; but this still leaves 575,621*l.* unaccounted for. As this money must have been paid into the Exchequer in some shape or other, and as the revenue of the Telegraph Service is the only item in which it could be included, it would appear that, in the five years in question, that service has been credited with upwards of 500,000*l.* (after allowing for any possible difference in receipts, balances, &c.), which it has never earned. This would

* In the Annual Finance Accounts and in the daily newspapers on the first day of each quarter.

† The amount actually paid into the Exchequer in this year was 5,532,000*l.*, but of this sum 652,000*l.* was not Post Office revenue of that year, but monies repaid from the Telegraph Loan of 1873 to replace those improperly applied in previous years to Telegraphs. The real amount of Post Office revenue accounted for in 1873 was therefore only 4,880,000*l.*

explain the otherwise inexplicable fact that the Telegraph Department, though now doing a business double what it did in 1870, appears to be less profitable, the truth no doubt being that the telegraph accounts of the earlier years are altogether untrustworthy, the revenue being overstated and the expenses understated; while, so far from any profit having been realised, the Department must have been worked at a heavy loss. And this view is strongly confirmed by the fact that, in the financial year ended March 31st, 1874, the payments into the Exchequer made by the Telegraph Department (which by law must be done weekly), amounted to 1,210,000*l.*; while in the year ended March 31st, 1875, 1,120,000*l.* only was paid in—90,000*l.* less—although the number of telegrams had, as we shall see, increased from 17,821,530 to 19,253,120. Now, whatever may be the case with regard to *net* revenue, the coincidence of an increase of telegrams with a diminution of *gross* earnings (the minor sources of telegraphic income having also grown), is simply an impossibility.

So great an unexplained discrepancy in the accounts of a public department is a matter of such serious moment that it is the bounden duty of Government to have it thoroughly investigated, even had it not an important bearing upon the prospective telegraph revenue.

The Report of the Committee appointed by the Treasury, which proves—as indeed does the evidence of the officers of the Post Office—that the accounts of the Telegraphic Service are but little to be relied on, is a document well worthy of study, as containing a succinct history of the management of the Telegraphic Service from its inception by the Post Office, and an impartial exposure of its errors and the state of its accounts. But the conclusions of this document seem in some respects to be erroneous, and its suggestions not all of them wise. It states that the 'increasing number of messages transmitted through the Telegraphic Branch, and the falling off of the net receipts, from the commencement to the 31st March last, are shown in the following table:—

Year ended	No. of Messages	Surplus of Income over Working Expenses
		£ s. d.
31 March 1871 .	9,850,177	303,456 13 5
„ 1872 .	12,473,796	159,834 12 8½
„ 1873 .	15,535,780	103,120 2 8¾
„ 1874 .	17,821,530	90,033 6 11¼
„ 1875 .	19,253,120	36,725 0 0

'The conclusion from these figures cannot be avoided, that, 'unless some check is put on the expenditure, or some means 'devised for augmenting the receipts, the management of the 'telegraphs will become a permanent charge on the finances of 'the country.'

But this is assuming the accuracy of the Telegraph accounts, which we have proved to be fallacious; and, as the table which we have inserted at page 183 shows that the amounts paid in as Telegraph Revenue must have greatly exceeded what was really earned, we may assume that, if the accounts of the earlier years were accurately stated, they would show, not indeed an increasing excess of income over expenditure, but a progressive diminution of deficit; and as the extensions are now nearly completed (none having been made in 1874, and very few in 1873)—a fact involving a cessation in the growth of the expenditure arising from addition to the number of stations and *employés*—the increase in the telegrams which may be confidently expected cannot fail to augment the net revenue of the service. Under these circumstances, therefore, the necessity of curtailing the advantages enjoyed by the public, which has so impressed the Committee, would seem to disappear. Indeed, these gentlemen, following the natural instinct of their Department, have, it would seem, kept their eyes too closely on the question of immediate profit and loss, forgetting that, revenue being only a secondary consideration with the Post Office, that Department is not in the position of a firm or company carrying on a business, which must, of course, look to profit, but is the servant of the nation, and therefore should primarily consider the benefit derived by the public from the service, and that even some loss may be wisely undergone, particularly where it is probably temporary only, rather than a most important means of communication be curtailed.

The Committee suggests that those telegraph offices which do not pay their working expenses should be closed—that the rate of charges made to the newspaper proprietors for telegraphic messages should be increased—that engineers entrusted with the maintenance of the telegraphs should also undertake the duties of Post Office Surveyors—that the officers and men of the Royal Engineers should be utilised both in maintaining and in working the telegraphs—and finally, that the number of words allowed in a message should be reduced.

The blending of the telegraph maintenance with the duties of Post Office Surveyors would seem to be of very doubtful policy. The Surveyors perform some of the most important functions of the Department. They have been well termed

'the eyes of the Post Office,' and to be duly competent to their duty, must undergo a course of official training hardly compatible with learning the profession of a civil engineer. The proposal to employ the Royal Engineers to perform some of the easier parts of the telegraphic duty seems happy. By this means, as the Report shows, the Department would gain the aid of a body of men who, being subject to military discipline, could not obstruct the communication by strikes; and in a campaign the services of soldiers capable of working telegraphs would be very valuable; and further, as the whole of the corps might be in turn practised at the telegraphs, so large a number would be trained to these duties that even the exigencies of war would not necessitate the withdrawal of those actually required by the Post Office.

No part of the statutory arrangements made on the purchase of the Telegraphs appears to us more improvident and unjust than the inordinate concession made to the Newspaper Press. Newspapers acquired a right of transmitting or receiving no less than seventy-five words in the night for one shilling. Such a price is clearly unremunerative, and, in fact, entails a heavy yearly loss on the country. In plain language, a staff of telegraphic night-workers is kept up at the public expense to enable the proprietors of newspapers to carry on their business; and perhaps the hardest and most laborious portion of the telegraph work is done for a price notoriously inadequate. No class of persons derives so much advantage from telegraphic communication as the managers of newspapers. Their business is to supply news to the public, and news is brought to their doors with instantaneous rapidity by a marvellous instrument, constructed and maintained at the public expense. The provincial press has been literally created by the Telegraphs, which enable it to anticipate the arrival of the metropolitan journals. This is all excellent, and we are very glad these facilities of communication exist. But they should *be paid for at their cost*; and it is strange that the country should be losing 200,000*l.* a year by the telegraphs, whilst the newspapers are paying at an absurdly low rate for services essential to their own existence. The Press in England is too powerful and too rich to require or to desire to be subsidised in this manner by the State.

With regard to closing telegraph offices on the ground that their receipts are insufficient to cover their expenses, such a course would not seem to be desirable save under very hopeless circumstances; for the disposition to use the telegraph has a strong tendency to grow. Thus we find that in 1872, out

of 3,444 offices, 728, or 21 per cent., were unprofitable, while in 1874, of 3,692, only 449, or 12 per cent., did not earn their working expenses.

So great a progress in two years affords a strong hope that in the course of no long time nearly all the offices may become, if not absolutely self-supporting, so nearly so that the accommodation of the localities will quite justify their retention.

Lastly, the Committee put forward with much confidence some suggestions made by one of their number, Mr. Weaver, a gentleman who seems to possess practical experience of telegraphic working. Believing that the great amount of transmission through the wires has occasioned the large expenditure in plant and current expenses of working, he proposes to diminish this outlay by (in addition to raising the rates charged to the press) diminishing the number of words allowed to the public in a telegram—at present twenty for one shilling over and above the addresses of the sender and addressee, upon which no limit is placed. To sweeten this pill, Mr. Weaver proposes to do away with the shilling tariff, and introduce either a charge of sixpence for a telegram of ten words including the addresses, or a tariff of a penny per word, likewise including addresses, to be diminished to a halfpenny per word when the system may become profitable.

Now, as a means of increasing the revenue, with great respect to Mr. Weaver and the Committee, we cannot but characterise this as a most extraordinary proposal. Mr. Weaver seems to forget that the transmission of the words of the message forms but a portion of the work necessitated by each telegram. The Report itself states that the number of 'service 'words' (necessary signals) of each telegram averages fourteen; then, it must be sent out by a messenger, entries made in the accounts, &c.—all which sources of expense are the same whether the message comprise one word or a hundred. Again, it should be remembered that the companies originally did charge for the words of the addresses, but ceased to do so because they found that the consequent meagreness of address caused great waste of their messengers' time. To incur this disadvantage and reduce the price by half, in consideration of a small diminution of the number of message-words transmitted through the wires, would seem much more likely to lessen the profits than enhance them. The penny a word scheme, too, would put an end to the uniform rate—that great source of economy in working and of public convenience. Indeed, if any alteration is to be made in the tariff, it ought in justice to be in the other direction, viz. by allowing more than five ad-

ditional words for three pence. The goal of a sixpenny tariff can only be arrived at by a lessening of expenditure to be effected in a mode very different from that proposed—a diminution, indeed, which can only be obtained by a radical reformation of the present system. The public documents do not afford much information as to the details of telegraph-working expenditure, but unless it be very different from that of the Savings' Banks, a remunerative sixpenny rate is an impossibility.

Thus the Postmaster-General in his last Report states that 'the cost to the Post Office of each transaction (including 'postage) in Savings' Bank business, i. e. of each separate de-'posit or withdrawal, is now about 8*d.*' Thus every person who deposits a shilling occasions an expense of 8*d.*, and another 8*d.* when he withdraws it; and yet to receive a message at one post office and to deliver it from another must obviously be more costly than a double Savings' Bank transaction of deposit and withdrawal, as it necessitates the sending of a messenger to the addressee's dwelling. Making every allowance, therefore, for the postage portion of the 1*s.* 4*d.*, it is obvious that unless the service can be much simplified and cheapened, a sixpenny rate without a serious annual deficit is impracticable.

The history of the Money Order Office, however, affords a hope that such a simplification is not impossible. In 1847 it was found that, although the accounts of that office had been allowed to fall into a state of great arrear, the expenditure upon it was so large as to produce a growing deficit, which had then reached 10,000*l.* in the year. An investigation was consequently instituted resulting in a reform, which, while permanently abolishing arrears, converted the deficit into a surplus amounting, at the time of the recent reductions in the rates of commission, to 47,000*l.* yearly. And now, a money order costs 1½*d.* for receiving and 1½*d.* for paying, instead of the 8*d.* for either transaction of the Savings' Banks. An investigation like that of 1847 into the Telegraphic Service and Post Office Savings' Banks, would probably produce a similar result, and then a sixpenny rate might be practicable—an advantage which was indeed enjoyed by the metropolis, as regards local telegrams, under the old system.

The acquisition of the Telegraphs by the Post Office, too, deprived the public of another advantage—the power of sending money by telegraphic order—which had been conceded to it by the Electric and International Company, and had then existed in Belgium for several years. That six years have passed by without these benefits having been restored is an additional proof that the management of the Department needs a thorough investigation.

ART. VII.—1. *Isaac Casaubon*, 1559-1614. By MARK PATTISON, Rector of Lincoln College. 8vo. London: 1875.

2. *Ephemerides Isaaci Casauboni, cum Præfatione et Notis.* Edente JOHANNE RUSSELL, S.T.P., Canonico Cantuarensi, Scholæ Carthusianæ olim Archididascalo. Tomi II. 8vo. Oxonii: 1851.

IN the biography of distinguished authors the interest is commonly divided between the scholar and the man, and in most cases the latter phase of the subject is the more prominent, as well as the more attractive. During life the great writer has generally been known to the public in his books, and what is sought in his biography is to learn what he was in himself. The world expects to obtain in a biography a glimpse of the inner life of the man whom it has hitherto admired at a distance; to follow him into the privacy of his home, and to study him, as well in the unreserved revelations of communion with his own thoughts, as in his multiplied relations with family, with friends, and with general society.

Mr. Pattison in his learned 'Life of Isaac Casaubon' has departed from this order. His treatment of the literary part of his subject is scholarlike and exhaustive; but to this the personal phase of the biography is made entirely subordinate. The reader will find in Mr. Pattison's book an admirable presentment of the scholar; but he will learn less than he could desire of the man. He will, we fear, rise from the perusal with a half-feeling that he has been engaged with an abstraction rather than with a living individual, and that, while he has learned everything that is to be known about Casaubon's studies and their results in his books, he has received but a vague and shadowy impression of Casaubon himself.

It will appear difficult at first sight to say why this should be so. The times in which Casaubon lived were troubled and full of interest. As a youth he inherited from his father no obscure place in the religious conflicts of the period; and in later life, he was drawn, although reluctantly, into the polemical discussions by which the Church and society in France were agitated. He was brought into frequent contact, if not familiarity, with many of the most distinguished public men of France and England, and even with Royalty itself in both these countries. He was a man, withal, of keen perception, of warm affections, and lively sensibilities. Both his marriages were love-matches; he was tenderly devoted to his children,

and some of his friendships were warm, almost to the very verge of romance. On the other hand, although habitually pacific, and even shrinking, he was of ardent temperament and quick impulses; and he was more than once betrayed, in the ardour of learned controversy, into exhibitions of angry intemperance which will startle those who are unfamiliar with the tone of literary warfare in the seventeenth century. With all this, few men have more industriously recorded the events of their own lives. For the last seventeen years of his life he kept a diary, in which every individual day has its own entry. Nor do we know any diary which, so far as its scope extends, reveals more unreservedly every thought, every aspiration, and every emotion of the writer; and it is accompanied by a correspondence more than ordinarily varied, voluminous, and comprehensive.

Perhaps, however, for the purposes of the general biography, these advantages are more apparent than real. It may be said with truth that Isaac Casaubon's business, interest, and pleasure in life began and ended among his books; that he was a scholar and almost nothing more; that in his own eyes the time not bestowed upon study was lost; that for him the history of his day, to be recorded in his diary, was simply the progress which he had that day made in the particular author or subject which he happened to have on hand; that to this one engrossing interest all else—wife, children, patrons, friends—were secondary; that while his domestic affections were undoubtedly of the tenderest kind, he was unable to divest himself of the habitual consciousness that they were at best but impediments of what was the true business of his life; in one word, that his biography, as a whole, is fairly epitomised in the lines which are inscribed on his monumental tablet in Westminster Abbey:—

> 'Qui nosse vult Casaubonum,
> Non saxa sed chartas legat
> Superfuturas marmori,
> Et profuturas posteris.'

Such appears to be the view of Mr. Pattison; and accordingly the key-note of his 'Life of Isaac Casaubon' is the history of his studies. Of these it would be difficult to find a more sympathetic historian, or one more fitted to understand and appreciate the labours which he describes. He has used with great skill and industry every material available for the illustration of them; every entry in Casaubon's voluminous Diary, every letter in the bulky folio of his printed Epistles, every reply of his numerous correspondents in the seven

volumes of the Burney MSS. Still we cannot help thinking that he has leant unduly upon this view of the life, and has passed too lightly what may be called the social side of the subject. It is plain that he has done this advisedly. We can hardly agree, as he seems to think, that the attempt to reproduce Casaubon in a broader light would have been hopeless. It is true that the materials for the purpose are imperfect. He had no Boswell to report his conversation, even if his conversation had been of that stamp which gives life and sparkle to a biography; nor is there among his correspondents any very persistent collector of gossip from whom might be gathered continuous materials for an independent sketch—for those numberless minute social details which constitute the really distinctive elements of personal character. Nevertheless we think that both the Diary and Letters, if carefully studied with this object, would have supplied here and there little incidents, casual but suggestive allusions, which would serve to give life to the purely literary portraiture, which would at least impart a degree of individuality to the sketch, and would invest Casaubon with somewhat of that living human element—that 'chequer-work of beam and shade'—which we miss in Mr. Pattison's page. A great deal of the picturesqueness of the best biographies is due to the skilful use of trivial, and to ordinary eyes, very unimportant materials. Some of the most effective scenes in Mr. Forster's 'Life of Goldsmith' are not drawn from any detailed record, but are made up of little touches derived from sources entirely independent of each other; and although it would be vain to hope, under any possible circumstances, for a portraiture of Casaubon as lifelike and as characteristic as that of poor Goldsmith, there are many facts and phrases in Casaubon's Diary—numberless minor indications of disposition or of manner—which might have served, if used with skill, to individualise the man, and thus to give life and form to the colder interest which attaches to the studies of the scholar.

Isaac Casaubon was born at Geneva, on February 18, 1559. His father, Arnold Casaubon, was a member of an ancient and in some branches noble family of Gascony, and was one of those Huguenot immigrants to that city, who were driven out from France by the outburst of popular fanaticism which followed the Edict of Châteaubriand in 1551. Isaac's mother was Jehanne Mergine Rousseau, a native of Dauphiné. The exact date of the settlement of Casaubon's parents at Geneva is unknown, but it must have been before December 1556, in which month their first child was baptised. Arnold Casaubon was admitted

as 'habitant' of Geneva on January 11, 1557. Two years after the birth of Isaac his father accepted a call to be pastor of the Huguenot congregation at Crêst, in Dauphiné, where the childhood of Isaac was passed, and where his youthful studies were pursued, under such instruction from his father as their precarious and wandering life permitted. When he was nine years old he was able to speak and write Latin, but at this time his father was called away to attend the contingent sent by Dauphiné to the Huguenot army. Isaac's lessons were thus of necessity suspended, and on his father's return, three years later, the boy was found to have forgotten all the precocious learning of his early years. This enforced relaxation of study was in all likelihood the means of saving his health, if not his life. On his father's return to Crêst, Isaac resumed his studies with redoubled ardour; and even when the renewed troubles of 1572 drove the family to the hills, he continued his lessons in the cave in which they had taken shelter; 'in silvis 'miseri, ingenti tamen animo.' From this date till his nineteenth year, his father had but little time to devote to teaching, and Isaac pursued his studies in Greek and Latin without a teacher, and with but few books. He himself in his later life wrote to a friend that 'he could hardly say that he began his 'studies till he was twenty.' He claims to be a 'self-taught 'man, *ὀψιμαθής* and *αὐτοδίδακτος*.'

Αὐτὸς ἐὼν ἐρέτης, αὐτόστολος, αὐτόματος νοῦς.

The 'beginning of study' to which he here refers was his being sent to the Academy of Geneva in 1578. His name is not to be found in the matriculation-book, the entry of names having apparently been neglected for the two years 1577–8; nor is there, indeed, any record of his student life. His preceptor in Greek was Franciscus Portus, a native Greek, who regarded him as his best pupil, and before his death in 1581 recommended him as best qualified to succeed to the chair. This recommendation was acquiesced in by the council, but not till June 5, 1582, a year after the death of Portus. Casaubon held the professorship for fourteen years. The conditions of student-life and professorial emoluments and advantages at Geneva in the sixteenth century would seem strange in these days; for the former, attendance at 6 A.M. in summer, and 7 A.M. in winter; a scanty breakfast eaten on the benches of the school-room; a charcoal brazier to thaw the half-frozen fingers; unglazed windows, over which the pupils were permitted as a favour to paste paper; a daily morning sermon, and three Sunday discourses; for the latter 'high work,' which, however, did not

mean 'high pay.' Casaubon's stipend was just 10*l.* a year, with rooms in the College; upon which provision he had the courage to marry in little more than twelve months after his appointment. His wife, Marie Prolyot, the daughter, like himself, of refugee parents, survived the marriage little more than eighteen months. She died in April 1585, leaving him an infant daughter, who must have died early, as no mention is found of her in the papers of Casaubon.

Scanty as was this provision, he was not left long in the peaceful enjoyment of it. During the obstinate struggle of Geneva with the Duke of Savoy the schools fell away so notably that retrenchment became a thing of necessity. The first step was amalgamation of professorships, and, in 1585, Casaubon was burdened with the class of History, in addition to his own. In 1586 the professorships were suspended altogether, and the suspension continued at least until after 1590. How Casaubon struggled through this gloomy interval is unknown. In 1586 his father died at Die, in Dauphiné, Isaac alone, of all his children, being absent from the death-bed. His own notice of this bereavement is touching and characteristic. He 'received the intelligence while he was writing his 'notes on the fifth book of Strabo, and he confides his sorrow 'to his commentary, as his companion and friend. The reader 'of Strabo to this day is called upon to sympathise with 'Casaubon in his bereavement, in the middle of a difficulty 'which he leaves unexplained for that cause. It is not only 'filial affection lacerated by death premature and unexpected. 'It is disgust with his own occupation at the moment when 'brought into sudden contrast with the memory of a parent 'whose every thought and every hour had been given to sacred 'things and the cause of God. "There is a difficulty here"' —in Strabo's account of the southern shore of the Italian peninsula,—'"which I leave to others who have more leisure for '"such work. I have neither time nor spirit for the discussion '"of such things. My mind, overwhelmed by the intelligence '"just received, has no more taste for these classical studies, '"and demands a different strain to soothe and heal it."'*

It was in the midst of these troubles that Casaubon married (April 24, 1586) his second wife, Florence, daughter of the great printer Henri Estienne;—attracted no doubt by her beauty and amiable qualities, but hardly less, Mr. Pattison suspects, by the learned collections of her father. If such a hope, however, had entered into his views, it was doomed to

* Isaac Casaubon, p. 28.

disappointment. Far from gaining through his marriage free access to his father-in-law's library, he was thenceforth excluded from it even more jealously than before. He never saw the inside of Estienne's library except on one occasion, when his wife and he had the courage to break it open. Nor indeed had he any other material advantage from this marriage. Even the little dowry which was promised him with his wife remained still unpaid at Henri Estienne's death. But he was more than compensated by the devotion and fidelity of Florence herself.

'How tenderly Casaubon was attached to his wife is evident throughout his Diary. Even the moments of impatience, consigned to the pages of that secret record, may be taken to prove affection and general harmony. He certainly complains bitterly on one occasion of her interrupting him. But over and above Casaubon's constitutional fretfulness, we must make allowance for the irritability engendered by a life of hard reading against time. Casaubon thought every moment lost in which he was not acquiring knowledge. He resented intrusion as a cruel injury. To take up his time was to rob him of his only property. Casaubon's imagination was impressed in a painful degree with the truth of the dictum "ars longa, vita brevis." As though with a presentiment that the end would come to him early, he struggles, all through a life of harass, to have his time for himself. To his wife struggling also, in her way, with the cares of a large household and narrow means, he may naturally have seemed at times apathetic to her difficulties, and selfishly "burying himself in his books." This is the true interpretation of the exceptional allusions in the Diary. Its general tone is that of true affection. When she is away from him he writes to her by every post, and sometimes cannot give his attention to his books owing to the pain he suffers at her absence. June 1599: "dolor ex uxoris absentia studia mea impediverunt," "to-day I got "two letters from my wife. When will the day come that I shall see "her again?" Every illness of hers is recorded, and his time, of which he is avaricious, is devoted to waiting upon her. Except in being too prolific—they had eighteen children—she proved an excellent scholar's wife, according to the model which is still traditional in Germany. She did not enter into her husband's pursuits, but she encouraged and sustained his temper naturally given to despondency. She is his "steady partner in all his vexations," ep. 750. She relieves him of all domestic cares, so that as he complains to Archbishop Spotswood, "when she is absent from him, he finds himself lost and "helpless." She is sure to find, if it can be found, a valuable volume belonging to Lingelsheim, "because whatever she knows I have at "heart, she has at heart." In 1613 he writes: "I know by expe-"rience what a great help in our studies is an agreeable and dearly-"beloved wife." There is something touchingly simple in Florence's entry in the "Ephemerides," the solitary entry in her handwriting, February 23, 1601. Casaubon had gone out of Paris for the night to

attend the Protestant worship, a journey not without risk from the fanatical and ferocious Catholic mob of Paris. Madame Casaubon takes the volume and writes: "ce jour dit, M. Casaubon a esté absent; "que Dieu garde, et moi, et les nostres avec lui." Her economical talent comes out in the birthday present she brought her husband in 1604—a purse of more than 100 gold crowns, the saving of her thrift out of their scanty income.' (Pp. 31–3.)

It will easily be understood from what we have said that Casaubon's learned studies were but little benefited by his connexion with Estienne. He contributed in various ways to Estienne's editions of 'Thucydides,' to the Latin version of his 'Dionysius,' in 1588, to the 'Pliny' of 1591, and to the 'Diogenes Laertius' of 1593. But through some unexplained jealousy on his father-in-law's part, he was excluded from all share in the text and translations, and from control of the contents of the volumes. Nor, on the other hand, was his position as professor favourable to his own editorial studies. His unceasing complaint while at Geneva is of want of time. In addition to his Greek lecture he had also charge of the Latin, and for a time of the Hebrew class; and there is every reason to believe that he was also driven to undertake private instruction, at least for the young men who lodged in his own house. Mr. Pattison has attempted to form an estimate of the character of the work which devolved on him as Greek lecturer. His hearers were an advanced class, in whom he could assume a knowledge, not of the language only, but of the ordinary school cycle of Greek history and antiquities. Three, at least, of his published commentaries, those on Persius, those on Theophrastus, and those on the Second Book of Suetonius, are substantially reproductions of his lectures to his class at Geneva; and in these and other remains of his professorial career at Geneva Mr. Pattison appears to us fully justified in recognising 'a width of reading possessed by the teacher, and 'a level of philological curiosity presumed in the learner, which 'it would not be easy to find surpassed in the most celebrated 'lecture-rooms of our time.' Casaubon was not content with the bare explanation of the text of his author. He grappled with all the difficulties, as well of the matter as of the text: he was not satisfied with offering the solutions of others which he found ready to his hand: his interpretation was the result of his own reading and of his own comparison of passages, and it argues almost invariably a thorough mastery of the author with whom he deals.

After a time, however, the routine of professorial work became irksome. Restricted as he was, both by the require-

ments of his class and by the censorship of the academic council, his labours for the lecture-room could seldom serve as preparatory to those of the press. At a comparatively early stage we find aspirations after a higher sphere of work, and dissatisfaction with the results of his juvenile studies; and one of the strangest of the revelations which we owe to the publication a few years ago of his long-forgotten Diary, is, that with all his apparent enthusiasm for classical studies, and all his undoubted success in their cultivation, these studies were at all times, at least comparatively, distasteful to him; that the true bent of his mind was towards sacred literature; that while he was most entirely absorbed in his greatest classical effort—the edition of Athenæus—he was pining all the time after the study of the Fathers, and longing for the day when 'it would be God's will that he should have done with 'this editing, and should be free to give himself to better 'studies' (p. 56).

To an enthusiastic student like Casaubon, one of the bitterest pains of poverty was the inability to procure the books which to him were not mere literary luxuries, but the necessary instruments of his daily work. It is difficult to conceive how he contrived, in the face of this abject poverty, to gather together such a collection as that which he had amassed, even before he left Geneva. The list of the books which he carried with him to Montpellier is still preserved. They numbered 450 sets, many of the sets consisting of several folio volumes, and filled no fewer than thirteen bales. Many of these books too were MSS. not to be procured but at a heavy cost. It is interesting to trace out in his Letters and Diary the various devices by which he contrived to satisfy what with him was not an appetite but a want, and what Mr. Pattison truly says, was 'not the indulgence of a taste or a passion, but the acquisition 'of tools.' In addition to the books which he acquired by actual purchase, and on which, as Cicero employed his *vindemiolæ*, Casaubon expended almost all his little resources (*reculas pœne omnes meas absumsi*), he paid for some, as it were in kind, by editorial or other literary work; some he procured by selling the books which he had already read; some were presented to him by authors or by considerate friends; some were practically given, although nominally in the form of loan; some he did not hesitate to ask for frankly from friends more favoured by fortune; some, which were lent, he retained for an indefinite period, and Mr. Pattison admits that 'at his death 'in 1614 many such were found in his possession and never 'reverted to their owners' (p. 41). But judging by his letters,

purchase, poor as he was, must have been the main source. He was from the first a bold and zealous book-buyer. He did not scruple to give 'a vast sum' (*magno ære*) for a transcript of Polyænus, and 'almost its weight in gold' (*pæne contra aurum*) for a copy of Julius Africanus. When Sylburgius's library was for sale, he commissioned Commelin, his printer, to secure anything rare that might be in it, 'either for his account or 'for his own.' He ordered a copy of the Roman edition of the Septuagint of 1587, 'at any cost' (*quovis pretio*). To his friend Richard Thomson, while in Italy, he sent a sweeping order to purchase for him anything which Thomson might know to be new to him—'Hebrew, Greek, or Latin;' and Biondi, at a later date (1608), had a similar standing commission to send books to him from Venice. And all this upon the wretched pittance which his position as professor supplied!

It is curious to find the afterwards famous Sir Henry Wotton a principal personage in an episode of this financial embarrassment which forms almost the only noteworthy incident of this painful but monotonous period of Casaubon's career. In the course of those foreign wanderings through which Wotton fitted himself for the high place which he holds in the diplomacy of the seventeenth century, he came in 1593 to Geneva, where, through the introduction of Thomson, an early friend of Casaubon, he became a lodger in Casaubon's house. The simple-hearted scholar was charmed by the graces and acquirements of his guest. Slender as were his family resources, he freely gave credit to the accomplished Englishman; and on his pleading, when about to leave Geneva, inability, owing to the failure of remittances, to discharge his bills, Casaubon not only did not press his own claim, but actually became security for two other sums due by Wotton (the whole amounting to two hundred and sixty-three crowns), and even for the price of the horse which Wotton purchased in order to prosecute his journey. The money was to be repaid punctually at the autumn fair of Frankfort; but 'the 'autumn fair came on, the merchants returned from Frank-'fort, and there was not only no cash but not even a line 'from Wotton. Casaubon was in the depths of despair. Two 'hundred and sixty-three crowns, besides the horse! It was 'impossible for him to raise the sum. He wrote to Wotton in 'England, to Thomson, to Scaliger, to interest himself with 'the French ambassador at the Hague.' Some of Casaubon's biographers have dwelt on this as an act of heartless and dishonest cruelty on Wotton's part towards a simple and unsuspecting man, and as a cause of grievous and lifelong injury

to him; but we agree with Mr. Pattison in acquitting Wotton of dishonesty, though not of culpable thoughtlessness and neglect. Nor can the ill effect have been of very long continuance. It was not till Christmas that the debt was paid, but it was then discharged in full.

This straitness of means and the absence of congenial literary society created in Casaubon a dissatisfaction with his position at Geneva, which manifests itself in a certain restlessness in his correspondence, even within the first years of his professorate in that city. He had made few close friends in Geneva, and the casual acquaintances which he formed with distinguished literary travellers, such as De Thou, De Fresne, Bongars, and others, became, in the correspondence to which they gave rise, new attractions which tended to draw him away from his uncongenial home. He seems first to have thought, with faint hope however, of the university of Leyden, which was then in the zenith of its earlier fame. Scaliger, with whom he had formed an intimacy by correspondence, felt the way for him for an invitation to one of the Leyden professorships, but without success. The attempt might probably have been made with more success at Heidelberg, which, under the enlightened Elector Frederic IV., was then in its golden age; but from some unexplained cause Casaubon does not appear to have looked favourably on this project. Two successive vacancies at that university passed by without any apparent effort on his part to obtain either appointment. At length in 1596 he was invited to Montpellier, upon conditions better than those of his Genevan professorship; and although the authorities of the latter city, roused by the danger of losing his services, made him an offer in the end to double his salary, with an understanding that the increase was not to be made public lest the other professors should become jealous, the offer came too late. Casaubon had 'outgrown Geneva. He had become, as 'was afterwards said of Madame de Staël, "trop grand poisson '"pour notre lac," and he emigrated into more spacious waters.' His position at Montpellier was that of 'professeur aux langues 'et bonnes lettres,' and his salary in money, with lodgings, fuel, and some other small perquisites, was 266 écus, which twelvemonths later was increased to 1,000 livres, nearly 100*l.* sterling. These he regarded as 'honestissimæ conditiones,' and on his accepting the offer and repairing to Montpellier he had the satisfaction to meet from all classes a reception in the highest degree honourable.

Mr. Pattison gives an interesting picture of the condition of

classical studies in France at this period, especially among the clergy :—

'What gratifies him more than the attentions paid him, is the discovery that the city furnished no small number of men with a taste for classical letters. True, civil disorder and religious exaltation had been unfavourable to study, and the standard of attainment might not be generally high. But the professional study of medicine and law was not then pursued in the technical spirit in which it is now. The study of medicine included the reading of Hippocrates and Galen, in a Latin version, even if not in the original Greek. Where a civil lawyer is, there the traditions of the Roman empire can never be wholly extinguished. In the question which divided the legal profession at this time, viz. whether a lawyer should be liberally or professionally educated, the bar at Montpellier was on the side of liberality as against the Bartholists. At Geneva what zeal there was was all theological. Beza had not ceased to value classics, but had ceased to read them. The Genevese had let Pacius and Hotoman go, and Lect, having no pupils and no salary any longer, had gone in for council business. At Montpellier, Casaubon is delighted to find not only a number of students desirous to learn, but public officers, civil servants, practising lawyers, "taking an interest in our literature. Here we have to do not with "boys, no, not with youths, but with men of mature age." There is no allusion to the clerical order as furnishing aspirants of classical studies. The Catholic clergy were engaged in a struggle for existence, the bishop being altogether excluded from the town, and they being allowed only one church, "la canourge," for the Catholic culte. When the bishop did succeed in edging himself into the city, in November this year, and before he was formally restored by the Edict of Nantes, he was on terms of civility with Casaubon. Guitard de Ratte was not altogether without a taste for letters, and had books dedicated to him, but by men of a bad stamp, e.g. Theodorus Marcilius, and John a Wouveren. The Calvinist ministers of Montpellier, however respectable for their piety, had as little taste for secular learning as those of Geneva. Jean Gigord was the principal pastor, and is called by Casaubon "a genuine theologian." He lectured on theology in the Calvinist provincial seminary. And the synod of Languedoc, which had met at Montpellier in the preceding August, had voted him a small sum for the formation of a library. But the books were theological. Gigord was also one of the eight members of the board of studies, but he was there to represent the Church, not learning. It would have been thought an impropriety in a minister of the Reformed Churches to have been known to devote any part of his time to secular studies. His attitude towards them differed from that of the Catholic priest, secular or regular. The priest of this generation feared and hated learning. The Reformed minister approved it for others, as education, as discipline, but would have been ashamed to have owned it to himself.

'In the course of the next century the tide began to turn; the education of the French priest improved, that of the average pastor

deteriorated. To this contrast certainly eminent exceptions can be at once quoted. Even in Casaubon's time, 1597, the other ministers at Montpellier were of a grade of intellect below Gigord. Casaubon tells of a young minister, he does not name him, who inveighed in his sermon against the practice of those preachers who uncovered the head whenever they had occasion to mention the divine name. On coming out of church, Casaubon ventured to tell the youth that this was the practice of all the Reformed churches in Germany and Switzerland, to which the young zealot replied that "he anathematised all those "churches." "He was one of those," observes Casaubon, "who "believe themselves gifted with all wisdom and all knowledge to "begin with." Such men of true puritan stamp, divinely enlightened, contemners of human learning, might be found among the ministers of that day. But the management of the Reformed churches was in better hands. Literature was respected. But the respect paid it was made up mainly of a sense of its utility in controversy, in a less degree of a perception, never wholly wanting, of its intrinsic worth. Casaubon, though not an official deputy, was invited to be present, as "amicus "curiæ," at the national synod held at Montpellier in August 1598. The ministers patronised or tolerated him.' (Pp. 94–6.)

It was at Montpellier that Casaubon commenced his well-known *Ephemerides*, or Diary. The first entry was made on the 18th February, 1597, and it is continued, without the omission of a single day, to the 16th June, 1614, just a fortnight before the writer's death. Every entry is by Casaubon's own hand and in Latin, with one single exception, that upon the 13th February, 1601, which is in French, and was made by Madame Casaubon during his absence. We shall give later some account of this curious and characteristic memorial. For the present it will be enough to gather from it a description of the routine of the daily life of this indefatigable student. His day began commonly at five A.M. Six was a late hour for him to enter his study, where his first act was to perform his morning devotion upon his knees. After half an hour given to religious reading, frequently the Hebrew Scriptures, the time up to dinner was occupied by whatever author or subject he chanced to have in hand; and after dinner, which in university and higher life was then commonly at ten A.M., he spent some hours in preparing for his lecture which was at four P.M. After a few months he undertook in addition an elementary Greek class. 'After lecture, friends, supper, and then to books 'again, if only friends will go away in good time.' Saturday was occupied with attendance at the public disputations. Wednesday was a holiday. It was expected, although not prescribed by statute, that all should attend at two sermons on Sundays, as also at a sermon on Wednesday morning; and

Casaubon paid this further deference to the religious character of the Sunday, that, although he worked as usual at his books, his reading on that day was chiefly confined to theology and patristic studies, which, however, he alternated with correspondence. On very rare occasions he sought relaxation in 'a walk beyond the walls to a friend's country villa, or down 'to the sea, or to see the ruins at Maguelonne.' Such was his habitual course of life, except in the vacations, of which there were three in the year, of three or four weeks' duration. During these he sometimes ventured on a more distant visit, to his friend De Fresne, or to his mother at Die, and on one occasion as far as Lyons and Paris.

His lectures at Montpellier were eminently successful. Taking his tone from the habits of the place, he gave to his Latin and Greek lectures a practical character in the eyes of students of law, by selecting from time to time eminent authors or subjects bearing upon the legal antiquities of Greece and Rome—as the Laws of the XII Tables; the Constitution and Administration of the Roman Republic; the Digests; and other kindred subjects; and Mr. Pattison observes, that out of the eight courses which he delivered at Montpellier only a single one, that on Plautus, was a purely philological or language lecture; which is the more worthy of note as this was the only lecture which was not chosen by himself but at the request of his class.

It was while he was thus occupied with public duties at Montpellier that he was engaged with his greatest literary work, the Edition and Commentary on Athenæus; and Mr. Pattison's account of the routine of his daily occupations at the time is a picture of student life for which few parallels will be found:—

'But not all his day was given to his lecture and to preparing his Athenæus. The Diary enables us to trace day by day his private reading at this period. Besides the devotional book in the early morning, he looks into a variety of books in the course of the day, but has always one author whom he steadily goes on with every day till he has read him through. The first such achievement in 1597 is Basil, the whole of whom is read between February 19 and March 11. As this must have been Froben's edition of 1551, which contains 698 folio pages of Greek type, packed exceptionally close, we have an average reading of thirty-five pages per day; yet he was ill most of the time, and more than one day out of the twenty was curtailed or lost altogether by business. Either his own health or the atmosphere of the place set him next upon Hippocrates, the whole of which takes him only twenty-five days, though here he was helped by the Easter holidays. After this feat it seems disproportionate that Cedrenus takes thirteen days,

but other books were in hand during the time. We have mention, besides, of Jerome, Chrysostom, Tertullianus, Menander Rhetor, Philostratus, Apicius, all between January and July. And yet the Diary omits to mention many readings. This is evident, not only from citations in his commentaries on authors, but from the volumes once in his possession, still extant. There is, e.g. in the British Museum, a copy of Calvin's "Epistolæ," edition Hanau 1597, marked throughout by Casaubon's pen. We have in it a volume of 780 pages, in small type, and not on a classical subject, read attentively, and yet not noticed in the Diary, unless we assume that a Frankfort book, published in 1597, did not come into Casaubon's hands till after 1603. In this case it might have been spoken of in that fascicule of the Diary which is lost. While lectures are proceeding, Athenæus is in hand; he is continually ill, has his correspondence to keep up, and, worst of all, is Rector of the faculty. This is the most vexing distraction of all. It involves him, besides the comparatively simple business of the faculty, in looking after the lower school, and providing it with regents. This "hated office" (*munus invisum*) was fortunately only for a year. Books of controversy, e.g. Bulenger against Duplessis, he looks into in what he calls his "leisure hours" (*horæ succisivæ*), though it is not easy to see where, in the life we have described, were any such.' (Pp. 116–7.)

It is plain from this sketch that, however his financial position may have been improved by migration to Montpellier, the change had done very little towards realising the great aspiration of his life—undisturbed leisure for study and unrestricted freedom for literary work. He was led too by the representations of visitors and correspondents to hope for better and higher things elsewhere; and in the autumn of 1597 De Fresne and other friends who had been to Paris carried back to him flattering though vague representations, which held out hopes of the King's favour there, and of a position in every way more advantageous. The desire of change thus suggested was stimulated by the difficulties which he encountered at Montpellier as to the printing of his 'Athenæus;' and during a journey which he was making to Geneva, on occasion of the death of his father-in-law in 1598, an opportunity unexpectedly presented itself as he was passing through Lyons upon his way. He was there introduced to M. Meric de Vic, a man of cultivated and liberal tastes and a warm patron of letters, who being summoned to Paris to attend the King, induced Casaubon to accompany him. At Paris he was warmly received into the most distinguished literary society, and realised for the first time what had been a dream of years—an introduction to the library of De Thou. His own impressions of this magnificent collection are characteristic. He 'had heard much of 'it, but it surpassed his expectations. When he read the titles,

'authors he had never seen or known to exist in print, his 'heart sank at the thought of how little he knew.' And this library, coupled with the Royal collection, with which Queen Catherine's had now been united, 'opened to him that supply 'for which he had so long thirsted. From this moment his 'desire to remove to Paris became paramount.'

The preliminaries of his transfer to Paris, however, were tedious and tantalising. He was received most graciously by the King, who kept him three hours talking over the affairs of the university, and ended by inviting him to a professorship therein. He was introduced to the then heir presumptive of the Crown, the young Prince of Condé. Other evidences of distinguished favour were heaped upon him. But still no step seemed to be taken towards actual appointment, and after a long delay he was obliged to return to Montpellier in October, still with expectation, but still in uncertainty. He gave notice of his intended resignation, but in the meantime entered upon a voluntary Greek course which he continued till the January of 1599.

At length on the 24th of that month the tardy missive arrived; but it proved not to be the expected nomination to a professorship, but 'simply an order under the sign manual to 'leave Montpellier and to hasten to Paris, where it was the 'King's intention to employ him in the profession of classical 'letters in the university.' As to conditions of stipend it merely conveyed a promise, as well as of the expenses of removal.

Casaubon, however, vague as was the summons, was but too glad to obey. He set out from Montpellier on the 26th of February, and after a visit to his mother at Bordeaux in Dauphiné, whither he had sent his wife and children, he reached Lyons in the beginning of March. With all his eagerness, however, a delay was here interposed of which no satisfactory account is given, whether in the Diary or in the Correspondence of Casaubon. For nearly twelve months he lingered at Lyons, chiefly as M. de Vic's guest; nor was it till February 28, 1600, that he at last set out for Paris. The explanation of this delay suggested by Mr. Pattison is highly probable. Casaubon began to suspect, while at Lyons, that to the promised appointment would be attached the same condition under which Henry had himself received the crown—namely abjuration of Protestantism. It was the age of conversions, and although Casaubon's Paris friends for the most part 'were content to have him, all Calvinist as he was, Du 'Perron and the Catholic junta would not give gratis; they 'resolved to dangle the professorship before his eyes, but not

'to bestow it till they had his recantation.' The pious zeal of his friends, M. and Madame de Vic, seconded this design. At Lyons Casaubon was prevailed on to talk over disputed points with two learned capuchins; a report was gradually whispered about that he was preparing to 'go over;' and Casaubon was deeply concerned to find that it was beginning to obtain credence among his own co-religionists.

At last, in the midst of these perplexities, a peremptory summons to Paris arrived from De Vic. Casaubon at once complied. He set out on the 28th of February, 1600. On his arrival he was immediately admitted by the King to an audience. He was received with demonstrative courtesy. The same confident assurance of employment in 'the restoration of 'the university,' was repeated. He received a 'gratification' of two hundred crowns as an earnest of what was to come. But the matter rested there. No appointment was made: no employment was assigned to him; and he had begun to repine at the continued prospect of enforced inactivity, when in the end of April he received a summons, written with the King's own hand, to attend without delay at Fontainebleau, where the Court was at the time, upon an affair which the King 'had 'much at heart.' This affair was the well-known Conference of Fontainebleau.

Mr. Pattison's account of the occasion of this conference is very minute and curious. For our purpose it will be enough to say that the object proposed in the meeting was to procure an authentic adjudication as to the accuracy of certain quotations from the fathers in Philip Duplessis-Mornay's celebrated 'Trea-'tise on the Eucharist,' which had been declared spurious or garbled by Du Perron, Bishop of Evreux;—an imputation into which De Mornay had challenged inquiry. The citations in De Mornay's book are exceedingly numerous, amounting to nearly 5,000, the principal object of the treatise being to show that the doctrines of the Roman Church on the Mass are not in accordance with the belief of the fathers or schoolmen. It was answered by various Catholic controversialists, Bulenger, Fronto le Duc, and Richcome; but the most systematic challenge of the fidelity of the quotations was that of Mgr., afterwards Cardinal du Perron, who publicly averred that he had already, after a partial examination, discovered no fewer than five hundred false citations. De Mornay challenged a public trial. Henry IV. took the matter up, and insisted on having a debate in form at Fontainebleau, in his own presence. It was arranged that the issue was to be decided by six commissioners, four Catholic and two Protes-

tants, but all men of some reputation for scholarship. The Catholic commissioners were the Chancellor Bellicore, De Thou, François Pithou, and Jean Martin. Canaye de Fresne was chosen as one of the Protestants, and Casaubon had been summoned to Fontainebleau that he might be the second. According to Mr. Pattison, who regards the proceeding as a trap for Casaubon, De Fresne was known to be already on the point of conversion, and it was expected that Casaubon also would yield to the example. His fellow-churchmen at Paris implored him to abstain; but he was pressed on the other side by De Thou and the rest of his literary friends. No religious controversy was at stake, he was told; the question at issue was a question, not of doctrine, but of scholarship. Casaubon yielded, and was associated in the commission.

When the affair had reached this stage, De Mornay seems to have felt the imprudence of his challenge; and Mr. Pattison ascribes to a desire of receding from his false position the course which he now took of 'insisting on impossible conditions.' He demanded that, before he should go into the conference, a list of all the 500 impugned passages should be furnished to him. On this being refused as unreasonable, he at first declined the conference altogether, but, after much debate, agreed, as a compromise, to 'abide the arbitration, on condition that fifty alleged falsities were produced at once.' Du Perron handed in without delay a list of sixty-one. De Mornay had to sit up all night to examine his references to these passages, and, being unprovided with books of his own, was compelled to borrow those of his adversary for the purpose. The commission opened the next morning (May 4). Mr. Pattison gives few details of the discussion. On the whole, however, it is plain that there was some exaggeration in Du Perron's allegation that he had discovered five hundred '*faussetés énormes*;' but it is also certain that many of De Mornay's quotations were incorrect or falsely applied. Nine of them were examined in the conference. On the first of the nine the commission pronounced '*Non liquet*;' but on the remaining eight the judgment was against De Mornay. This judgment was unanimous; and Casaubon's participation in it was regarded by his party as an apostasy. Charnier, Gigord, Pinaud, Calas, and other Protestant leaders, expostulated bitterly with him, and Mr. Pattison himself hardly conceals that he shares the feeling. Casaubon represented, in his own defence, 'that he had been appointed a judge, and not an advocate; that he had to judge of a literary quarrel, not of a religious controversy; and that the sentence of the arbitrators on

'the eight passages was unquestionably right.' Now, whatever may be said as to the propriety of Casaubon's accepting the duty of arbiter in such circumstances at all, we confess that, when he had once accepted it, this plea appears to us utterly irrefragable; and that, as an honest umpire, no other course was, in our judgment, open to him. We have no sympathy with the hope of the Protestant party, 'that although their champion 'might have made a few slips among so many thousand quo-'tations, Casaubon, like a good advocate, might have brought 'him through.' And we can hardly understand, much less can we agree in, Mr. Pattison's verdict, that 'although tech-'nically Casaubon's defence of himself was good, yet substan-'tially the Protestant grievance was just' (p. 162). It might have been 'just' perhaps to have called on Casaubon openly to withdraw from the commission; but it appears to us that it would have been positively immoral, he having undertaken the duty, to suggest to him, or to expect from him, as Mr. Pattison appears to do, a decision false in point of scholarship, on the ground that the true literary judgment would be prejudicial to the religious interests of the common cause of Protestantism. There is much good sense in Scaliger's homely sentence in the 'Scaligeriana,' although it is unjust to several of his fellow-commissioners, as De Thou and Pithou: 'Casau-'bon ought never to have gone to that conference—he was 'the ass among the apes; the scholar among men of no learn-'ing.'* But, unlike Mr. Pattison, Scaliger goes no farther than to condemn him for undertaking the duty at all.

From the Fontainebleau Conference Casaubon returned to Paris, still without any settled appointment, and uncertain both as to his future occupation and as to his future home. The printing of his 'Athenæus' was still unfinished at Lyons, and he found it necessary to pass the summer of 1600 in that city, where, on August 9, he 'sent to press the last corrected 'sheet of that most wearisome work.' He was now nominally attached to the King's service, as 'lecteur de sa Majesté,' and in that capacity had received money from the treasurer; but he seems, nevertheless, to have hesitated about returning to Paris. In the end, however, he made up his mind to return; and he gave serious offence to his kind friend, M. le Vic, who was about to remove to Soleure, as French Envoy to the Swiss Confederation, by declining to accompany him. He arrived in Paris, accompanied by his wife and family, on September 13, 1600, and was received into the

* Scaligeriana Secunda, p. 45.

house of Henry Estienne, first cousin of Madame Casaubon, until a suitable apartment should be found. In the matter of lodgment Casaubon's biographers have charged him with 'habitual fidgettiness.' During his residence in Paris he changed his residence no fewer than seven times. Mr. Pattison is at pains to account for this apparent restlessness:—

'Each of these removals had its special and sufficient reason; yet all taken together, and along with the discontent with where he is, the incessant sighing to be somewhere else, the cry for "leisure," we cannot be surprised that his contemporaries should have thought of Casaubon as a querulous dissatisfied man, and that the biographers should have enhanced this impression still further. The true account of the matter is, it seems to me, that Casaubon had the nervous sensibility of the hard student. This susceptibility made him unequal to face the fret and worry of life, and especially of Parisian existence. But he shunned the outer world, not as trouble, but as interruption; he wanted to be free, not for an epicurean inaction, but for hard work —the work he felt he could do. To do this he would fain have been released from that he could not do. If he is solicitous, more than we think is dignified, about provision for his own necessities and those of his family, it is not covetousness, it is that with a free mind he may bestow it all on his one object in life. The nomadic Italian humanist of the fifteenth century roved incessantly from court to court, with the aim which in a scholar is sordid, that of bettering his fortunes. Casaubon's removals were dictated by the single desire to secure time for his work.' (P. 171.)

It seems clear that, when Casaubon was first invited to Paris, it was intended to give him an appointment in the remodelled university. Probably among those who concurred in the invitation some anticipated that he would come over to the Roman Church, while the rest entertained the expectation that, Calvinist though he was, his religion would be overlooked in consideration of his eminent literary qualifications. By degrees, however, it became plain that neither of these conditions was likely to be realised. On the one hand Casaubon withstood all the efforts to convert him, and on the other the condition of orthodoxy as a qualification for a professorship was every day more stringently enforced. Some other mode of provision became necessary, and the King on more than one occasion announced his intention of appointing him custodian of the Royal Library, when the place should become vacant. He once told Casaubon himself that the present librarian could not live another year; that Casaubon should then have the place, and should 'look up all the fine books and 'tell him what was in them, for he did not himself understand 'things of that sort;' and at length, in November 1601, a

regular patent was made out, conferring on him the reversion of the office on the death of M. Gosselin, the actual librarian, and with a salary commencing from the date of the patent of reversion.

In November 1604, Gosselin died a sufficiently tragical death. He was found in his apartment, burnt to death, having fallen out of his chair in his helpless decrepitude. An attempt was made to set aside Casaubon's right of reversion, and for a time the King himself wavered as to its confirmation. Lepsius, Scaliger, and even the young Grotius, were talked of for the post. At length Casaubon's friends prevailed upon him to seek a personal interview with Henry. In this interview he informed the King of Gosselin's death, without reminding him of the promise, still less of the actual grant of the reversion to himself; but he was mortified to observe in the King an unwonted coldness of manner, and retired from the interview with a mournful conviction that his day of favour was past. Nevertheless, after all these unpromising appearances, he was relieved by a visit from the King's secretary three days later, bearing not alone the appointment regularly made out, but also an increased entertainment amounting to 400 livres beyond his former salary. This ultimate decision in Casaubon's favour was due to the influence of De Thou, who held the office of principal librarian (Maître de la Librairie), and to whose office the vacant post of 'Garde de la Librairie' was directly subordinate.

It might seem that Casaubon had now attained the realisation of the dream of his life in the uncontrolled disposal of this treasury of ancient literature. In Greek MSS. the Royal Library was then, as it still continues, second only to the Vatican. The new librarian's friends in all countries turned to him with petitions for help, and with requests for transcripts or collation. Scaliger and Heinsius from Leyden, Gruter from Heidelberg, Höschel from Augsburg, Savile from Eton, were among the first. Casaubon responded generously to the several calls, although in his Diary he repines despairingly over the time withdrawn by these friendly offices from his daily pittance of study and his daily routine of editorial work.

Between these services to friends and his own private researches connected with his editorial labours in connexion with his editions of Æneas Tacticus, Polybius, and some minor anecdota, Casaubon's work as a librarian has left little permanent trace in the Royal Library. He was too devoted a scholar to be a good librarian.

'When any correspondent asked for any book, he tried to find it, but he never made any thorough and complete investigation, once for all,

of what was there, much less a catalogue. In 1608 Hoeschel applied to him for MSS. of Arrianus. Though Casaubon had then been nearly four years in full possession of the library he did not know if there were any MSS. of Arrianus but would look. He found, on searching, at least two. As late as 1607, in reply to Scaliger's urgent entreaty for any fragments of a chronological nature, he says he will have a good search through all the cases. He began to have access to the books, though restricted access, in 1599. From 1605 to October 1610, the library was wholly at his disposal, yet the only anecdotum he publishes is Æneas Tacticus. The selection of this author was not determined by the value of the Royal Library codex. What he found there was only a modern sixteenth century transcript by Vergecio, and Casaubon had in his own hands a much older MS. which had been lent him by Bongars.' (P. 207.)

In other ways, too, besides the want of that leisure for literary work for which he pined, his residence at Paris about this time was beset with trouble and discomfort. The position of members of the Reformed Church in France was at the best times a painful one, and throughout the entire reign of Henry IV. there were occasions of popular excitement when it was not unattended with personal danger. Casaubon himself had much to bear from the sustained and systematic propagandism of which he and his family were the constant objects. He found himself assailed with coarse and malevolent invectives in scurrilous publications, anonymous, or published under a pseudonym; and while on one side he was covered with insult and calumny by the Catholic pamphleteers, on the other he was an object of suspicion or of worse to his fellow-churchmen, as a renegade in principle, and as only waiting for a favourable opportunity to become a renegade in fact. In addition to these troubles from without, his life began to be chequered by those domestic trials and losses which are the natural accompaniments of advancing years. He had to deplore in succession the death of his favourite sister, Sara Chabanes; of his nephew Isaac, her son, whom after her death he had adopted into his family; of his mother, to whom he was devotedly attached; and of his gifted and much-cherished daughter Philippa. He was, moreover, involved in pecuniary difficulties and losses, arising more, it is true, from the affairs of his wife's family than from the necessities of his own modest household, but perhaps more irksome and irritating on that very account.

These and other troubles pressed upon him the more that he was gradually losing by death what had been the great solace of his retired student-life—the pleasure of that intercourse by correspondence with literary friends, which was

to him what personal interchange of confidence is to those who mix in the bustle of every-day society. His dear friend and faithful patron, Calignon, Chancellor of Navarre: Lefebre, the king's physician; Hadrian Williams, a young and ardent scholar, who was to him almost as a son; all were carried off between 1606 and 1609. But the loss that pressed most heavily upon him was that of Scaliger, which took place in January 1609. The relations of Scaliger and Casaubon, as friends, were exceedingly curious and almost unexampled. Their intercourse had been wholly by letter. They never once met, and yet their friendship was not alone fast and intimate, but affectionate and even tender. It was a friendship half of the intellect, half of the heart; but there was a warmth about it which is rarely experienced, and still more rarely maintained, except under the genial influence of mutual interchange of expressions and offices of personal affection. In reading their correspondence it is hardly possible to imagine that the writers had never known each other except by letter. Casaubon's letters to Scaliger are by far the most characteristic in the entire body of his correspondence.

'Casaubon's letters to Scaliger are truly autobiographical. In the whole folio volume, among more than 1,200 letters, there are none which have the same confiding tone, the perfect trust that what is said will fall on a friendly ear, and be secure of friendly response. Scaliger is an accurate and satisfactory correspondent; replying himself to each topic started in the letter he is answering; a punctuality which Casaubon does not imitate. From no one does Casaubon receive in his griefs that solid comfort which Scaliger was prompt to offer. "I cannot " tell you," writes Casaubon, in July 1608, "the satisfaction your last " gave me. It was so unmistakably evident how much you loved me, " and how deeply you felt my adverse fortune. You were the only " one who sympathised with me when I was swindled by the petty " tyrants of the lake (Geneva). And now again this thunderbolt has " fallen on my house (death of Philippa), your letters show that you " feel it with me. The labour you spent in writing to me was not " thrown away, εἶε γέρον, the reading of your epistle was no small " comfort to me." Casaubon's affectionate nature having found a strong soul to which to cling, abandoned itself to the culte of the hero with a devotion which bordered on idolatry. "I know," he writes in 1605, "what the good and the learned owe to you; how much more " do I owe! Were I to spend my life in your service, in executing " your commands, I could not repay a tenth part of the debt. What a " father is to a son, that you are to me; I am your devoted client." While the loss was recent, he writes to Kirchmann:—"What tears are " enough at this funeral? Past ages have never seen his like; " perhaps no future time will. The more conversant anyone becomes " with letters, the more grand will he find that incomparable hero in

" his writings!" To Du Plessis Mornay he says, " his death has taken " away all my courage. Now I can do nothing more."' (Pp. 271–3.)

Mr. Pattison ascribes to these various causes which have been detailed, more than to the constitutional restlessness which other biographers impute to him, the constant negotiations for change in which we find Casaubon engaged during the entire term of his residence in Paris. At different periods between 1604 and 1610 we find him in correspondence with the authorities at Nismes, at Sedan, and at Heidelberg, with a view to the transfer of his services to one or other of these cities. The most favourable offer in the entire appears to have been from Nismes, where he was invited to accept the rectorate in conjunction with a professorship, at a salary of 600 écus, with a free house and other advantages. The proposal from Heidelberg was less advantageous in a pecuniary point of view, but it was more congenial to Casaubon's tastes, being of the professorship of Ecclesiastical History; and at one time he had actually accepted the place, although from some unexplained cause the project was afterwards allowed to drop.

A last and decisive impulse, however, was given to these wavering deliberations by the tragedy of May 14, 1610. Casaubon could not hesitate longer as to the course to be pursued. After the death of Henry IV., he felt that his home must be elsewhere than at Paris.

It is true there was one condition on which he might not only secure, but enhance almost at pleasure, all the advantages which he had hitherto enjoyed;—namely, by conforming to the Roman Church. There can be no doubt that immediately after Henry IV.'s death, the controversy was pressed upon him with renewed activity, and that Casaubon's own correspondence of this period presents some indications that give colour to the rumours as to his 'wavering' which then prevailed. Mr. Pattison, however, has at all events made it clear that Casaubon's 'wavering' (which was not confined to this period, but appears in various degrees at intervals through the whole series of his Letters and his Diary), was purely intellectual—the effort 'of an honest and honourable soul to find out on 'which side his actual opinions placed him. His struggle was 'not between his conscience and his preferment; it was an 'intellectual struggle, an endeavour to choose between the 'rival churches.' The allegation that he at this time 'promised 'to Cardinal Du Perron to make his recantation at Whit-'suntide, but was anticipated by an invitation to England,' is undoubtedly a cruel calumny; and Mr. Pattison most justly observes that at the very moment at which he is represented as

himself meditating abjuration, 'the perversion of his eldest son 'John, of which he heard August 14, drew from him the 'bitter cry of anguish which is recorded in his Diary under 'that date.'

The 'invitation to England' referred to in the malevolent rumour mentioned by Mr. Pattison, had been first conveyed indirectly to Casaubon through Sir George Carew, in whose family Casaubon's daughter Philippa had died; but in July 1610 Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, wrote him a formal invitation, with an offer of a prebendal stall at Canterbury valued at 88*l.* yearly, with house, fuel, and corn, together with an engagement on the part of Bancroft and the other bishops to augment this offer by a contribution from themselves so as to make the amount equal to his actual income at Paris, until he could be further provided out of the revenues of the Church. It is almost certain, moreover, that this invitation originated from the King, who was desirous to secure the services of Casaubon for some polemical purpose similar to that which he had in view when he 'commissioned 'his ambassador at the Hague to find "some smart Jesuit '"with a quick and nimble spirit" to write against Vorstius.'

Casaubon, as holding his office directly under the crown, was unwilling to leave France without the royal permission, and it was not till October that he succeeded in obtaining leave of absence, and even then with the condition that he should leave his family in France, and should engage to return whenever he might be summoned. With this qualified permission he took his final departure in the suite of the ambassador, Lord Wotton of Marley, on October 17th. He reached London on the 29th of the same month, and was at once presented to the Archbishop, by whom he was very graciously received. He had a second interview with him two days later; but the hopes which he may have built on the promise of Bancroft's patronage were deceived, that prelate dying on the 12th of the following month. The truth, however, is that after Casaubon's presentation to the King, on November 8th, no other patron was needed in order to secure his footing in England.

'Casaubon was rapidly established in the royal favour. The King was insatiable of his conversation, was always sending for him, and keeping him talking for hours. James talked well himself, liked a good hearer, but was ready, which is not always the case with good talkers, to listen in return. In graver conversation he was perhaps even superior to what he was in light talk. "He loved speculative discourse "upon moral and political subjects; and his talent for conducting such "discussions is a frequent theme of admiration, not only among his

"courtiers, but in the unsuborned writings of the foreigners who "visited him." Casaubon, on his part, was a ready talker, and if his French was not good, his matter was inexhaustible. His memory supplied him with an endless store of diversified information on the topics which James liked best. The conversation was conducted in French, which James spoke fluently, though we may suppose with a Scotch accent. Casaubon, who never could accomplish English, and was compelled with the bishops to stumble on in Latin, found his tongue set free in the court circle. Of these conversations, serious or gossiping, he has only recorded one, and that very scantily. It was one of the first; in November 1610, on the day on which the King commemorated by a solemn service his delivery at Gourie House. The conversation was directed by the King to general literature. Of Tacitus, James said they were wrong who thought him the one historian who was a master of political wisdom. Casaubon was delighted to reply that in his late preface to "Polybius," he had passed a similar judgment, and that the historical lesson to be learnt from "Polybius" was far more instructive. The King blamed Plutarch for his partiality against Cæsar. In Commines he noticed his flippancy, and his hatred of the English. Casaubon, whose idea of a king's conversation was formed upon that of Henri IV., wise and rusé, but who had at most read Amyot's French Plutarch, was astounded by finding here a king who could pronounce opinions original and not unjust, on classical authors which he had read himself.' (Pp. 314–6.)

James at once took upon himself the charge of a fitting provision for Casaubon, and bestowed on him a pension of 300*l.*, in addition to the Canterbury prebend, with a promise of 'a 'something more on the Church establishment hereafter.' It was a considerable time, however, before Casaubon's final settlement in England was satisfactorily arranged, and it was not till October 1611 that Madame Casaubon joined him in London. Moreover the Queen still refused him permission to remove his books from France. Even the partial use of them was grudgingly accorded, and the personal solicitation of the King himself to the Queen, that Casaubon should be permitted to transfer himself to England only succeeded in obtaining the great scholar 'as a loan.'

The results of this removal to England, however, were far from satisfactory for Casaubon. Unhappily, the favour into which he was received by King James was fatal to all chance of that happy leisure for study to which he had looked forward as the most precious gift of fortune. The King became a claimant on his time more formidable than any he had hitherto encountered. He was expected to present himself every Sunday wherever the court, which was constantly migrating, might chance to be—at Theobald's, Royston, Hampton Court, Holdenby, Newmarket, or elsewhere. And as regarded his learned

studies, the distractions were even greater. The King had long ceased to care for anything but controversial divinity, and, even on this subject, had ceased to read anything beyond the pamphlets of the day. Mr. Pattison defends Casaubon from the imputation of falling down to the rank of a salaried pamphleteer; but the royal taste so completely determined the tone of literary society that Casaubon found himself involved, by the very necessities of his position, in polemical discussions that possessed no vital interest for him, while they consumed the hours which he measured with so jealous watchfulness. It was purely in obedience to this impulse that he wrote the letter to Fronto le Duc, and that to Cardinal du Perron.

It was only in undertaking, at the King's desire, the 'Exercitationes in Baronium,' Casaubon was able to follow in any degree the bent of his own genius. In this he only carried out a project the idea of which he had long entertained. So far back as 1605 he would gladly have taken up the subject but for his fear of the French censorship, and he now entered upon it with his characteristic ardour. Apart from the question of the absolute merit of the work, its completion within the short time devoted to it by Casaubon must be regarded one of the most extraordinary literary feats upon record. The Diary enables us to track him through all its successive steps. He commenced in January 1612, and spent the first weeks in reading and arranging authorities upon the period comprised in Baronius's first volume. On March 23rd he began to sketch in outline the plan of his own work; and on April 27th he is regularly at work in the composition—in detached notes at first; but in the end of July he has entered upon the continuous criticism, in which he follows Baronius step by step through the order of the Annals. At the end of December he had reached his four hundredth page, and on the 20th of the following April he was able to announce to De Thou that he had reached the end of the period with which he meant to deal in the first instalment of the publication. On May 16th he had so far completed the revision of his rough draft as to be ready to copy for the press. Before settling down to this task, however, he went to Oxford for a holiday; and it is instructive to look over the record of his holiday recreations, the scene of which it is hardly necessary to say was the Bodleian. It would be tedious to enumerate the books read, collated, or extracted by him during this short visit. Mr. Pattison has recorded them carefully (pp. 407–8). It will be enough to say that the extracts made by him at Oxford with his own hand include twenty-three

pages of the Thesaurus of Nicetas Choniates in the original Greek; seven of Juan de la Puenta in Spanish; fifteen of the acts of the Council of Chalcedon in Greek; and thirteen of Laurentius Syslyga, although 'but hastily looked over,' besides lesser fragments not mentioned in detail. His evening recreations consisted of such light reading as Wake's 'Rex Pla-'tonicus,' or lessons in Rabbinical Hebrew from a young Jew! 'It is not surprising,' Mr. Pattison adds, 'to read in 'the Diary, that in the second week of this *régime*, as he was 'ascending the Bodleian stairs, he was seized with a sudden 'giddiness of the head!'

On his return from Oxford, on June 9th, he began to copy for the press, and on the 18th the work of printing actually began. He was able thenceforth to keep ahead of the press, although the printing proceeded at the rate of four folio pages per day. At the end of November, he had reached the five hundredth page. The remaining two hundred and seventy, the introductory epistle, and other prefatory pages, were completed on February 14th, and on March 23rd the volume was presented to the King!

Looking at the 'Exercitationes' apart from the interest which the work had in the personal controversy with Baronius, it must be felt that it was not a book for which it was possible to hope for general popularity, or even for success with the more select body of scholars. It is not a consecutive history of the period over which it ranges, or even a connected essay on Baronius's history of that period. It is a collection of detached notes and criticisms of the Annals; and even considered as such, there is not any continuous thread of argument to give unity to the composition. If there be any principle running through the whole, it is simply that of hostile criticism of Baronius; and in most instances the stores of erudition which are heaped together appear to have been gathered less for the sake of the knowledge which they embody than with a view to depreciate and discredit the authority of the Roman historian. It is not wonderful, therefore, that the 'Exercitationes' fell below expectation.

'Because the "Annals" did not sink out of sight at one touch of the enchanter's wand, the "Exercitations" were proclaimed a failure by exulting enemies and disappointed friends. The Savile set were happy to think that Casaubon could not do what he had prevented them from doing. Richard Montagu laments that the very learned Isaac Casaubon was not a theologian; that he followed Scaliger even in his paradoxes; that he made much of trifles—*critica titivillitia*; that he spent all his labour on the volume of the gospel history, and not on the later

periods; that he allows himself in irrelevant digressions. These were things that could be said at the time by the envious "friends." He did not please his immediate patrons, the bishops, who wished now that Casaubon had handled Baronius a little more roughly. Like their successors in the eighteenth century, who regretted Butler's "want of vigour," they had no means of knowing which was in the right, and thought want of passion a sign of weakness. The puritan party wished to see Baronius well abused, and charged with disaffection the man who would not stoop to do it.' (Pp. 380–1.)

There can be little doubt that these excessive labours accelerated the death of Casaubon. Other causes concurred to disturb his health, and to increase the nervous irritability from which he had long been a sufferer—the fierce and galling personalities which were showered upon him by anonymous antagonists, as well as by his adversaries in the various controversies in which he took part; the discomforts of his new life in a foreign country and among entirely strange associations; the pecuniary difficulties by which, notwithstanding his bettered income in England, he was still beset; and, perhaps most of all, the protracted absence of his wife, to whose affectionate care he had in great degree owed even the moderate vigour which he had hitherto enjoyed. And if the crisis was precipitated by his own indiscreet excesses of labour, by unintermitted study and late vigils, the seeds of early decay had existed from the beginning.

'Nature had given him a puny and infirm frame. Though not so little as some other celebrated men of learning, as e.g. Pietro Pomponazzo, as Melanchthon, or Lobeck, Casaubon was a man of small stature, "corpusculum tanto ingenio impar," says Thoris. The same observant physician, when introduced to him in 1610, was astonished to see that "such exalted wisdom could be lodged in such a wretched "tenement." It did not need Thoris's experienced eye to read the sentence of death in the emaciated frame, the sunken chest, the stooping shoulders, the wasted features, the prominent cheek-bone, the dark ring round the eye, the hectic flush, the accumulation of phlegm in the air-passages, the hacking cough. "I foresaw that his new "calling in the service of his majesty, and his own greediness of work, "would precipitate the catastrophe." Isaac became Thoris's patient, and the worst symptoms then disclosed to him, verified the diagnostic of his eye—the fevered pulse, the labouring heart, the sleepless unrefreshing nights, the long-standing of his cough.' (P. 460.)

With all these formidable symptoms his energy of mind still maintained itself. In June 1614, he was projecting the continuation of the Exercitations, and contemplating the great things ('*magna moliemur*') which he hoped to accomplish in it. In the end of that month his friends took him on a country

excursion to Greenwich. It was too much for his strength. He passed the night in great torture. In the morning when his friendly physician, Thoris, came to see him, the patient said that 'like Theophrastus, he was *dying of a holiday*; when 'Theophrastus had passed his hundredth year, he went to his 'nephew's wedding, and gave up a day's study to do it. But 'he never studied more. He died of it.' This characteristic anticipation was but too just. Casaubon lingered for a fortnight. He looked forward to death with great resignation, expressing but one single regret, that he must leave his work on Church history unfinished. He died, in his fifty-sixth year, on the 12th July, 1614. Up to the very eve of his fatal seizure he himself had not had any thought of proximate signs of death; and it might have been expected that a scholar of reading so miscellaneous and of energy so vast, cut off thus unexpectedly in the very noon of his literary vigour, would have left behind him stores of miscellaneous literary materials prepared, or at least designed for publication. In matter of fact, Mr. Pattison has collected together from various sources the titles of no fewer than twenty-four separate works or essays which Casaubon, at different periods of his career, had not merely projected but had announced his intention of preparing. Nevertheless at his death he left nothing prepared for press beyond a very small portion of his intended 'Commentary on Polybius,' upon which he had begun to labour as early as 1604. Of the schemes enumerated in Mr. Pattison's list, hardly a trace remained among his manuscripts, because hardly anything was ever put on paper. It is not easy to account for this, and it would actually appear as though Casaubon often deceived himself into thinking that he had made progress in writing, when in truth the material was only laid up in his memory and not committed to paper. He got at last into the habit of putting by any topic as it came up with the remark, 'this we have 'discussed at length elsewhere. The distinction between what 'he had read, and what he had noted down, and what he had 'printed, became obliterated in his mind.' (P. 487.)

His published works or essays, not including second editions, or prefaces to the works of others, amount to twenty-five, beginning with the 'Notes on Diogenes Laertius,' printed in 1583, and ending with the 'Polybius,' in 1617. With his earlier efforts he himself was entirely dissatisfied. The first work which can be regarded as a fair sample of his matured powers is the 'Theophrastus' of 1593, of which even to this day every scholar speaks with admiration and reverence. As a critical editor, perhaps the most favourable specimens of his powers

are the 'Persius' (1605), and the 'Polybius' (1609). But the book on which his reputation for scholarship must rest is his 'Commentary upon Athenæus;' of which Schweighäuser* declares that its merits are universally admitted by the learned, and are most freely acknowledged by those who are most distinguished for their scholarship and for their special familiarity with the subject. It is strange that it should be so; for the Diary furnishes innumerable evidences that after a certain stage of his progress, the task was persevered in grudgingly and *invita Minerva.* There was none of his works upon which he had entered with so much ardour, and at the same time none which as it proceeded became so irksome to him. While engaged upon it as a daily duty, he was perpetually pining for the more congenial occupation of patristic study. He first had entertained the thought of editing 'Athenæus' as far back as 1590, and in 1594 he tells Scaliger that he is engaged upon that author. Before he left Geneva in 1596, he had completed the revision of the text, and had already passed the greater part through the press. It was at Montpellier that he began the Commentary, the first draft of which occupied him about ten months, from June 23, 1599, to April 13, 1598. His revision of the draft for press was much interrupted, but he managed to complete it by the following March, on the 20th of which month he commenced to print the volume, the last sheet being corrected on the 9th of August, 1600. Still the picture which the Diary discloses of the details of the task is sadly disenchanting as to the supposed charm of literary labour. Day after day we meet weary and almost despairing records of the worker's groans and sighs. His faculties as well as his spirits are oppressed by the very burden of his knowledge. He writhes under the enforced and ungrateful toil—'*catenati* '*in ergastulo labores.*' He confesses to Scaliger that he had repented times beyond number that he had ever taken the work in hand; and in the letter in which he announces its final completion, he exults in his release from a task which had become oppressive and intolerable.†

Nevertheless, distasteful as was the task, it was manfully and conscientiously executed; and although Casaubon's text of 'Athenæus' will not, in point of correctness, satisfy all the requirements of modern criticism, his Commentary, as a whole, may safely invite comparison with the very happiest efforts of the scholars of his own or any later age. His marvellous mas-

* Schweighäuser's 'Athenæus,' Præf. vol. i. p. liv.

† 'Magna et molesta cura liberati sumus.' Ep. 166, Ad Scaligerum.

tery of the Greek language gave him an especial aptitude for the work of interpreting an author whose vocabulary is probably the most varied and comprehensive in the whole range of the Greek literature; and his extraordinary stores of ancient learning, unsurpassed among moderns, except perhaps by our own Bentley, may truly be said to exhaust every source of illustration available in his time.

Of this remarkable mastery of the Greek language and familiarity with its use, Casaubon's Diary supplies innumerable and often very curious and amusing examples. This Diary extends from February 1597 to June 1614, with the exception of a gap for the years 1604–7, owing to the loss of one of the fasciculi. The language is Latin; but from the first entry to the last, it is interlarded with Greek words, phrases, and sentences, always most appropriate and significant, and falling so easily and naturally into the context as to show that they are not drawn in for parade, but are the spontaneous outpouring of the writer's stores of knowledge. It is impossible not to agree with Mr. Pattison that Casaubon's habitual use of Greek phrases was no pedantic affectation, but the natural language of a man who spent most of the hours of every day so entirely in the company of Greek authors, that, as a foreigner long resident in France becomes habituated to French, he came naturally and without effort to think and to clothe his thoughts in Greek as the most familiar and significant embodiment of the process. If he records a temptation to read in his neighbour's book over his shoulder at church, the word that occurs to him is *εἰσκύπτειν*. The best phrase he can find to express the intractable character of the Genevese is *τὸ δυσάγωγον*. He habitually speaks of his 'ærumnas et *πειρασμοῦς*.' The Greek of the proverbial saying *θεὸς ἐκ μήχανης* comes more naturally to him than the usual Latin one. The readiest form of wish for a pleasant journey is 'ut in itinere *εὐοδωθῶ*.' The vagaries of modern doctors he expresses by 'Doctores hodierni 'ad capita viarum *πολυσχιδῶν* nos deducerent;' and with all the tenderness of his love for his dear wife, he is unable even in the solemn prayers which he puts forth for the restoration of her health, to repress the inveterate habit:—'Domine 'Jesu,' he prays, 'redde uxori priorem *εὐεξίαν*.' In a word, so far as a dead language can be made vernacular, Casaubon had appropriated the Greek of the New Attic period. He never used a lexicon. At the request of a Greek who professed to be a descendant of John Lascaris, he translated a petition into Greek without a moment's hesitation. In conversation he could express himself in Greek as readily as in

Latin, and of his Greek conversation Cardinal Du Perron said that 'when Casaubon spoke French he talked like a peasant, 'but when he spoke Greek he spoke it as his mother tongue.' Mr. Pattison does not accept this without some reservation. He is of opinion that Casaubon thought in Greek 'words and 'phrases,' but not in Greek 'sentences;' that his memory supplied him with a full vocabulary, but that he had not cultivated either the logic or the rhythm of the Greek sentence (p. 513). It is hardly worth while, we think, to discuss the distinction. We may be satisfied with the judgment of Scaliger, who confessed that Casaubon knew more Greek than himself, and acknowledges him to be 'memoria avorum et nostri sæculi 'græcè doctissimum,' and the still more discriminating verdict of Ruhnken, who assigns to him in this particular the very first place among modern scholars, with the sole exception of Hemsterhuis.

But little space remains for an examination of the religious opinions of Casaubon and of the position which he held in relation to the conflicting parties of his time. We have already seen that he was popularly regarded as a 'waverer,' and that, as such, he occasionally incurred the suspicion, if not the ill-will, of both sides of the great religious controversy. Probably no better word could be devised to describe his condition of religious thought during the greater part of his residence in France. He himself tells Tilenus that, in the course of his investigations, he 'had compared the writings of 'the Reformers and those of their opponents with the doctrine 'of the ancient Church. Among the rest he had read Bellar-'mine, and he was prepared to demonstrate the falsity of 'Bellarmine's positions on certain heads, such as Scripture, 'tradition, the pope's power, images, and indulgences. But 'as to the chapter on the Sacraments, although there too he 'finds things which can be refuted, it is no less clear to him 'that the whole of antiquity with one consent is on the side of 'Rome, and that the writers of the Reformed party who have 'attempted to show that the fathers are in their favour, have 'egregiously wasted their time' (p. 254). It appears to us that this brief statement contains the key to the whole history of Casaubon's career, as well in France as in England. It is by no means improbable that he permitted himself to coquet with the Catholic propagandists in Paris, so far, at least, as to give them hopes of his ultimate conversion; but we think that Mr. Pattison fairly appreciates his actual dogmatic position in the following summary review:—

'Up to the middle of his Paris period, he had remained, what he had been brought up, a pure Genevan Calvinist. This old Huguenot

party, thorough believers in their own creed as exclusively true, were for no compromise with the Papal anti-Christ. About 1605 and thenceforward, his exclusiveness began to give way. Commerce with the world of a capital, conflict with rational Catholics, and an assiduous study of antiquity, could not fail to enlarge his ideas, and necessitate a change of position. It is highly probable that while this change of front was being effected, he "wavered," and thought of transferring himself to the Catholic Church, of becoming simply and purely a convert. But after a short period of irresolution, during which he was feeling his way, mentally and morally, he settled down in the attitude which we may call fusionist. This was the position of many of the best and well-informed Protestants of that period—Grotius, Calixtus, Jean Hotman, Bongars. Unable to acquiesce in the narrow dogmatism of the Calvinists, or to surrender the world to the domination of the clergy, these men proposed a middle term, a re-union of Christendom on the basis of a comprehension. They regarded the Reformation, not as a new religion, but as a return to primitive Christianity. They desired to promote, not Protestantism, but a religious revival, in which all Christians should participate without quitting the communion of the Church universal. The politicians, like Hotman and Bongars, aimed at bringing this about by diplomatic means. They wanted a general council. The more learned, like Casaubon, sought the same end by popularising a knowledge of antiquity. All parties understood that the Edict of Nantes was no settlement, that it was but a truce, which was being worked for the benefit of the stronger party, by the system of gradual encroachment.' (Pp. 503–4.)

Such was Isaac Casaubon—the very type of a devoted, and so far as regards scholarship, a successful student. Such was his life—'a life of hardship, in circumstances humble—almost 'sordid; short of want, but pinched by poverty.'

It is painful to acknowledge that the results of such a life are now almost entirely forgotten. Which of us, except with a special purpose, has ever thought of recurring to the works of this great scholar? It is true that this is in part due to the nature of the work to which his life was devoted. Mr. Pattison truly says that philological literature, profound as it commonly appears, is of its own nature ephemeral. The science of philology, and still more that of exegetics, is naturally progressive, and its text-books are 'in a constant state of super-'session.' The work of a poet, of an orator, even of an historian, is read for its own sake, and possesses a substantive character, with an independent hold upon existence. But books of philology and exegesis are but artificial instruments of learning—successive records in which to register

> 'All knowledge that the sons of flesh
> Shall gather in the cycled times—'

tools for the acquisition of further knowledge; and, as in the

mechanical arts one invention is displaced or has its value utilised and incorporated in another, so the philological labours of one generation of scholars are appropriated by the next, and of the elder men little remains beyond the memory of their fame among their own contemporaries.

Nevertheless the life of Casaubon, with its many painful and disheartening accessories, contains a great and ennobling lesson. Let his books be put aside ever so persistently by the caprice of modern literary fashion, it is true, notwithstanding, that their fruit endures, and that even if unacknowledged, it has been appropriated and embodied in the progressive stock of human knowledge. And although 'the many thousand pages which 'he wrote may be all merged in the undistinguished mass of 'classical commentary, there yet remains to us, as a cherished 'inheritance, the record of a life devoted to learning.'

ART. VIII.—1. *Ultima Thule, or a Summer in Iceland.* By RICHARD F. BURTON, with Historical Introduction, Maps, and Illustrations. Two volumes, 8vo. London: 1875.

2. *Unpublished Journals of two Journeys in Iceland in the Summers of* 1861 *and* 1862.

FOR the last hundred years it may be roughly said Iceland has been an object of interest to English travellers. Nearly a century has elapsed since Sir John Stanley first visited the Geysirs, followed in 1809 and 1810 by Sir William Hooker and Sir Henry Holland, who may well have been called by the Icelanders 'Henry the far traveller,' for the zeal and perseverance with which he visited distant countries almost to the very day of his death. Those earlier expeditions were, as might be expected from the pursuits of those who embarked in them, prompted by a love of natural science. They were succeeded by a traveller of a far different stamp. In 1818 Dr. Ebenezer Henderson published two volumes on Iceland after a residence in the island of two years, 1814 and 1815. If it be asked why he stayed so long in an inclement clime, the answer is easy. He was employed by the Bible Society to distribute copies of a new translation of the Bible throughout the island, and in furtherance of this duty he traversed Iceland in a series of journeys, and so saw more of it as a whole than other travellers have been able to accomplish in a summer sojourn of a few weeks. For this alone, but also for other reasons, Henderson's 'Iceland,' is still the best book written on the island.

Even Captain Burton, who sneers at his credulity and simplicity and narrowmindedness, admits that he has 'an exceptional 'eye for the country,' that his powers of observation are remarkable, and that the clergy from whom he drew most of his information were more powerful, and let us add more learned and capable of affording information, than they now are. One great advantage he had, of which it is impossible to over-rate the importance. He travelled in Iceland while it was still unsophisticated, when a generous hospitality was the rule and not the exception, and when the native modesty and honesty of the simple peasantry had not been debased by flocks of English tourists, who have sown their dollars broadcast on the land, and in consequence have reaped a crop of extortion and sharp-dealing. Fifteen years ago, to judge by the unpublished journals of two tours on two successive summers, much of the old simplicity of the Icelanders still remained. Since 1862 a rush of vulgar Englishmen, alike ignorant of the language and the manners of the race, has invaded the island. These are the class who believe that everything and even civility has its price in Iceland; the result being that, not obtaining what they bargained for, they have spoilt the character of the people, and bid fair to turn it into as mercenary a race as exists upon the face of the earth.

It is not, however, for the mere sake of pointing out, or of dwelling on, this inevitable deterioration in the character of the people, that we devote our space to the consideration ot Captain Burton's book. With all its faults Iceland is a spot which must ever be interesting to the natural philosopher, to the philologer, and to the student of literature. In that isle, so seamed with lava and so scarred with volcanic fire, amidst those icy solitudes and enormous glaciers, an asylum was afforded for the whole mythology of the Teutonic race, which had perished down to a few wretched fragments and patches, were it not that it was rescued for posterity by the happy accident which drove many thousand colonists from the three Scandinavian kingdoms while they were still heathen. The sturdy freemen and chiefs, the very bone, muscle, and marrow of the land, who preferred freedom in the new-found island to becoming the thanes and thralls of that over-bearing tyrant Harold Fairhair, in Norway, bore with them to their second home across the western main the venerable songs and traditions of their race, as we find them afterwards preserved in the two Eddas. Nor was this all: the same free spirit, and the same love for tradition and family history, burst out afterwards in a great crop of Sagas or stories, whether of the my-

thical heroes of the Scandinavian race, of the kings of Norway and their tributary earls in Orkney and elsewhere, and though last not least, of the lives and adventures of famous Icelanders at home, which surpass in truth and poetic feeling all the other literary productions of the race put together. It has been well said long ago, and it is now almost universally admitted, that the vernacular literature of Iceland is not only earlier, but far fresher, livelier, and more interesting, than that of any Western race. The reason is obvious: while in other nations, taking Spain as an instance, the ballads alone have sprung from the people itself, the rest of their literature being dry monkish chronicles, the whole body of Sagas in Iceland bloomed forth out of the hearts and mouths of her sons; and to that fact alone they are indebted for their lifelike spirit and perfect form. Njala, the greatest of them all, that consummate work of natural truth and power, the real Epic of the Icelandic race, we may be sure took its present shape in the hearts and on the lips of her children long before it was taken down at the period when books began to be written, and oral tradition waxed faint. Nor will it be out of our purpose to repeat what has already been insisted on in our pages, that besides these great literary treasures to which the Icelandic language is the key, that tongue possesses in itself, quite apart from the artistic merit of its writings, a paramount interest for Englishmen as the source whence numberless words and idioms, not to speak of grammatical forms and inflexions, have been derived. The days are happily long passed when it could be asked in competitive examinations whether the theory were true of a Scandinavian infusion in the English language. It is now matter of history that the Danes and other Northmen, who established kingdoms and principalities in this island during the Anglo-Saxon times, have left behind them among their descendants the language which they had brought with them from their old homes. Just at the period when the languages of the two races were dominant in the Anglo-Saxon and Danish portions of England, the Norman Conquest happened, bringing with it a new language which for a while assumed the supremacy and degraded the two competing tongues into dialects spoken by the common people. Thence ensued a struggle for the mastery between those two forms of Teutonic speech, resulting in partial victories on either side. All this occurred in what may be called the Dark Ages of the English language. Centuries after, when the people asserted its birthright to speak its own language, and the Norman element dwindled, the curtain rises on a new English in which the three elements are represented,

but in which we find that very often in diction and form the West Saxon has had to give way to that Scandinavian dialect which before the Conquest was only to be heard north of the Trent.

We might here pause in our catalogue of the interests which England ought to take in Iceland and Icelandic, but there still remains another to mention. This is that modern but ever-increasing love of natural science which is the characteristic of this generation. Time was when there were no 'ologies' but theology. Let the reader think of that and reflect on the strides one alone of the new 'ologies,' geology, has made in this generation. So also once there was scarcely an 'ism' but dogmatism; when scepticism was only mentioned to be scouted, and 'magnetism' was neither born or thought of. To this new subject of inquiry, to this Newfoundland of natural science, the physical history of Iceland especially belongs. There, in one corner of the island, may be found a fossil flora belonging to a period when its climate was tropical, when it was shaded by tree-ferns and palms, and when land which is now just without the Arctic circle must have enjoyed a temperature approximating to that of the regions watered by the river Amazon. Nor are its igneous rocks, and lavas, and obsidians, and agates, and zeolites less interesting to the naturalist. Upheaved out of the ocean by submarine volcanic agency which first threw up what may be called the floor of Iceland, a vast bed of palagonite subsequently pierced by trap, and trachyte, and lava, which thus formed volcanic vents through that original mass, Iceland presents geological formations to which the adherents of the Plutonian theory may point as a great proof of subaqueous deposits thrown up by the action of submarine fire. That there are many discoveries still to be made in this geological field is evident from the asserted detection of silver in this very palagonite in sufficient quantities to pay for its extraction. Should this most recent fact in the mineralogy of the old island be true, there may be a good time coming for Iceland and her inhabitants; if it be a good time to be the apple of discord between rival companies which will assuredly rush like vultures to the carcass which promises them such unlooked-for gains.

We have kept one of the great scientific attractions to Iceland to the last. Quite apart from many of its peaks which have never been ascended, and of valleys and passes scarcely trodden by the foot of man, there exists, as is well known, a vast glacier district in the south-east of the island commonly called the Vatna Jokull, which it has been for years the

ambition of Alpine climbers and others to explore. Into this desolate region, comprising a tract about as big as Yorkshire, it was one of Captain Burton's objects to penetrate in the journey which he now describes. He was not successful, as will be seen further on, and it has been reserved for an adventurous student of law, Mr. Watts, in two expeditions in the summers of 1874 and 1875, to solve what has so long rested like its native fog over this dreary region.

After this necessary introduction, let us follow Captain Burton on his travels and see what he has accomplished in Iceland, and what he thought of the country and its people. How it was that a man hitherto accustomed to African and Arabian exploration, and who had spent his life under baking heat rather than in chapping frost, was induced to turn his footsteps towards Iceland does not quite appear. Perhaps behind the Vatna Jokull there was some sulphur prospecting to be done on his first, as there undoubtedly was on his second, journey in 1875. Perhaps he too, like many others, went to spy out the mineral treasures of the land, and was ready to turn his attention to deposits of iron, to beds of limestone, and to great deposits of pure silica, as well as those sulphur pits which for centuries have lured capital to Iceland merely to sink it in what even the pious Henderson admits to be the infernal regions of Krabla, as well as in the old mines of Húsavik in the north, and Krisuvik in the south, of the island. Whatever was the reason, wild adventure or mineral hunting, or both combined, Captain Burton embarked for Iceland on June 4th, 1872, at Granton, in the 'Queen,' chartered for the voyage by a Scottish merchant. The passengers were all first-class, and the fare there and back 6*l.*, not including board; in 1861 on board the old 'Arcturus,' Captain Andersen, it used to be 7*l.* there and back including board. But that was a Danish, this is a Scottish tariff, and besides have not 'fares' and 'board,' like everything else, increased mightily in the past fifteen years. The passengers were most of them good fellows, all but one cockney who would slaughter with his gun the innocent gulls and gannets which they met in myriads on their voyage; and such a nuisance did Burton find him, that when they came to the Faroes and Iceland, where it is almost felony to shoot the eiders that produce the down, our traveller fervently hoped that the cockney might commit that crime and be put into prison, while his gun was confiscated. As for the Captain, he was 'a regular brick,' only labouring under the disadvantage that neither he nor his company, nor, worst of all, the ship, had ever made the coast of Iceland before: a fact not pleasant to

reflect on as they approached that rock-bound harbourless coast, and might have to contend with fierce winds and wild currents off shores whence no pilot hails, and along which buoys and beacons and lighthouses are unknown. And here we must remark that as the Icelandic proverb says, 'A king's 'ears are long,' so a traveller's eyes are sharp; for as they went along the Caithness coast and opened the whirlpools of the Pentland Firth the voyagers saw not only John of Groat's House or its site, but also Stroma right down the Firth, and the old Man of Hoy, a great needle at the end of the island of that name, off Stromness, and after running the gauntlet of the roaring Firth, passed the Merry Men of May and the Swelchie, and so on through the channel between Hoy and the mainland of Orkney. Thence the 'Queen' plunged north-west into the Mare Pigrum of Tacitus, and dashed into the Deucaledonian Ocean, sighting the Fair Isle, between Orkney and Shetland, on the starboard, and soon afterwards Foula, an outlier of the Shetland group. On June 7th they fell into a sea-fog, and so neared the southern coast of Iceland. This misty veil lost them a grand sight, for it is impossible to conceive anything more picturesque than the great mass of Jokulls and glaciers running down to the sea which meet the eye when that part of the island is approached in fine weather. As it was, the captain of the 'Queen' hardly knew where he was. He had intended to make his landfall at Portland about forty miles farther west; but he was in fact just off what is called 'the Side,' that is, the low alluvial or rather sandy strip between the Jokulls and the sea. Having ascertained this, they ran cautiously along the coast, discovering through the mist which gave it fresh terrors, the grisly black and scarped form of Hjörleifshöfði, so called from Hjörleif, one of the first settlers, a free thinker of those days, who believed in himself, and would not sacrifice to the gods; the result being that those whom Landnama, the Domesday of Iceland, calls, in words which Swift might have penned, 'the basest of 'slaves,' some 'Westmen' or Irish thralls, treacherously slew him and ran off to a cluster of isles off the coast, called ever since after them the Westmen's Isles. We hope that as they neared these isles the fog lifted and the sun shone out, if not, Captain Burton and his companions lost another glorious sight. The Journals of 1861–2 tell us of the bluest sea covered with myriads of birds, of huge masses of glaciers on the north-east, and farther on, of the great plain through which the Markarfljot rushes on its way to the sea through roaring channels, while behind it Hekla rears it head laced with stripes of

snow. On the south, the Westmen's Isles are studded on the sea, affording the most picturesque forms. Such is nature off that coast. To those who know the language and the Sagas of the land, a deeper interest than that excited by a fair landscape fills the mind. The district over which the eye ranges is the most famous in Iceland. It is the great plain watered by the two rivers, called Wrongwater, from their wayward course. It is Njals' country, who dwelt yonder at Bergthrorsknoll down on the shore; while at Oddi, farther inland, lived Sæmund, the learned, and a whole host of Icelandic worthies after him. We doubt, however, whether any on board the 'Queen' were alive to these ancient glories of the land. Certainly we should say that the cockney sportsman, Captain Burton's aversion, the representative of a class of Englishmen who have done so much harm to Iceland, was not. He was busy with his gun. Nothing feathered came amiss to him. Divers, puffins, testes, gulls, and even the sacred eider itself, went down before his gun. Skuas and gannets bit the seafoam; but we are glad to learn that 'this 'wanton cruelty was not looked upon by the rest of the pas-'sengers with a favourable eye.'

Quitting this lovely scene, the steamer steamed slowly along the south coast, doubling Cape Reykianess, round which from west to east to west often runs a nasty current, and, as we gather, reached Reykjavik, the capital of the island, on the afternoon of June 8th. Of this town it may be said that it is the exact contradiction of what Gustavus Adolphus said of Munich; he called the Bavarian capital a golden saddle on an ass's back; by which the conquering king meant that the capital, as in fact has been the case ever since, was far too good for the country. In Iceland, on the contrary, the country is far too good for the capital. The view from Reykjavik across the Faxafirth, forty miles away to Snæfell, which rears its cusped head covered with eternal snow, while to the north-east in the middle distance rise the giant steeples of Akrafell and Esja, is one over which tourists may rave, and compare it with the loveliest landscape they have ever seen. And well they may, for before them in an atmosphere of intense purity and brightness are combined all the magic of sea and land, in noble and yet fantastic forms. But when they turn landward and behold the town, they are more forcibly reminded than ever of the truth of the old saying, that God made the country and man made the town, with the addition that in this particular case the handiwork of man is mean and squalid in the extreme. Captain Burton, who like Ulysses has seen

many lands and cities and shapes of men, tells us that before landing he 'disciplined himself severely,' lest he should be disappointed; but it is evident, though he calls Reykjavik 'a 'fair north of Europe port,' that he was disappointed. In fact the Icelandic capital, with its tumble-down wooden houses, its foul drains, and ancient and fish-like smells, is not likely to be an object of admiration to any traveller. The most that can be said of it is that it is cleaner than it was, and that its population of about 2,000 are much better housed than they were in the days of Mackenzie and Hooker, at the beginning of the century. In one point, too, the improvement is beyond all comparison. In 1810 there 'was not a single garden or ve-'getable of any kind growing in the place.' Now there is an abundance of what Captain Burton calls 'garden sass,' in the American fashion; parsley and fennel, kail and turnips, fine cauliflowers, and, though last not least, cabbages and potatoes; before which leprosy, so long the opprobrium of the country, is vanishing and will vanish as that fell disease has vanished from the British Isles where it was in old times so prevalent.

In this town, the seat, be it remembered, of the Government of the island, Captain Burton found lodgings in the house of Fru Jonassen, sister of Geir Zoega, the guide so well known to Iceland tourists. The rooms, with their 'applepie-shaped 'box beds, about three feet long,' are not to be despised, as they are about the best and quietest that a stranger can find in the town; nor was the charge, considering the rise of prices in Iceland, at all immoderate; for about 3*s.* 6*d.* a day the Captain was lodged and found in 'a small breakfast' or early coffee, and 'a big breakfast,' substantial as those of Scotland, at 10 A.M. The coffee, sugar, and cream were excellent. There were 'no 'paltry overcharges and small robberies,' as in English lodging-houses; and Captain Burton left the abode of the motherly Mrs. Jonassen in a contented frame of mind, who, in addition to her other services, took care of his goods for him during his absence from the capital. But we have forgotten something most important to an English traveller—his dinner. That they took at the tavern, turning it for the nonce into a club. There they had food, excellent in some things, for the very small charge of 2*s.* 2*d.* a day, including, as we gather, Norway ale, coffee, and a *petit verre*. The cook was too fond of spices and sugar, but an abundant use of those condiments is according to the taste of the country. The salmon was excellent; 'firmer, 'finer, curdier, and leaner than with us.' There were Australian and other preserved meats; a new feature in Icelandic dietary, and which would have saved the travellers of 1861

and 1862 much trouble to their teeth; for the Journals before us contain bitter complaints against the toughness of the beefsteaks and mutton of the Icelandic metropolis, even when seasoned with that best of all sauces, a tremendous appetite, acquired on a long tour in the interior of Iceland. On one point all travellers agree, and that is on the wholesomeness of the Icelandic climate and the purity of the air, which are alone a cure for half the diseases, imaginary or otherwise, brought into the island by dyspeptic or dissipated tourists.

Thus established at Reykjavik, Captain Burton resolved to stay awhile and look about him. A veteran traveller, he wished to exercise his powers of observation and survey the main features of society and life in Iceland—to see, in fact, how the land lay, and not to rush blindly into the country, as is the fashion of the British tourist, in which fashion, it need hardly be said, lies the whole difference between a traveller and a tourist. During this period he was hospitably treated by the governor and the authorities. He visited the cathedral and the high school, made friends with Dr. Hjaltalin, the state physician, a man of whom all travellers for the last twenty years retain the pleasantest recollections, and who is always ready to impart information to strangers. In the capital, at least, Captain Burton observed an amount of intemperance which we are assured is the fact, in spite of the objections that have been made by various persons to his published statements on this point. In these volumes he returns to the charge, and declares that 'an eminent Icelander openly asserted that he 'had dived into the gin-palaces of London and Edinburgh, yet 'that he had seen more drunkenness in a day at Reykjavik than 'during his whole visit to Great Britain.' This, no doubt, is an exaggeration, but we fear the fact remains that Iceland, and certainly its capital, is becoming, like some other countries which we could name, more and more demoralised by drink, and that by drink of a detestable quality. In 1861 and 1862, the Journals before us speak neither in the capital nor in the country of such intemperance as is recorded by Captain Burton. The conclusion, therefore, remains that in this respect the island has deteriorated during the last fifteen years.

While Captain Burton was making his observations on men and manners, his companions one by one quitted the capital for the interior of the island. They were the first batch of tourists for the year, and their arrival naturally excited great animation among the listless community. So the rest furbished up the little stock of Latin which each possessed, merely to find, when they fell on any native who knew that tongue, that our

absurd English pronunciation was a great gulf between them. Even Danish goes a very little way in the heart of Iceland. The only satisfactory means of intercourse is the mother tongue—the language of the Sagas; but of this how few travellers, not to mention tourists, have the slightest knowledge. The accounts, therefore, of travellers who are ignorant of the language and history of the island must always be taken, not with one, but many grains of salt. The Icelander—proud and reserved by nature to a measure to which even our English standard falls short—is reticent and sensitive in the presence of those who do not understand him. This Captain Burton found to his cost, and other travellers have fared worse in this respect. But it is wonderful, from the evidence of the Journals before us, to mark how the ordinary Icelander, the mere rank and file of the country, warms up at once when he finds he is guiding a foreigner who, in addition to some knowledge of the language, knows the history of the island, and as he passes from firth to firth, and from dale to dale, is able to inquire, 'Is not 'this the scene of such and such a saga? and was it not on 'yonder rock that Grettir the Strong made his asylum and 'defied his foes? or on that isle in the Whale firth that a whole 'band of outlaws for years were a terror to their neighbours, the 'chiefs and yeomen on the mainland?' In a word, travelling in Iceland is like travelling everywhere else. It is the old story of 'eyes and no eyes.' That traveller sees most of a country and its people who knows most of its manners, customs, and history. Some of Captain Burton's companions were of the common sight-seeing class. It does not appear whether the cockney, who was such a nuisance on the voyage, was one of them. The steamer stayed five days, and in that space they rushed to the Thingvalla and the Geysers and back, bringing in their horses with sore backs, and themselves not without like marks of travel on their persons. In like manner, the party of 1862 encountered a Scottish baillie who drank ten tumblers of toddy a night, who dragged several gallons of spirit to the Geysirs in order to turn it when it gushed out into a gigantic bowl of whiskey punch, and whom they met, having failed in this object, returning slowly to Reykjavik, riding gingerly in his saddle, as he said on account of 'excoriations,' as he called them. These are the mere birds of passage; like the hours on a sundial, *pereunt et imputantur.* From them we pass on to another class, the sporting—those who go out to Iceland to fish and shoot. We are surprised, after perusing the Journals of 1861 and 1862, corroborated as they are by the experiences of Mr. Shepherd, a very accomplished naturalist, to

find Captain Burton complaining of the great want of bird-life, and especially of game-life, in Iceland. His friends, 'Capt. 'I. and D. S., of the Indian Army, allowed themselves six 'weeks for a sporting tour, which was a dead failure.' This, perhaps, was because 1872 was a late year, and they started too soon. They had bad guides, it seems, too, and went into a poor part of the island for shooting, though they had good fishing. But, as we have said, the difference between the feathered wealth of Iceland fifteen years ago, and the total absence of game described by Captain Burton in 1872, is quite inexplicable. He attributes the scarcity to the increase of population; but even supposing that the inhabitants have risen from 65,000 to 70,000 in that period, is it at all likely that this increase would materially affect the quantity of game in an island considerably bigger than Ireland, and which, moreover, abounds in heaths and corries and lakes and rivers, as well as in vast solitudes, which would seem especially designed for the abode and breeding-place of land and sea birds? Captain Burton's sporting friends were, as we have seen, in all probability, too soon for their game; the birds were sitting, so there was no shooting; but Burton himself remained in Iceland till September 1st, by which time the ptarmigan would have had their second broods. This matter, then, we leave as one of those things which 'no fellow can 'understand.' Other travellers have found the country teeming with game, Captain Burton alone bears witness to the utter failure of sport.

While his companions one after the other left the capital, trusting themselves for the most part to the mercies of Zoega the guide, Burton lingered in the capital, and plumed his wings for further flights by little excursions in the neighbourhood. Thus he crossed over the Firth, and scaled Esja, 'the anvil,' from which he enjoyed one of the finest views in Iceland. Then he crossed the Skarðsheiði, and visited the site of the ancient heathen temple of Kjarlarnes, in both of which he had a foretaste of the miseries of Icelandic guides and hired horses. Contrary to the experience of travellers fifteen years ago, he is against buying horses, and prefers to hire them for about a dollar a day; the objection to this arrangement is that hired horses are often sorry jades, as Burton found his, and hardly to be relied on for such hard work as riding to the North by way of Sprengisand or 'Choke-Jade,' where bad horses might prove the ruin of the expedition. But these were but excursions. His fixed purpose was to explore the Vatna Jokull, in spite of the dissuading voices of the whole world at Reykjavik, which

assured him that his expedition must prove a failure. On June 26th—he reached Iceland on the 8th—the 'Iόn Sigurds-'son' steamer ran into the harbour. She was to visit Hamnefjorδ, close by, and then to call at the fishing ports on the west and north of the island. Here was too good an opportunity to be lost, and on board of her Burton embarked. On the way to Hamnefjorδ they passed Bessastad, once owned by Snorre Sturlason, whom Burton calls the Herodotus of the North. In aftertimes the house—one of the few stone houses in the island—was turned into the Latin School, which has since been transferred to Reykjavik. It is now the property of Grimur Thomsen, a thorough Icelander, who, having retired from the Danish Civil Service, now lives in the abode of his ancestors, and stands up obstinately for Iceland against the ignorance and impertinence of cockney tourists. It is said that Hamnefjorδ ought to be the capital of Iceland, like so many of us who ought to be something that we are not; but Reykjavik has ousted the sister harbour, in spite of her more favourable position, and she must grin and bear it. Should the dreams of a great sulphur production from the mines of Krisuvik ever become realities, a good time will return to Hamnefjorδ, for it will become the place of export of that mineral.

On the 28th, under Italian skies—for the rain of June had now passed off into real summer weather—Burton was again at Reykjavik, steaming out of the harbour, across the Faxafirth, on his way to the North. And here, for the good of those who have suffered from extortionate stewards in other parts of the world, let us mention that this nine days' trip to the North was, to use Burton's words, 'the cheapest 'known to me.' Nine dollars, or 1*l.* each way for fare, and 4*l.* for living; 'a total of 13*s.* a day, including stewards' 'fees, and excellent Norwegian ale and Geneva *ad libitum.*' The meals were ample, the food and 'cooking excellent, and 'plate and linen equally spotless.' From this it is evident that there are worse places than Iceland for comfort on board ship, and many of our readers, with Burton, will re-echo Thackeray's hope 'that Great Britain, who is supposed to rule the waves, 'will some day devote a little more attention to her *cuisine.*' But it was not for creature comforts alone that Burton embarked on board the 'Iόn Sigurdsson.' It was to see something more of Iceland, and he saw it, though from a distance. As they opened the bight of the Faxafirth, they descried the Myra Sysla, or great bog district of the Borgarfirth, and might have beheld Borg, the abode of the famous Egil, son of Baldgrim, the enemy of Norwegian kings and the

friend of the great Athelstane of England. Captain Burton sees with his eyes as well as most travellers, but he is quite right in saying that they strained their eyes in vain to catch a sight of Baula, the great trachyte hill, which rises in a great grey mass 3,500 feet above the surrounding country. They might have seen Eldborg the 'Fireburg,' that strange limpet-shape crater, which rises like a bubble out of the lava-stream, which in prehistoric times flowed fiercely down Hitardale. Then, as they near Snæfells Jokull, at the end of the long peninsula which forms the western arm of the Faxafirth, they sight the Budarklettir, a range of hills which forms the ridge of the peninsula, and remind the traveller, in their jagged bristling crests, of the hills near Loch Coruisk in Skye. Close under Snæfell lies Stapi, famous for its basaltic caves and columns, which are on a grander scale than those of Staffa, only there are as yet no Hutchinson's steamers, bringing hordes of travellers to stare at them. Perhaps their day may still come. Now they were close under the great Snowmountain, on which they had so often gazed at Reykjavik, and could observe its precipices full of crevices, and its twin peaks, which one or two travellers, Sir Henry Holland among them, have thought they had scaled, but which Burton thinks are still both of them virgin to the mountaineer, recommending them to Alpine climbers as nuts hard to crack. Perhaps the day is not distant when adventurous Englishmen will scale them as easily as Whymper did the Matterhorn. Next they doubled the promontory at Ôndverdarnes and were in the Broadfirth, with its wide waters and countless islands. Shortly after they ran into Olafsvik, and found hospitality in the house of Mr. Clausen, a returned Australian, who has his eyes open 'to auriferous 'quartz reefs, to large deposits of iron, and to other minerals 'in his native island.' From Olafsvik they went along the shore to Stykkisholm, another trading station, where Burton made the acquaintance of Thorlacius, a veteran meteorologist well known to the writers of the Journals of 1861 and 1862; but then they were not as 'barbarians to one another,' for they could converse with him in Danish and Icelandic. Need we say that Burton set out while the steamer halted to seek the offering stone of Thor's temple near Helgafell, only to be disappointed like the travellers of 1862, who sought for it in vain. It is perfectly true that stones were shown to them, as to Burton, as the veritable victim stone, but none of them answered the conditions; and so, in all probability, the stone is destined to mock future tourists, like an *ignis fatuus*, now here, now there, but long since perished and passed away.

But we must hasten on. From Stykkisholm the steamer shot across the bay to Flatey, famous for its magnificent Manuscript, now one of the glories of Copenhagen, but containing some of the worst texts ever written of the Sagas. Then they steamed on to the North-west Firths, affording some of the finest scenery in Iceland, and ran into Eyri in Isafirth, of which Mr. Shepherd has written so interesting an account. Thence they doubled the Horn or North Cape at the north-western extremity of the island, and running along that ironbound shore where Swan the wizard, mentioned in Njala, once abode, they made their way to Bordeyri in the Hunafloi, and after a stay pushed on to Grafaros in the Skagafirth, which was the farthest of their progress north. That was on July 2nd, and on the 6th the 'Ión Sigurdsson' was safe back at the capital; and so this pleasant expedition, favoured on the whole by fine weather, came to an end.

All this, however, was but beating about the bush, so far as real Icelandic travelling was concerned. Standing on the deck of a steamer, with constant food in the cabin, is certainly pleasant, but it is not the way to see the island. On horseback, and horseback alone, is that task to be accomplished. If we were inclined to quarrel with Captain Burton it would be for the contempt which he expresses for our old friends the Geysir and Hekla, visits to which he invariably calls 'cockney trips.' It is clear, however, that as it is not the fault of the Geysir that it does not gush out above a given height, nor any blame to Hekla that it is not much over 4,000 feet high, the cockneydom of a trip to them must consist rather in the character of the tourists who visit them with exaggerated notions of their magnitude and importance. No doubt many cockney tourists bore us with their record of the difficulties of the ride to the Almannagjá, of the precipitous descent of that great rift, of the glories of the Great Geysir, and of the steep ascent to Hekla. Let these exaggerations be visited on the heads of those who never knew what rough riding was, who were ignorant of the surefootedness of Iceland ponies, and to whom Hekla was the first mountain they had ever ascended. Call them cockneys if you will, but do not gibbet the wonderful plain of the Allthing, the strange natural phenomenon of the Geysirs, and the weird landscape to be seen from the brow of Hekla with a term which reminds the reader of Beulah Spa and Richmond Hill. If Captain Burton found the 'trip' easy so much the better for him; easiness, as he himself afterwards found, is not commonly the characteristic of Icelandic travel, of which it has been truly said, 'if a man does not mind being con-

'stantly wet through, if he does not object to fording rivers 'where his pony may have to swim, if he does not care if he 'is starved, let him travel in Iceland.' But to return to Captain Burton: though he protested against the cockney trip, he had to make it. Accordingly he and his friend, Mr. Chapman, set off with a ham, a couple of sausages, four loaves of rye bread each weighing six pounds, snuff, cigars, and pigtail for friendship, small change for 5*l.*, and lastly, two mighty kegs of schnapps. For guides they had a man and a boy, and eight ponies between the four. Combining business with pleasure and disdaining the beaten tourist route, they determined to take Krisuvik with its sulphur deposits first, then to make their way across the country to Hekla, and to return by the Geysirs and the Thingfield. On July 8th they started from the capital in the forenoon, and passing by Hamnefirth reached Krisuvik at 8.30 P.M. We refer our readers interested in brimstone to the full details on the deposits of that mineral at Krisuvik given by Captain Burton. We hope that both these mines and those at Húsavik in the north will be worked at an immense profit by those who now possess them. If so, it will be a novelty in the history of sulphur in Iceland, for we believe that many, from the Danish Government downwards, have touched these deposits only to burn their fingers. From Krisuvik the pair pushed on south-east, crossing the Olfusá and Thjorsá by ferries, and arriving at the farm of Nœfrholt, under Hekla, on June 12th. On the morning of the 13th Captain Burton and his companion ascended the mountain, escorting the Misses Hope, three English ladies whom they met accidentally at its foot. The ascent, as others have found before them, though they did not call Hekla 'cockney,' was steep but easy. The recent tourists who have talked of ridges on the summit two feet wide with precipices on each side of several hundred feet in depth, must have been romancing. We are glad that Captain Burton had eyes on the summit to admire the view over the great plain of the 'Wrongwaters,' and out on the desolate regions to the north and east. Even to contemplate the various streams of lava which for thousands of years at intervals of fifty years have seared its sides it is worth while to ascend Hekla. The descent was made in three hours; the travellers parted from their fair friends, and next day pushed on to the Geysir, finding the day's work 'the most unpleasant in civilised Iceland,' though they were consoled in the midst of it by a friendly priest, who greeted them in Latin and feasted them sumptuously. Crossing the White-water (Hvitá), which they found

not so bad as the dry land, they reached the Geysir, after 'a 'long weary day,' at 9 P.M., only to find that the Great Geysir had 'gushed,' as Burton calls it, the day before, and that it was unlikely that it would gush again during their stay. The same mortification and worse happened to the travellers of 1861, for as they rode to the spot they beheld the steam of an eruption of the Great Geysir. In 1862 the same party, or some of them, were more fortunate. The Geysir gushed for them, and they were one and all delighted at the exhibition. We cannot help thinking that this want of politeness of the Geysir in not 'gushing' for Captain Burton made him in return less 'gushing' in his account of this great natural phenomenon. It is probable that the Great Geysir, if the measurements of earlier travellers are correct, is declining in the force of its superheated steam and consequently in its height; but all who have seen it 'gush,' which Captain Burton did not, have been amazed not only at the magnitude of the volume of water, but in the towering clouds of superheated steam which it emits. As a whole, 'the Geysirs' are not, as Captain Burton holds them, 'gross humbugs.' He predicts their speedy extinction, though they will probably survive his prophecy on the principle that threatened Geysirs, like threatened men, live long. For many generations we hope that it will not be necessary for tourists to follow him to the Geysirs of New Zealand or the Yellowstone, even though those 'trips' may be enhanced by the risk of being eaten by the Maories, or scalped and slowly roasted alive by savage Modocs, led by some of Captain Jack's successors.

On the morning of the 16th—thus giving the veteran impostor little time for repentance—Captain Burton started for Thingvellir or the Thingfield, which they reached in an easy day's journey. As Captain Burton is sceptical, he will not believe that the Thingvalla Lake and the Thingfield have subsided bodily between the two gjás or rifts which bound the sunken plain. He finds the Great Rift grossly exaggerated, as no doubt it has been by some tourists, but he admits the beauty of the scenery and the historical interest of that Parliament Field on and about which so many spirit-stirring scenes in Icelandic history were enacted. Half-a-day sufficed for this. In the afternoon of the 17th they were again in the saddle, and rode merrily back to Reykjavik, which they reached a little before midnight, finding people strolling about in the endless summer night. They had been away ten days, had ridden hard and seen much, and the share of each traveller was 104 dollars, or 12*l.* After all, in spite of the rise of

prices, we think that travelling in Iceland is not so very expensive. The following observation of Captain Burton on this subject is very much to the purpose. 'In West Africa in one 'day on the Congo, I have been asked, for simple permission 'to pass onwards, three times more than the cost of a three 'months' tour in Iceland.'

But there still remains the Vatna Jokull, without a sight of which, at least, Burton could not feel comfortable in returning to England. He attacked the giant both by sea and land, employing the steamer 'Diana' to carry him away east to Berufirth. On July 27th he embarked, finding the Danish Post Office ship by no means so clean and comfortable as the 'Ión Sigurdsson,' and favoured by tolerable weather they ran past the south-east coast and the Westmen's Islands. On the way he discusses that vexed and threadbare question as to the existence of the Great Awk, and comes to the conclusion that if that clumsy bird, for whom a thousand pounds might be offered dead or alive, exists any where, it must be in Greenland. In this we are assured Captain Burton is mistaken. The Great Awk was never found very far north. It was very rare, for instance, in the north of Iceland; and this is probably why it is extinct, while the Great Northern Diver and other birds flourish, because they betake themselves to those Arctic solitudes to breed, undisturbed by man. We are inclined, therefore, to give up the Great Awk with the same resignation as we regard the Dodo. Both are gone, and let us make the most in the more recent case of the skeletons and eggs, which still remain to us. But this is not a treatise on ornithology: let us hasten on to Berufirth. Landing at Djúpivógr (Deepvoe) in the bight of the Firth, Captain Burton parted from Mr. Chapman, and threw in his lot with Mr. Lock, the concessionist of the north-eastern sulphur mines, who was bound for the Mývatn district, in which those mines lay. The route would lead Burton close to the Odada Hraun, the great lava waste which borders on the unexplored Vatna Jokull. After some days' delay the party started on July 30th, not under the most happy auspices. First of all their guide Gísli, according to Captain Burton, was a skulk and a sneak, whose one virtue was temperance—in everything else he was worthless. Then they had nineteen horses, all young and unbroken—a great mistake, as they fought, and bit, and broke away. Mr. Lock misses his carpet-bag, which contains his money and papers; and the baggage suffers as much in ten hours as in a year of railways. Mr. Lock too, it appears, had a highhanded way of compelling the most headstrong to obey

him, and 'putting up with no nonsense.' Certainly not the way to conduce to comfortable travelling in Iceland, where the peasants must be managed gently, just as much as their horses. Thus the disorderly party started, and by August 3rd had made their way to Valtheofstad, where they had a review of their forces, reduced their unruly nineteen horses to sixteen, paid off some of their guides, mended their packsaddles, and engaged a new guide in a student of Bessastad. So they plodded on northwards, catching a sight of the Vatna Jokull, crossing the Jokullsá, or Jokull river, in a cage or lidless box, while the horses swam over and so reached Moðrudalr, one of the finest farms in Iceland, on August 4th. Here they were most hospitably treated by Sigundr Jónsson, the whitebearded owner who, if we remember, was equally kind to Mr. Holland's party in 1862. Beyond the river, opposite to the farm, lies the wilderness, out of which rises Herdubreid 'the broad-'shouldered,' and beyond that again, south-east, stretches that tantalising Vatna Jokull. Reserving his final attempt for his return, the party pushed on for Mývatn, which they reached by way of Grimstadir on the 6th, pulling up at Reykjahlid, the farm of Big Peter of that ilk.

The district of Mývatn is commonly described by travellers in Iceland as one of the most picturesque and wonderful in the island. A beautiful lake of the purest blue, studded with green islands, is girt by a savage and dreary region, showing at every step signs of volcanic action. The journals of the party of 1861, who came on the lake from the north-west end at Skutustadir, and rowed across it to Reykjahlid, show that they were enchanted with its scenery, and yet they were most of them old travellers; but then they were earlier in the year, and had lovely weather. Captain Burton was not favoured in the latter respect, and under the influence of 'a dull grey sky, 'like an inverted pewter pot,' saw Mývatn in anything but rosy hues. He boats and shoots over the 'ugly puddle,' and has no sport, on which he abuses his predecessors for talking of the ornithological wealth of the district; and yet, oddly enough, he says that he 'found defunct chicks at every few 'hundred yards.' There is an Icelandic proverb which says, 'An apple does not fall far from the tree.' Captain Burton might have reflected that where there were many dead chicks there must have been a corresponding number of old birds. He is surprised, too, that there were no midges, from which the lake and district derive their names. The veils which he and his companions brought with them were useless, and for a very good reason; in August the midge season is over, the traveller

may see their defunct bodies in the water, but they are not pestilent on land. Their reign is over for the year; but any traveller who visits Mývatn when the midges are in good sting, in June for instance, will find them as bad as they were in the days of Viga Skuti, the famous chief from whom Skutustadir takes its name. He, when he laid his hands on an assassin hired to take his life, bound him hand and foot, and carried him to one of the islets off his land, and there left him till he was stung to death by the midges. Captain Burton was only three days at Mývatn, and devoted his time principally to exploring the wealth of the district, with a view to the sulphur deposits which abound in the neighbourhood. All through his book we find there is a strong smell of brimstone, as if Krisuvik and Húsavik, the two rival sulphur beds, and not the Vatna Jokull, after all, were his main purpose in visiting Iceland. First he sought the Leirhnúkr and Krafla, pronounced Krabla, under the guidance of Big Peter, that is Pétur Jónsson, the burly farmer of Reykjahlid, well known to all travellers, a man whose reputation does not seem to improve with years. The party of 1861, who, by the way, lived in their tent and did not disturb his domestic arrangements, found him a man of middle life, tall and stout, and big-worded and boastful, and more a *farceur* than anything else. He was astonished to hear Englishmen liked their char fresh, because fresh fish was so very unwholesome; and in guiding them to this very Krafla, got a bad fall which rolled his pride and bragging in the dust. For the rest he was not a bad fellow, but then he was probably restrained in his bad propensities by Grímur Thomsen, who was both the Dictator and the Magister Equitum of the party. Since then many tourists have complained of Big Peter and his charges, and though last, not least, Captain Burton. When he and his guide returned from a long ride on August 7th, he found his companions, the Locks, pitching their tent, though he had left them in Peter's house; and the reason for this soon appeared in the 'lubberly sons and surly daughters,' who would do nothing, and meddled and interfered with everything. As for the father, he 'lost no time in deserving the character which 'he has gained from a generation of travellers. He began by 'asking three dollars to be paid down for the Krafla trip, and 'four dollars, the hire of four labouring men, for trinkgeld to 'the Fremrinámur, and the manner was more offensive than 'the matter of the demand. His parting bill was a fine speci-'men of its kind. It is only fair to state that he bears a bad 'name throughout the island.' Perhaps after all, the Devil

may not be so black as he is painted. Big Peter might say that travellers in Iceland, like travellers everywhere else, must pay for guides and horses and hay. As guides are necessary to strangers, they too must be paid for, and paid for well, especially when such an important person as Peter is taken away from his trade and his farm work for a whole day. The day after his visit to Krafla, Captain Burton, still on sulphur bent, started for the Fremrinámur with another guide, to whom, after all, they had to pay four dollars; and after a long ride, succeeded in reaching and returning from those sulphur deposits, the result of the inquiry being that 'the mass of 'mineral is now enormous.' In this expedition Captain Burton had a fine view, from a hill, of the Great Desert, called the Odáda Hraun, of which the travellers of 1861 had a better prospect when they rode across Sprengisand which is bordered by the desert on the south and east. Its area is roughly estimated at 1,160 square miles, and on the north-west it stretches to the Vatna Jokull. Most picturesque it certainly is, with huge mountains like Trolladyngja or the Trolls, or Witches' Bower rising sheer out of the waste. But to return to Mývatn. Late at night Captain Burton reached Reykjahlid; after his ride of eight hours and a half he found himself so chilled that his feet did not recover warmth till 3 A.M.

August 9th was a day of idleness for the horses, as he was really to start for the Vatna Jokull on the 10th. 'The 'weather also was rainy and more threatening than ever;' but it was not a day of idleness for Captain Burton, who proceeded to examine another sulphur district, at which his companions, that is to say, Mr. Lock and an ancient mariner, called Bowers, who though very awkward on horseback was very handy with a spade, had been prospecting the day before. We need scarcely say that here too, in what is said to be the richest deposit of all, everything was *couleur de jaune*, that is sulphur-coloured. 'My companions,' writes Captain Burton, 'were 'much excited by the spectacle of the great *souffrière*, and 'by the thought of so much wealth lying dormant in these days 'of labour activised by capital, when sulphur, the mainstay of 'our present industrial chemistry, has risen from 4*l.* 10*s.* to 7*l.* 'a ton.' Here we leave Mr. Alfred G. Lock the concessionist of these mines for fifty years, hoping that he will make it pay. We are quite sure that it must, if all that Burton says in its favour be true. One great advantage the Mývatn district possesses over its southern rival, and that is an easy

communication to the sea at Húsavik, a harbour of which British seamen have given a very good account.

And now we have done with sulphur and are off with Captain Burton into the Southern Orœfi or Desert. Of course Big Peter's lubberly sons declined to be his guides; they shrugged up their shoulders and pleaded illness. The student Stephan declared *pituitam habent*, a very sorry excuse for an Icelander. Besides, the farm horses 'could not traverse 'the grassless waste.' At last 'old Shylock,' that is Peter, lent a *dummer junger* named Kristian, 'who had once almost 'reached the base of Herdubreid,' two lean nags on condition that he was to go to Herdubreid and no farther. Burton's own horses were eight; one carried a little tent and the provisions, which were not luxurious, a loaf of brown bread, two tins of potted meat, a diminutive keg of schnapps and rations for his companions, Stephan and Gísli Skulk, who still adhered to him, and was glad to escape from the high-handed Mr. Lock, against whom he had a grudge, under the influence of which 'he contrived to nobble all the ropes of the party, 'and he tried furtively to drive off all the baggage horses.' To Burton he did all the harm he could, losing the extra horse-shoe nails, pricking the horses' hoofs, and by generally delaying the proceedings. On August 10th they rode about thirty-two miles, and pitched their tent in the wilderness. To the south-west lay Herdubreid, seemingly close at hand. The day had been hot, but the night was piercing cold. Next morning there was a thick white fog, but at nine it lifted; and on the assurance that Herdubreid was only two or three hours distant, he made for it, determined if possible to ascend it. Need we say that they took the wrong way; and that instead of two hours it took them seven to reach the mountain, at the foot of which they only stood at 4.30 P.M., and long before that hour Kristian 'frequently halted, declaring that his master, '"Big Peter," had forbidden him to risk the nags where the 'outlaws,' a craze of men, who people the deserts with hosts of outlaws, 'might at any moment pounce upon them.' Half way to the hill they left their spare horses and Gísli Skulk, while the three others rode on. According to Burton, the Herdubreid, or 'Broad-shouldered' hill, which forms so prominent a feature in that desert, is a cone of stratified palagonite clay, which higher up becomes a friable conglomerate, embedding compact and cellular basalt mostly in small fragments. 'The base is fringed with large blocks which have 'fallen from above, and above these blocks rise buttresses and 'flying buttresses of most fantastic shapes, which form a

'cornice, from which an unbroken cone of virgin snow sweeps 'grandly up to the apex.' Leaving Kristian in charge of the horses, Burton attacked the hill from the north-east, with the student Stephan, and as the sun fell had scrambled up nearly 2,000 feet. Then they were among the pillars and buttresses, and their real difficulties began. Stephan, who 'walked 'pluckily enough, was beaten, his Icelandic brogues and stock-'ings were worn away,' and 'in a few minutes his feet would 'be cut.' Burton left him and sought a *couloir*, which by careful 'swarming' might have opened a passage; but here a new difficulty arose in 'ever-increasing darkness and numbing cold.' Blocks of basalt, detached by the leverage of frost after sunshine, began to shower down, and after some narrow escapes, in one of which his right hand saved his head, Burton judged that the game was not worth the candle. He was then close to the snow, but it would have been impossible to reach the summit alone in the night and over an unknown field. Descending in double quick time, they reached the spare horses at 9.45, and were received 'with effusion' by Gísli. The ponies had done too much to push back to the tent, so they bivouacked by the side of a fire of willow roots, that dwarf plant of which the greater portion of the growth is beneath the surface. Burton was without food, and 'the poor fellows offered' him 'a share of their only viaticum, a bit of bread and sausage;' but 'he saw by their longing hungry eyes that their necessities 'were greater than his own.' If supperless he was not sleepless, and rose as lively as a lark. In this respect Iceland may contrast favourably with Africa.

Confessing himself fairly foiled by the Broad-Shoulder, which he had despised, a hill of 5,447 feet, Burton next day sent back Stephan, the student, to Mr. Lock, and Kristian to Big Peter, and went on with Gísli to Valtheofstad, which he reached in five days, just in time for a bridal feast, at which he aired his Latin, we hope, as well as Lord Dufferin, and concluded '*Deus sit propitius his potatoribus.*' At Valtheofstad he fell in with the priest Sigurdr Gunnarsson of Hallormstadir, who gave him reliable information as to the Vatna Jokull and the volcano which has lately burst out in its midst. At this farm Burton must make his final effort to reach the Vatna Jokull. It was now or never. The weather was detestable till August 17th; Gísli the Skulk, the 'coat-biter,' as Burton calls him in old Norse fashion, again tried to shirk, pleading the weakness of the ponies, and was only reduced to obedience by a threat of wages withheld. With 'slackness of 'knees, a settled melancholy, and a hurt-feeling expression of

'countenance, be consented to go.' As Burton suspected him of foul play with the horses, he was never left alone with them after they had been shod, but the skulk revenged himself 'by 'showing an amount of appetite which threatened the party 'with starvation if they lingered in the wilderness a day longer 'than he liked.' On August 17th they set out, proceeding up Fljotsdale, on the left bank of the stream. After three hours' riding the gorge of the mountain torrent became impracticable; they left it therefore, and ascended to the 'heath' or Heiði, a desert tract, and after fording several streams came to Laugurá, so called from a hot spring, close to which is a hut, in which they passed the night in a comparatively clean nest, and would have been quite happy but for misgivings about the morrow. The morning of the 18th rose bright, with a stinging and intensely dry south wind from off the Jokulls, to which they were at last approaching. The start was made at 8.45, over treacherous ground full of cracks, many of which had to be turned, as they were too wide for the horses to leap. Their cattle were confessedly sorry beasts, quite unfit for this work, and the result was frequent falls of man and beast. They were now under the eastern flank of Snæfells; for we need hardly remind that Iceland is rich in snowfells, which is the meaning of 'snæfell.' That, too, like the 'Broad-Shoulder,' Burton found to be palagonite. At noon they forded the Thief's gillstream, and after a halt resumed their ride under the fell, and on ascending an eminence were surprised to find that instead of a clear course onward to the Vatna Jokull, now immediately in front of them, their progress was barred 'by a broad and apparently shallow lake.' It is a question whether this expanse of water was temporary and caused by the recent rains; but temporary or permanent, there it was in Burton's path, utterly impassable without boats, while on one side of the party was the crest of Snæfell and on the other the unfordable Jokull river. Shut in on both sides and barred in front, there was clearly no reaching the Vatna Jokull, and Burton had to content himself with gazing at 'the long white wave of the Jokull, pure ermine above and 'below spotty, like a Danish dog,' beyond which rose the quaint shape of Kverk, and other big blue buttresses to the east. At 2 P.M. they reached their farthest southern point, and then striking across the háls or tail of Snæfell, they struck on the other side the streams which flow from the fell into the Eastern Jokull river, that on the other side of the háls being the western branch. They then halted for an hour, 'enjoying 'the warm western exposure,' and from 4 to 6 P.M. rode over

good ground, till on crossing the Hawk river, under Goatfell, they renewed their acquaintance with the rotten ground of the morning, 'and the weary ponies so lost their tempers that they 'seemed unwilling to rise after their frequent falls.' The sunset was unusually lovely as they rode over this wild region. After ten hours' hard work they were again cheered by the steam of the hot-spring, and, to use Burton's words, 'again 'thanked Iceland for laying on such plenteous supplies of hot 'water.' While the others snored and slept, Burton stole out at midnight to compare the dark with the light hours; but in 'that inspissated gloom' the moon and the stars seemed to count for nothing, and the silence and solitude so weighed him down that 'even the nasal music' within the hut 'was a positive 'relief.'

On the morning of the 19th a vile sea-fog, much to the Skulk's delight, crept up the valley of the Jokull river, and wrapped the heights in the dreaded 'Thoka' or mist, which so scares the Icelanders. Not so black but quite as dense as a London fog, it is impossible to stir while it lasts, especially over such ground as that on which our party now stood. This day Burton, as we gather, had intended to spend in making a dash at Kverk, and from that giant height to prospect the Great Desert and its peaks. Tied by the fog he could only console himself with reflecting—

'Est quidquam prodire tenus si non datur ultra.'

Icelandic exploration is 'chancy as Central African,' he remarks, 'and the traveller must expect to be the sport of cir- 'cumstances far beyond his control, unless, at least, he can 'afford unlimited time.' The next day was also foggy. Waiting till a quarter-to-nine, and finding that all their food, owing, no doubt, to Gísli's insatiable appetite, was thoroughly exhausted, the word was given for a retreat. The return to Valtheofstad was easily accomplished, and Burton took a friendly leave of the parson and his family, who had shown him great kindness. When he left the priest put into his hands an appeal, to which, on the whole, Burton, in spite of his denunciation of what he calls the humbugs of Iceland, has responded. On a slip of paper was written—'*Opto ubi de* '*Islandiâ locutus estis bene rem referere.*' Nothing particular happened on his return to Berufirth, except that when he reached the parsonage at the head of the firth on the after- noon of August 21st, the ponies were too fagged to go on the last twelve miles. Burton therefore chartered a boat, in which he reached the house of his friends at Djúpivógr after six

hours of mortal weariness, landing, too, with his feet dead from sitting so long in cold water. Sundry glasses of red-hot toddy, administered medicinally, soon restored him, and he turned into bed 'well satisfied with having ridden in two 'days from under the very shadow of the Vatna Jokull 'to the eastern coast.' At Djúpivógr he payed off his guides, not without some passages with Gísli, who swore on his return that he had been engaged for nearly twice as much as had been agreed on. Altogether the amount of the expedition was forty-nine dollars, which at 2*s.* 2*d.* each do not represent a very formidable sum. There was a little nervousness, too, as to his return, as this was the last voyage of the steamship 'Diana,' and she failed to appear to the day! She came at last, however, and on the 26th Burton reached Reykjavik. On September 1st our traveller proceeded to England on board the 'Ión Sigurdsson,' and as he steamed past the eastern coast took a farewell view of the 'pale gold 'and glittering silver of the Oræfa Jokull,' which forms the eastern or seaface of the Vatna and Klofa Jokulls. Lingering for a while in the Faroes, Shetland, and Orkney, concerning which many interesting particulars are to be found in his book, Captain Burton reached Granton on September 15th, and thus completed his first expedition to Iceland.

During the present year he has revisited the island, which in spite of its hardships exercises a strange attraction on all travellers. On this occasion, too, his motives were mixed; he returned to Iceland, partly in the sulphur and mineral interest, and partly to report on the extent of the damage done in the Mývatn district by the volcanic eruptions of the two last years. We believe that he found that damage very much exaggerated, as indeed might be judged by the desolate nature of the region in which those eruptions took place. His mineral prospecting was, as we have also learned, much more satisfactory. In addition to the sulphur industry we are now to have companies or a company for extracting silver from the palagonite tuff which we have seen is the mother rock of the island, and in one shape or the other occupies so large a portion of its surface. Should this good news be true, there will be such a rush of capital to the old island as will infallibly throw the inhabitants off their balance. Under these circumstances, if we were to offer any advice, it would be to try one thing at a time and not to lose all by grasping too much. There the sulphur undoubtedly is. Let that become a real industry, and from that basis proceed to the discovery of other mineral treasures. At present it should be remembered that even the

sulphur of Iceland may be said to be literally in the air. The stores of that mineral which are now wasted in smoke and fumes have to be caught and sublimed before they will subside in virgin sulphur. No doubt the royal visit to Iceland last year, and the freedom which the Icelanders now enjoy both politically and commercially, have given a great impulse to native industry in the island. Assisted by foreign capital the fate of the islanders is in their own hands; it will be their own fault if foreigners reap the harvest which nature intended for the children of the soil.

In conclusion, we take leave of this very interesting book, the best perhaps which the author, so distinguished for the versatility of his genius, has ever written. The first volume is a magazine of materials for the history of the island, while it reminds one rather of the laborious accumulations of a German mind than of an ordinary English writer. In that volume the reader will find everything that he can require to know of Iceland. Added to which the native words, with a few rare exceptions, and those only printers' errors, are spelt and accented with a precision quite refreshing. In this respect these volumes have gained both by the delay of three years before they appeared, and by the friendly aid of two Icelanders, Mr. Hjaltalin and Mr. Gunnlögsen, who corrected the proofs as they passed through the press. We have already indicated some points on which we are compelled to differ from Captain Burton. We do not believe, in the first place, in his panacea for the relief of Iceland. He thinks that the increase of population will cause a famine unless a portion of the people emigrate to America; and yet in the next breath he discusses, and to his own satisfaction proves, the existence of mineral treasures which, if properly worked in the north and south, will afford employment for many more hands than the poor 70,000 souls who now inhabit the island could supply. If the hypothesis of these and other mineral treasures be true, the Icelanders are starving, not from an excess but from a deficiency of labour. Not in emigration, but in capital, do we see the relief of Iceland. The country is too poor to make roads and build bridges which would open up vast districts of the richest soil along many a firth and stream which are now waste for want of means of communication. Again, many of the most fertile tracts are poisoned with wet for want of simple draining, which the owners are too indolent and often too indigent to undertake. With improvement on these points there would be a corresponding increase of sheep and ponies and kine, which, apart from its undeveloped minerals, are the

mainstay of the land. Until its subterranean riches are worked Iceland must remain a pastoral country; for agriculture, with the sole exception of turnips for the cattle, is an idle dream. Whatever may have been the case in old times when the summers were unquestionably hotter, corn will not grow as a crop in Iceland. The old names in '*akr*,' which would point to the plough and bread, should be blotted from the map as misleading. In her wool and tallow and butter Iceland should behold her chief treasures. She might export sheep and kine as she exports ponies for the British mines, but she cannot cultivate these industries because she is too poor. It is incredible that a scanty population in an island considerably larger than Ireland should be driven to seek that labour in a foreign land which lies at home under their very feet. We hope, therefore, that Iceland may not be depopulated by emigration. Let her sons remain at home and make the island which they delight in calling the best land that the sun shines on in reality the best to them in every respect. Wherever they go they will have to work—that must be their lesson of life, and they may as well stay at home and work as quit their old home for the backwoods of America, where the winters are colder than their own, where locusts may devour their crops, and where, moreover, there are those plaguy stumps of trees to be grubbed up, an evil from which they will be certainly free in their old country.

As for Captain Burton's merits as a traveller and explorer in Iceland, the story of his expeditions in 1872 conclusively proves two points. He tried to accomplish too much, and he despised the natural obstacles of the country. All through his book he is divided between two purposes, the prospecting of those sulphur mines, and the exploration of the Vatna Jokull. The last of these alone might have occupied all his time. Arriving in Iceland very early, he after all lingered too long about the capital and in his 'cockney trips' to take the field against the gigantic Jokull in full force. July, and not the middle of August, is the time to traverse the Odada-hraun, and to penetrate into the vast recesses of the Vatna Jokull, of which, as we write, we are uncertain whether it or the Klofa Jokull, as Captain Burton conjectures, has been this year explored by that adventurous law-student Mr. Watts. We have seen how at last want of daylight hindered Captain Burton's attempt to scale Herdubreid. In July he would have had daylight all through the night. Had the days spent on sulphur been devoted to the Vatna Jokull, Burton's name and not that of Watts might have been associated with that desolate waste for ever. Then

again, as to his contempt of the difficulties before him. On such an expedition a man must not rush off on the spur of the moment with sneaks and skulks and cowards for his guides, and with sorry cattle that cannot keep their feet on bog, or quicksand, or lava. Yet of this character were both Burton's guides and horses. He seems, indeed, to think that men and animals, whether tame or wild alike, have strangely degenerated within the last fifteen years in Iceland; but we are afraid, just as he could not find the game where other travellers have seen and shot, so he did not take the proper pains to secure either strong horses or experienced guides. The travellers who kept the Journals of 1861 and 1862, which we have quoted, who besides the usual cockney trips, rode across Sprengisand and saw as much of the Odada-hraun and the Vatna Jokull as Captain Burton, and who the next year ascended that great wedding cake, the Eyríks Jokull, and rode across the howling wilderness of Twidægra to the west firths, and who were only foiled by fog at the foot of Western Snæfells, bought the best horses they could at the highest price then paid, both for their baggage and themselves. Their guides were men of the greatest experience and courage, whose hearts never failed in the most trying circumstances. Had Burton taken as much pains to accomplish his object he might have been successful. As it was he failed, to use his own words, because he despised his enemy. Very different is the description of the cavalcade across Sprengisand in 1861; a band of accomplished horsemen, led by Grímur Thomsen, driving their baggage horses before them at a hand gallop from 2 A.M. till late in the evening when they reached their camping ground, having ridden more than eighty miles—very different this from the unbroken untrained brutes and the lazy skulking guides who carried Captain Burton and the Locks from Djúpivógr to Mývatn in 1872. On the one side we have nothing but exhilaration and delight as the horsemen chased the moulting swans on the hard sand, while on either side the edges of the great glaciers sparkling in the sun, reminded the student of history of those bristling Saxon spears which glittered like a glacier in the sun on the morning of the day when the battle of Stamford Bridge was fought. On the other, a hang-dog train of restive stumbling brutes dragged on by surly guides who resented the overbearing ways of the elder Mr. Lock, who, whatever may be his merits as an owner of brimstone mines, must, on Captain Burton's showing, be anything but pleasant in his ways of dealing with the natives. The traveller in Iceland must never forget that at every step he deals with a proud and sensitive race. They

care little for strangers, and are content with themselves. If they are to depart from their ways, they must be coaxed and treated gently, not threatened and driven. No surer receipt for the miscarriage of an expedition in Iceland could be invented than a high-handed off-hand method of dealing with the inhabitants. It is perfectly true that 'rough and ready' is a good motto for travelling in some countries, but Iceland is not one of them. There the rule must be 'fair and softly,' and if this be never lost sight of the traveller will not only find himself 'far on at the end of the day,' but farther far than the man who, starting with poor cattle and ignorant and cowardly guides, loses his temper and tries to force them to perform feats in wayfaring which they could never be expected to accomplish. And here we take our leave of Captain Burton, who, bold traveller as he is, and interesting as these volumes undoubtedly are, would have succeeded much better in his discoveries had he not evidently despised both the natural obstacles of the island and the character of the people.

ART. IX.—1. *Acte de Concession et Cahier des Charges pour la Construction et l'Exploitation du Grand Canal Maritime de Suez et Dépendances.* Signed 5th January, 1856.

2. *Statuts de la Compagnie Universelle du Canal Maritime de Suez.* Paris et Alexandrie: 1856.

3. *Rapport de M. Ferdinand de Lesseps à l'Assemblée Générale des Actionnaires.* Paris, 29th July, 1875.

4. *Documents Diplomatiques. Affaire du Canal de Suez.* Novembre 1875. (Livre jaune déposé à l'Assemblée Nationale.)

5. *Histoire du Canal de Suez.* Par M. FERDINAND DE LESSEPS. 1870. [Translated into English by Sir HENRY DRUMMOND WOLFF, M.P.]

6. *Enquête sur la Question du Tonnage.* Recueil des Documents. 1868, 1870, 1871, 1872, 1873.

No one doubts that her Majesty's Ministers were actuated by patriotic, generous, and, as they thought, politic motives, when they took the prompt and unusual step, which was the result of the Cabinet deliberations on the 25th of November. A vigorous and manly act of policy on the part of the British Government commands at once the enthusiastic sympathy of the nation and the respect of foreign States. The suddenness of the resolution, the boldness with which Ministers

took on themselves a great responsibility, the acknowledged interest we have in the independence and prosperity of Egypt, the immense traffic of British vessels through this high road to the far East, including both our Indian empire and our establishments in China, and the impression that this purchase had some great, though uncertain, bearing on the Eastern question in Europe, all contributed to render it popular throughout the land. On the Continent a feeling of sympathy and admiration was roused by the surprising discovery that the policy of England was not altogether sunk in indifference, inertness, and abstention from the affairs of the world. An air of romance was thrown over a great transaction of finance and of trade; and we can readily believe that the measure was not less welcome to the fiery imagination of the first Minister of the Crown than it was to his designs as a statesman and his calculations as a politician. He saw the opportunity to strike a bargain, which he conceived to be favourable to our national interests, now and hereafter; he thought that it would redound to the credit of his administration at home and abroad; and with a splendid munificence worthy of one of his own princes of fiction, four millions of money were placed, with the assistance of a great Hebrew banking-house and the electric telegraph, at the disposal of the Khedive of Egypt in exchange for the shares he held in the Suez Canal Company.

Aladdin held the magic lamp and used it. That this extraordinary transaction was accomplished within a few hours is susceptible of demonstration from the facts which are already before us. The Khedive was known, early in November, to be struggling with serious financial difficulties. It was by no means certain that he could find the means to meet the payments of his next instalment of interest due on his floating debt; and the recent example of the Porte warranted an apprehension that he might be driven to compound with his creditors. Egyptian stocks fell rapidly, and the credit of the Ruler of Egypt was at the lowest ebb. Under these circumstances a proposal was made by the Egyptian Government on the 12th November, through the firm of A. Dervieu & Co., to a syndicate of capitalists in Paris to sell the 176,602 shares held by the Khedive in the Canal for 92,000,000 francs to be paid in three instalments, the Khedive guaranteeing by the Port Said customs 10 per cent. interest on this sum for the nineteen years during which the coupons on these shares have been renounced or retroceded to the Company. This proposal was rejected in Paris. Even 11 per cent. was refused. On the

19th November the Khedive proposed to other capitalists in France, not to sell but to pledge these shares, for an advance of 85,000,000 francs for three months. This proposal also failed. He was therefore reduced to all but the last extremity; and the terms on which he sought temporary relief would only have completed his total ruin. At this moment Colonel Staunton, the British Consul-General in Egypt, appears to have come to the assistance of the embarrassed Prince with a suggestion, which the Egyptian Government would hardly have ventured to dream of, and we suspect that the conception originated in the arcana of the Synagogue. However this may be, within six days, the British Government had come to the relief of the Khedive in a far more liberal manner. One hundred million francs were placed at his disposal, and the interest on the purchase-money, due for nineteen years, was reduced from 10 or 11 per cent. to five. As we do not suppose that the Egyptian Government was negotiating simultaneously in the two countries, we must conclude that this proposal reached London upon the failure of those made in Paris, and that the British Government instantaneously accepted it.

No one will complain or regret that, if this large advance of public money was to be made at all to a foreign and friendly potentate, it should be made on liberal terms. Great Britain could have no hand in a speculative or usurious contract. Five per cent. is the rate at which money is lent under a Government guarantee in India, and 5 per cent. was all that could be asked or required here. But we cannot view with equal favour the extraordinary precipitation with which this decision was taken. It has been said that this was inevitable, because if England had refused or hesitated, there were other parties eager or ready to snap up the shares. That remains to be proved. We doubt it. In France the attempt to raise the money had failed, not from want of capital but from want of confidence; and we still more question whether any other State or body of capitalists in Europe was in a condition on November 25th to hand over 4,000,000*l.* to the Khedive at a few hours' notice.

A prompt and vigorous resolution excites our admiration when it is taken with a thorough and complete knowledge of the facts of the case. Was the Government in possession of that knowledge? Had they carefully considered the very peculiar provisions of the Act or Charter (as we should call it) under which the Company of the Suez Canal is constituted? Had they certain and accurate information of the true financial condition of the Company, which has notoriously been fre-

quently in great embarrassments, and has had recourse to a variety of financial expedients to meet them? Had they examined the nature of the liabilities incumbent on all the shareholders in this great enterprise, and henceforth incumbent on the British Government to the extent of nearly half the outlay upon it? Had they full engineering reports before them as to the material condition of the Canal itself and of the harbours, including the current and prospective expenses of repairing it and keeping it in working condition? Had they well considered the financial position of the Khedive and what security could be obtained for the interest of 4,000,000*l.* for nineteen years, amounting to very nearly 4,000,000*l.* more? Had they time to discuss and decide the very complicated considerations of international law and policy to which this purchase must give rise? We are unable to answer these questions; but considering the vast extent of the information required to form a judgment on all these things, we should say it is little less than miraculous if they were all considered and settled in a few hours. It is not for us to conjecture what evidence the Government possessed, or what reasons decided them to adopt the course they took. But certain it is that upon all these points. the public are still at the moment at which we write completely in the dark, and that the enthusiasm of the nation has been excited, without knowing with any certainty *what it is that we have really purchased*, or whether, in reality, we have acquired, in exchange for our money, *anything at all.*

And here we are compelled to enter a strong and solemn protest against the course Ministers have adopted in not calling Parliament together at the earliest period, in order to explain the grounds on which the Government proceeded, to cover their own responsibility by the approval of the great Council of the nation, and to obtain a constitutional sanction to the expenditure of four millions of public money, unauthorised by the House of Commons. We do not presume to say they have not a perfectly good statement to present to Parliament. We do not blame Ministers for acting promptly and secretly, if the circumstances of the case and the interests of the country demanded it. But the better their case and the sharper the emergency may have been, the more were they bound to lay the whole matter before Parliament as soon as possible. Nothing was more easy. A month elapsed between the signing of the contract and the Christmas holidays. Parliament stood prorogued to December 15th. It might easily have met. The last time the Bank Charter Act was suspended, on November

12th, 1857, Parliament was summoned to meet on December 3rd. That was comparatively a very small occasion. But now, when one of the most important decisions has been taken which could arise—unforeseen—involving, perhaps, a great change of policy—requiring the immediate disbursement of an enormous sum of money to a foreign State—requiring that this sum of money should be raised by exceptional means—creating new liabilities of unknown extent—and urgently demanding a full and unreserved discussion of the whole matter, on which the very existence of the Government depends (for the approval of Parliament is of course indispensable to the contract), no attempt is made to obtain that sanction for more than two months, and the proper channels of official information are closed. This is a course which appears to us in the highest degree unconstitutional and improper, and we will add impolitic, for the sooner the whole matter was explained to the country, the more likely would the country be to take a favourable view of it. Fortunately, however, the French Government have been much more communicative. They laid before the National Assembly, without the loss of a day, a volume of papers which throws considerable light on these transactions; and with the assistance of these documents and of the official Reports which we have prefixed to this article we shall endeavour to find an answer to some of the questions which naturally occur to our impatience and our ignorance. Before we enter upon these details, however, we shall venture to make one or two general observations.

It will not be disputed that it is, as a general rule, contrary to a wise policy, and peculiarly inconsistent with the policy of this country, for the Government or the State to take a direct part in any joint-stock company or commercial enterprise. A very strong case of necessity or of public advantage must be made out to justify such a departure from a sound and established principle; and we are far from saying that such a case may not be made out in the present instance. But the objections to this species of association with a trading concern are greatly increased when the company is a foreign one, in which we only hold a partial interest, our co-shareholders being of another nation, or rather of several other nations, with some interests distinct from, and possibly opposed to, our own; and still more when the *locus rei sitæ*, as the lawyers call it, the actual property in which we have purchased so large a share, is in a foreign country, subject to the laws and authority of a foreign potentate, and over which her Majesty has no legal control. On the contrary, that foreign potentate, the ruler of

the land in which the property is situated, has, in fact, legal authority and control *over us*, so far as that property is concerned. We are, *pro tanto*, his subjects, and have freely of our own accord contracted a new and peculiar relation towards him. M. de Rémusat pointed out in an excellent despatch of May 5th, 1873, that 'although the Suez Canal 'was originally a French undertaking, which has become 'universal from the interests engaged in it, *it has always 'been and remains Egyptian by the law which governs it.* 'France pledged herself to respect, as a principle of public law 'and a safeguard of this great enterprise, the foreign sove- 'reignty under whose protection it is placed, and which is solely 'competent to decide questions of jurisdiction over it.' It is totally impossible for us to impugn this principle. We have hitherto always contended loudly for it. But though private adventurers, who embark their capital in a foreign country, may very fairly pledge themselves to an implicit obedience to the law of the land and the authority of the ruler, whatever they may be, it may prove embarrassing for the Queen of England, as representing a large amount of shares, to hold them subject to the laws and authority of the Khedive of Egypt. Nor is this all. The authority of the Khedive himself is limited; above him is the Sultan; and the British Government has always most strenuously maintained that with reference to the Canal, as well as in all territorial rights over Egypt, the Sultan is paramount. The recent negotiation with reference to the method of measuring the tonnage of ships passing through the Canal was referred to Constantinople, and, to M. de Lesseps' great dissatisfaction, it was decided there. Therefore we are holding a property subject to a double superiority of the Khedive and the Porte. The answer to this difficulty resolves itself, we shall be told, into a question of political influence. But in our eyes this only increases the evil, and we shall presently have to inquire what the amount of political influence is that may be fairly attached to the purchase of shares in a trading speculation.

If, indeed, this species of political influence, so acquired, were real, it might excite the jealousy of foreign nations. But this is an objection we shall dismiss very summarily. Foreign nations have no reason whatever to be jealous of what we have done, and we do not believe that any jealousy is felt by them, or that any one of them would accept our bargain on the same terms. Nothing can be more absurd than the malicious assertion of certain foreign journals that 'England 'has seized Egypt,' and has 'given the signal for the partition

'of the Ottoman Empire.' Other countries, indeed, viewing or pretending to view the purchase of these shares as a measure dictated by political rather than commercial motives, might take note of it and use it for their own purposes. The Sultan is insolvent: would it suit the purposes of Russia to purchase for a handsome sum a commanding site on the Bosphorus? Dr. Strousberg, one of the Jacks-o'-the-beanstalk of modern finance, held, we believe, a concession from the Belgian Government of lands on the left bank of the Scheldt, opposite Antwerp, where he proposed to erect a town. Would it suit the *Pays des milliards* and its mighty Minister to relieve Dr. Strousberg from his embarrassments by purchasing from him one of the most important positions in Western Europe? These are merely wild hypotheses—gorgeous dreams of Alroy—but we hazard them to show that the example we should set, if our object had been to purchase four millions' worth of political influence in Egypt, might be turned to inconvenient purposes elsewhere.

Next to the Khedive, it is to the French shareholders and interests in the Canal that a signal service has been rendered. The value of their property instantly rose in the market. Instead of a bankrupt partner from whom no financial aid could be expected, they suddenly find themselves associated with the richest country in the world, which has the strongest motives to promote the success of the enterprise, and, in fact, must now do so at any cost. England herself shares their liabilities, and allies herself in the closest manner with the French capitalists and adventurers, who have thus far carried on the work against a thousand obstacles, including the captious opposition of England herself. The language of M. de Lesseps on this point is extremely sensible and dignified. He had sought from the first to induce England to take a large share in this undertaking. He always foresaw and asserted, as we well know, that English commerce would be the greatest gainer by it. England was incredulous, suspicious, and hostile: she would have nothing to do with it.* M. de

* Exactly twenty years ago, in January 1856, three months before the concession of that year was signed, we published an article on the project of the Suez Canal, which is not even now forgotten (Ed Rev. ciii. p. 235). We had heard from M. de Lesseps all he had to say in support of the scheme, and we arrived at the conclusion that the Canal would cost two or three times as much as he supposed; that it would not be available for sailing ships; and that the calculation that six millions of tons of shipping would pass through the Canal annually was grossly exaggerated. Hence we concluded that the Canal could

Lesseps, with dauntless energy, carried his point, and has justly earned imperishable fame by his success. He knows full well that his company is too strongly constituted under the laws of France and Egypt to be materially affected by any transfer of shares, even when they are purchased by an empire. But he hails with apparent satisfaction the accession of so powerful a partner and ally, throwing her wealth and her might into a concern which has stood, and may again stand, in great need of assistance. It is like the introduction of a wealthy member into a vast house of business of comparatively scanty resources. And we are persuaded that England has never given to France a more practical proof of her confidence and friendship than by purchasing on a large scale these Egyptian shares in a French company, in which be it observed that the French interests remain entirely unchanged and still largely preponderate over our own.

We speak of the Suez Canal Company as a French Company, and so in some respects it is, but the manner in which the shares are distributed is extremely curious. M. de Lesseps obtained very little support from the great capitalists of foreign countries, or even of France. It is a fact that the Canal owes its existence to a movement of French popular enthusiasm largely stimulated by Lord Palmerston's pertinacious opposition to the plan. It is believed that there are about 40,000 shareholders in France holding in all nearly 200,000 shares—the average, therefore, is less than five shares apiece, and as twenty-five shares are required to give a vote in the General Assembly of the Company, the great majority of these holders have no voice at all in the management. The shares were on July 1st, 1875, distributed as follows, when the coupons were paid:—

Alsace-Lorraine (German)	4,781	Switzerland . . .	23,460
Belgium	4,190	Egypt	48
Spain	580	France	178,659
Italy	356	Uncertain . . .	11,324

This statement is not strictly accurate, because some of the

not answer as a financial speculation to the shareholders. But we emphatically repudiated all opposition to the scheme on political grounds: we said, 'No policy could be more absurdly illiberal than 'that which would seek to close one of the great avenues of the trade 'of mankind to suit some fanciful theory of rival influence;' and we even declared that 'if it could be shown that the Canal could be exe-'cuted as easily as was supposed a British Minister would be perfectly 'justified in proposing to Parliament that it should be executed by the 'nation for the benefit of the world.' (P. 266.)

foreign shareholders sell their coupons to the Paris bankers or money-changers, but it is near enough for our purpose. In round numbers about 35,000 shares are held by persons who are neither French nor English. We have therefore to deal with a considerable amount of property which belongs to neither of these countries. It is curious that neither England, Holland, Russia, or Germany proper, or even Austria appear in this list.

We shall now proceed to lay before our readers some of the information which must sooner or later be considered by Parliament; and if we are led into more detail than we could wish, we trust that we shall be pardoned in consideration of the importance of the subject. Without this detail no rational opinion can be formed on the question, and we cannot doubt that Ministers, before they took their decision, had completely mastered it. To suppose that they had not the fullest information before them would be to impute to them a culpable amount of levity and ignorance.

The Act of Concession of the Suez Canal, which is now in force, was granted on January 5, 1856,* by the Viceroy of Egypt, Mohamed Said Pacha, to his friend M. Ferdinand de Lesseps, who as founder of the undertaking was appointed Director and President of the Company *for ten years from the opening of the Canal.* M. de Lesseps, therefore, holds his power from the Khedive, not from the shareholders. The capital of the Company was to be eight millions sterling, a sum since very largely increased and exceeded. The Pacha solemnly declared, subject to the ratification of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, that the Canal should be always open, as a neutral passage, to the merchant ships of all nations, without distinction, on payment of the dues. The maximum rate of charge was fixed at ten francs *par tonne de capacité*, an expression which has since given rise to fierce disputes. The concession was made for ninety-nine years from the opening of the Canal, with power to the Egyptian Government to take over the stock at a valuation at the end of that time; or, if the concession is renewed, the share of profits payable to the Government is to increase to 20, to 25, and even 35 per cent. Of the original 400,000 shares, the Viceroy appears to have taken nearly half. By Art. 18, the Egyptian Government reserved to itself 15 per cent. on the annual net profits of the Canal; and by Art. 19, 10 per cent. is appropriated in

* A first concession had been granted in 1854, but nothing was done under it, and it was superseded by that of 1856.

perpetuity to the 'founders of the Company,' and to their heirs and representatives; but nothing is at present payable under this head, as there are no net profits.

The first estimate has been largely exceeded. We learn from the inventory of the Company's property, taken on December 31, 1874, that the total cost and expenses of the Canal down to that date had amounted to nearly 472 millions of francs, or something less than 19 millions sterling. Of this sum 354 millions were raised thus:—

	Francs.
Original capital	200,000,000
Consolidation of interest*	34,000,000
Loans of 1867–68—Debentures . . .	99,999,990
Loan of 1871 (Bons Trentenaires) . .	20,000,000
	353,999,990

the remainder (118 millions) appears to have been paid by the Khedive.

But even this sum does not give a correct view of the cost of the Canal, because it does not include a variety of contributions in the shape of lands, water-privileges, quarries, customs' dues, &c., made by the Egyptian Government to the Company. The Khedive has, in fact, contributed to the Canal far

* This consolidation of interest is a peculiar feature in the case which demands a passing notice. From the commencement of the undertaking the pernicious principle was adopted of paying five per cent. interest on the capital paid up on the shares. This was done to induce the small French adventurer to buy shares: but as the Canal earned nothing for fourteen years, from 1856 till 1870, the interest during that time was paid out of capital. Thus the shareholders received back nearly 70 per cent. of the original cost of the shares, and the capital was diminished in the same ratio to be replaced by onerous loans. Just as the Canal was opened the power of raising money to pay interest stopped. In July 1874 seven of the coupons of interest on shares in the Company were unpaid. The Company had no means of paying off this arrear, though there was reason to expect that the future coupons would be paid in part out of the receipts. To meet this difficulty it was proposed to capitalise the interest overdue. The whole sum amounted to 35,000,000 fr., or 87 fr. 50 cents. per share, or deducting the stamp duty, 85 fr. This sum, therefore, was added to the capital of each 500 fr. share, with a preferential right to interest at 5 per cent. But as the coupons on the Khedive's shares (176,602) had been renounced, nothing was overdue upon them; and the capitalised interest on these shares was applied to the payment of interest on the debentures and to the extinction of a part of them. M. de Lesseps says this is not a loan: but it is unquestionably an augmentation of the capital. The interest on the consolidated interest must be added to the annual charges. It amounts to about 1,750,000 fr., or 70,000*l.* a year.

more than all the sums subscribed or borrowed by the shareholders in Europe, and one of the causes of his financial embarrassments is the pressure to which he has been subjected to assist the Company. His outlay is estimated by M. Dervieu at no less than 17 millions sterling. Yet Egypt Proper has not gained anything by the Canal whatever. The course of trade has been diverted from Alexandria to Port Said. Ships no longer break bulk; even passengers prefer the ship to the railway; and no interest is now payable to the Khedive on his large investment. He was induced to renounce the interest on his shares for twenty-five years in order to annul an alleged debt of 1,200,000*l.* from himself to the Company, which he had no other means to pay; and now he is obliged to make good the interest to Great Britain on these same shares, at 5 per cent., out of his own treasury. The history of the surrender of the coupons on the shares which have now become the property of the British Government is excessively curious, and it shows to what a frightful extent the Khedive has been squeezed by the Company. The Canal might well have ruined a far greater State and richer man. M. Dervieu thus relates the transaction:— *

'His last great sacrifice for the benefit of the Company was that involving the cutting off of 25 years' coupons from the shares that England has bought. As usual, the Company was in want of money, and could not raise a penny on its own account. It therefore entered into another operation with the Egyptian Government, whereby it once more managed to get that Government to pledge one of its dearly-bought assets in order to raise further cash. The Company ceded its right to navigate and levy tolls on the Fresh Water Canal—the power to make which it had previously permitted the Khedive to buy back for 400,000*l.*, interest included—it ceded the right of fishing in the Suez Canal and the lakes it traverses, as well as all special privileges connected with the working and maintenance of that Canal, and for these various concessions it charged 800,000*l.* Further, it ceded to the Government for another 400,000*l.* all the establishments which it possessed on the Isthmus, such as hospitals and their furniture, its magazines and establishments at Boulac and Damietta. This was 1,200,000*l.* which the Khedive had to pay or to enable the Company to raise, and he had to pay interest on it at 10 per cent. until it was paid. He had not got the money; and a fresh loan was not expedient, so, in order to enable the Company to get its funds, the Khedive cut off 25 years' coupons from his shares, beginning with the coupon payable on the 1st of January, 1870. This arrangement was a most costly way of meeting the obligation, and as usual the Khedive sacrificed with readi-

* This statement appeared in the money article of the 'Times' newspaper.

ness a great deal more than the Canal Company ought to have taken. Ten per cent. interest was charged to the Government on this capital sum of 1,200,000*l.*, and as the Khedive could not pay either the one or the other at the time, the Company accepted the 25 years' coupons instead, which M. Dervieu calculates represented a capital sum of 1,600,000*l.*'

In the course of the construction of the Canal various disputes arose between the Ruler of Egypt and the Company. These were referred in 1864 to the arbitration of the Emperor Napoleon III., on the proposal of the Khedive himself. The proposal ended unfortunately for His Highness, for the Emperor sentenced him to pay 84,000,000 francs more to the Company, which, with the 40 millions previously surrendered, brought up the capital to upwards of 472,000,000 francs. Somewhat later, in 1866, an Imperial Firman was issued by the Ottoman Porte to ratify the concession made ten years before by the Viceroy; by this act the Sultan assumed a supreme authority over the whole enterprise.

The annual charges on the Company for 1874 were—

	Francs.	*Cents.*
Interest on the debt, bonds, &c. . .	12,375,193	16
Administration in France and Egypt .	943,334	78
Expenses on lands	460,140	03
Transit and Navigation service . .	1,505,813	48
Maintenance of Canal, &c. . . .	3,042,984	70
Water service	242,004	70
	18,569,470	85
The gross receipts were (exclusive of the 'rest')	26,383,515	15
Difference	7,814,044	30*

or in round numbers about 8 millions of francs (320,000*l.*) The 'rest' raised this sum to 12 millions, out of which the dividend of 5 per cent. to the original shareholders had to be paid, amounting to 10 millions, and leaving a balance of about 2 millions for the following year. This, shortly stated, appears from the Report laid before the shareholders on July 29, 1875, to have been the financial state of the Company in December 1874.

We entreat the reader to mark well what it imports. It shows that the Company is so deeply in debt that the interest

* M. de Lesseps makes the returns of the Canal for 1874 amount to 8,058,576·85 fr. But he brings into the account some of the receipts and expenses of previous years. It should be stated that the charge for the interest of the debt includes 2,311,000 fr., which goes to a sinking fund for the redemption of the debt.

of this debt and the sinking fund alone swallow up more than half a million sterling of its gross receipts; that the expenses of the direction are 40,000*l.* a year; and that 120,000*l.* a year is spent on the maintenance and working of the Canal, a sum which must be considerably increased, if it be enlarged and improved as it ought to be. There remains then only 320,000*l.* sterling to pay the interest on the eight millions of original capital (including the Khedive's shares), or, in other words, about four per cent. on that sum: but the Company pay or promise to pay their shareholders five per cent. while the Canal is earning four per cent.; therefore the Company is paying in dividends 80,000*l.* more than the Canal is earning. It is true that nearly half this sum, representing the dividends on the Khedive's shares, now held by us, is not really paid at all; but it appears nevertheless in the accounts of the Company, and has been applied by anticipation to other financial purposes. The mortgagee or debenture-holder is in a far better position than the shareholder, and it would have been a much safer speculation to have bought up the bonds rather than the shares. It would be curious to ascertain who are the debenture-holders and to what country they belong, as they are actually receiving *half the gross receipts* of the Canal. If the interest on the debt could be reduced (it appears now to be paid at the rate of nearly 10 per cent., including the sinking fund), the returns of the Canal might pay an adequate dividend.

We now proceed to examine with equal brevity the statutes of the Company, for on these much depends. The first article recognises the special and exclusive right of M. Ferdinand de Lesseps, as founder and president, to constitute and direct this association, having its seat at Alexandria and its administrative council in Paris. The next section regulates the number and value of the shares and the mode of transfer. The shares are simple bonds, the property of the bearer. Each share confers a proportional interest in the property of the Company. The liability of the shareholder is limited to the value of his share, and no further call can be made. The government of the Company is vested in a council of administration composed of twenty-one members, holding not less than 100 shares each; they are elected at the general meeting of shareholders; they remain in office eight years, and are re-eligible. One eighth retire by lot annually. This board meets once a month; but the real executive consists of a committee of this council, composed of the president and four members, in whom the chief power is vested. The shareholders meet once a year

in Paris. Twenty-five shares give a right to attend the general meeting and one vote; but *no shareholder can have more than ten votes.**

The net profits of the Company are to be divided, but the meaning applied to the term 'net profits' in this Charter is peculiar. It signifies whatever remains after the interest of the debt, the working expenses, and the interest on the original capital at five per cent., have all been paid. But as the returns do not at present cover these three items, there are no net profits to be divided. The scale on which they are to be divided is as follows:—

15 per cent. to the Egyptian Government.
10 per cent. to the Founders.
3 per cent. to the Directors.
2 per cent. reserve fund for pensions, &c.
70 per cent. to the Shareholders.

Important decisions, such as additional concessions, fusions with other companies, alterations of the statutes or the liquidation of the Company, require the votes of two-thirds of a meeting of not less than fifty members representing one-tenth of the capital in shares. Organic changes, moreover, are subject to the approval of the Egyptian Government. The Company is a 'Société anonyme,' as known to the law of France, and the legal and juridical seat of the administration is in Paris. The Court of Appeal in Paris is to decide in the last resort on such differences as may arise. Any legal contention touching the general and collective interests of the Company can only be urged against the administration by virtue of a resolution of the General Assembly. Notice must be given beforehand, signed by ten shareholders: if rejected it cannot be prosecuted further (Art. 75). This last remarkable article evidently seals the power of the managing directors, except in flagrant cases of abuse.

All credit is due to M. de Lesseps for the vigour and ability with which he has conducted the affairs of this Company from

* Two very critical questions were agitated between the Khedive and the Company, before there was any question of his selling his shares to us. The one is whether he had any right to a vote in the General Assembly in consideration of the shares on which the coupons had been renounced for twenty-five years, which was disputed. The other relates to the mode of election of the Administrators: the Khedive seems to have contended that vacancies were to be filled up by the Council itself and not by the General Assembly. Neither of these points has been decided, and we therefore succeed to the controversy —a very vital matter to us. The Khedive declined to submit them to a French Court of Justice, and they are still left in abeyance.

its commencement to the present time. It owes its existence to himself. His own fortune is engaged in it. He was appointed by the Pacha to be the special president and manager for a period of ten years, four of which are still unexpired; and his nearest connexions are associated with him in the direction. It is not too much to say that in the administration of the Canal M. de Lesseps is autocratic, though environed by some constitutional forms; and on more than one occasion he has treated as a sovereign with sovereign States. In the interests of the Canal, we do not believe that it is desirable to shake or lessen the vast powers of its chief administrator, or that it would be easy to do so, even if it were desirable. No commercial enterprise ever had a more capable and resolute chief. The whole staff and the great body of the shareholders recognise him as their undoubted head. But in what position does this state of things place the British Government? What power or influence is it possible for them to acquire or exercise in the affairs of the Company at all commensurate to their present stake in it? They may attend the general meeting once a year, though, unless the British shares are split, ten votes is all they can boast of. But is England to be represented on the Administrative Council of twenty-one? Still more, is she to have a voice in the Executive Committee of four members and the President? It is obvious from the constitution of the Company in what quarter the preponderating authority lies. The Khedive was contented, or compelled, to acquiesce in the management of the French Committee. We have purchased the Khedive's pecuniary interest and nothing else. The country will be glad to learn whether, when this great investment was made, any conditions were proposed or agreed to, securing to the new partner a due participation in the management of the Company.

But if there are doubts as to our powers, there can be none as to our liabilities. We are henceforth bound, not only by the general commercial interests of this country, but as shareholders, to keep up the Canal and to seek to improve it. M. de Lesseps points out with great cogency in his Report, that it is the interest of the Company to raise as much money as possible, not only for the purpose of increasing the dividend to the shareholders, but of improving the Canal itself. To widen and deepen the Canal is to increase the facility and rapidity of transit. Already in the single month of July last, ninety-nine vessels passed through it. On July 27th last, 432 were announced to be on their way to the Canal in one direction or the other. Judging by their names, two-thirds of these vessels

were English, and their destination India.* Thirty-three vessels have been in the passage in one day; the consequence of this overcrowding is great inconvenience and delay, which reacts injuriously on the profits of the Company. But, independently of any increase or improvement, the expense of keeping the Canal in a working state is enormous. The *revêtement* of the sides of the Canal is advancing. Last year 15,897 cubic mètres of stone were employed for this purpose on a length of 31 kilomètres. One-fifth part of the Canal is dredged every year. From the 1st May, 1874, to the 1st May, 1875, 556,000 cubic mètres of stuff were raised from the bottom, to keep the passage open. But much larger operations are required to keep open Port Said and to prevent it from silting up. There 450,000 cubic mètres have been raised from the channel of the harbour. The western jetty has been lengthened and raised by 7,000 blocks of concrete and masonry. In order to resist the encroachments of the alluvial soil, brought down by the Nile, and thrown violently back on the shallow coast by every northerly gale, an immense dredging machine was constructed at Marseilles, at a cost of 700,000 francs, which works in the open sea and has ploughed up a line of approach to the port 800 mètres long, 200 mètres broad, and 1·50 mètre deep. These vast operations are described in the Report as highly successful, but they must be *continuous* and they are costly.

It is obvious that there is a conflict of interest between the Company, which seeks to secure for itself a dividend on its capital, besides the means of improving and maintaining the Canal, and the shipowners of the world, and more especially of England, who want to use the Canal at the lowest possible rate. This conflict broke out a year or two ago with great violence. The Company is authorised by its concession to charge a sum not exceeding ten francs a *tonne de capacité* on the passage of ships. But what is a *tonne de capacité*? There

* According to the Report of 1872, the first 1,847 vessels which passed through the Canal were as follows: 1,237 British, 182 French, 150 Austrian, 95 Italian, 65 Egyptian, 63 Ottoman, 14 Spanish, 14 German, 14 Russian, 12 Dutch, 7 Portuguese, 5 American, 4 Belgian, 2 Norwegian, 2 Danish, 1 Greek, 1 Tunis, 1 Zanzibar. The tonnage in 1874 was as follows according to nationality:—

	Tons.		*Tons.*
British . . .	1,797,000	Spanish . . .	50,000
French . . .	222,000	German . . .	39,000
Dutch . . .	103,000	And various. In all about . . .	2,500,000
Austrian . . .	84,000		
Italian . . .	63,000		

are several methods of measuring ships—none uniform or sanctioned by general authority. As the dues on ships are usually charged by the ton, it is the interest of shipowners to employ as large a measure as possible, rather than the true measure. M. de Lesseps contended that the Company was defrauded by the official mode of calculation, and he accordingly proposed to adopt the British system of *gross tonnage* measurement—upon the system recommended by Captain Moorsom—contending that the true dimensions of vessels were 50 per cent. larger than those the official dimensions commonly give them.

Although we have before us all the papers relating to this grand dispute about the tonnage, we cannot attempt within reasonable limits to put our readers in possession of all the details of this complicated negotiation. But we will endeavour to explain the principal facts. Till 1873 the Canal was not producing, at the existing rates, enough to pay the interest on the debt. In 1871 a last loan of 20 million francs had been raised. Nothing more could be obtained from the Khedive. From July 1, 1872, the administrators of the Canal declared that the toll of 10 francs per ton should be levied on the *gross tonnage* of vessels, not on their net registered tonnage. This alteration would at once increase the receipts by 50 per cent., and make the Canal a paying concern. At first this change was not ill received by our own Board of Trade. An official letter was written to M. de Lesseps congratulating him on his adoption of the uniform British system of measurement, which the Board of Trade conceives to be the most accurate. This letter is quoted in the Report of 1872. We think with the Board of Trade that the tolls should be calculated on the real measurement of ships, ascertained by a uniform rule, and not by any variable form of official declaration; and we believe Captain Moorsom's to be the best system of measurement.* It obtains in this country, and it was adopted in December 1874 as the rule of measurement in France. The Canal has vastly dimin-

* The question of the best mode of measuring ships has been discussed at great length in this and other countries. Unfortunately no uniform system as yet prevails. It is, we believe, admitted that Captain Moorsom's method is the best for ascertaining the gross capacity of a ship; but deductions must be made for the machinery, coal-bunkers, &c., to arrive at the net registered tonnage of a ship. What are these deductions to be? They are obviously much larger in a packet or mail-boat than in a merchant steamer: hence the result that the packet would pay less than the trader. A poll-tax of 10 francs is, however, levied by the Canal on passengers.

ished the expense of a voyage both in time and in the rate of insurance, and the shipowners ought to pay a reasonable price on the real capacity of their vessels. But ere long a violent opposition manifested itself in which the French Company of the Messageries Impériales took the lead. The right of the Company to put this interpretation on the seventeenth article of their concession was disputed. The question was tried in the French courts, with conflicting results. At last it was held that the Company was at any rate bound to obtain the sanction of the Sublime Porte to the change. The Porte at first approved it, but afterwards withdrew its consent, and referred the question to an International Commission. This Commission reported at last in favour of a qualified and temporary augmentation of the toll by about 3 francs a ton, and laid down, in conclusion, the following proposition:—

'That no modification can in future be introduced in the conditions of transit, whether relating to tolls on navigation, or to dues for towing, anchorage, pilotage, &c., *without the consent of the Sublime Porte*, which engages to come to an understanding with the Powers principally interested before taking any determination.'

In a despatch addressed by Khalil Pasha, then Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs, on December 25, 1872, to the Turkish Ambassador in Paris he energetically protested against the assumption of jurisdiction by the French courts of law. He pointed out that 'if the new mode of levying the 'toll on the Canal had received the approbation of the 'Sovereign, an Imperial Firman would have informed the 'public of it.' He quoted the sixteenth article of the firman of 1866 by which the Sultan ratified the previous concession of the Khedive, reserving his own Imperial jurisdiction; and he ended in these words:—

'Your Excellency will readily comprehend that we cannot allow it to be supposed that we shall allow the Company to withdraw from the jurisdiction to which it is subjected by the Act to which it owes its existence, and, consequently, the Imperial Government has enjoined upon His Highness the Khedive to invite the Company to conform in all respects to the firman of concession in its relations to other parties.'

The Porte acted up to this principle by calling together an International Commission to deliberate on the question of tonnage; by adopting the advice of that Commission; and finally by sending imperative orders to the Khedive on April 16, 1874, to take forcible possession of the Canal, if M. de Lesseps persisted in his attempts to resist the new tariff of

dues. Troops were moved to the spot under the orders of an American officer, and on April 29th M. de Lesseps gave way, under protest. He denies, however, that he ever threatened to interrupt the service of the Canal. The important fact to us in all this transaction is the demonstration of the fact that the supreme power over the Canal resides, not in M. de Lesseps, nor in the shareholders, nor in the Khedive, but in the Sultan.

On the 9th May, 1874, immediately after this occurrence, M. de Lesseps wrote the following note to Mr. Disraeli:—

'In concert with Duc Decazes I have sent to London the Secretary of the Company of the Suez Canal, M. Marius Fontanes, under the order of the French Embassy, to know whether Her Majesty's Government is disposed to leave the Ottoman Porte free to negotiate an arrangement with reference to the question of dues on the Canal. This arrangement, which appears to have been favourably received by Sir Henry Elliot, was proposed by the Company to the Turkish Government, in order to terminate the disagreement arising from the violation by armed force of a public contract as to the terms of which the shareholders of the Suez Canal have maintained and still preserve their rights.'

The British Government replied that the first step should be to place the representatives of the Company in relation with Colonel Stokes, one of the former British Commission on the Tonnage Commission.* Upon the receipt of this answer M. de Lesseps wrote to M. Marius Fontanes the following despatch:—

'You must prepare to return to Paris, for it would be dangerous to allow the policy of England to suppose that we will negotiate with her or allow her the least control over the affairs of the Company. Our only law and rule of action is our Act of concession and our Statutes. We are a private Company which has risked its capital without the guarantee of any Government, and we do not acknowledge the right of any State to take a part in our administrative affairs. All we ask is that the Porte will adopt a conciliatory course instead of one in which we shall end by gaining our point. The Porte may consult England, the French Government may recommend conciliation; as for us, it would be dangerous to discuss with England the expediency of any eventual outlay, which we intimated to her in order to prove our good faith and the necessity of conciliation, unless we are to continue a warfare in which the right is not on the side of our adversaries. You are not to engage with Colonel Stokes or with any other person in conferences which would appear to give weight to the desire to become in fact the arbiter of our affairs. Ask the English, who approve the in-

* Colonel Stokes has just been sent out on a mission to Alexandria.

tervention of their Government to cut down the lawful profits of a private enterprise, carried on by French capital, what they would do if our Government were to attempt, by diplomatic means, to diminish the income of a private company formed by British capitalists.' *

We presume that these remarks would not now be made, and that M. de Lesseps would not contend that the British Government is not to have the least control over the affairs of a company in which British capital is so largely interested, and England herself stands as a shareholder in the place of the Khedive for nearly half the amount of shares. But the tone of the president of the Company may convey to the reader a sense of the very ticklish position in which we stand towards the central authority in Paris. M. de Lesseps, however, has gained by the purchase this advantage. The interest and duty of the British Government and its agents is no longer to defend the shipping interest against the Canal, but to defend the Canal against the shipping interest. Mr. Disraeli must settle this matter as best he can with his friends the shipowners in the House of Commons, to whose interests and influence he is not insensible. Our object must now be, in common with the other shareholders, to support the income of the Canal, not only with a view to the interest upon capital, but to what is of much more importance, the improvement and enlargement of the Canal itself. It is one of the results of this singular transaction that in this, and several other respects, the Government has reversed the policy hitherto pursued, not only by their predecessors but by themselves. If there is inconsistency Mr. Disraeli and his colleagues are responsible for it; but we have not yet heard the grounds on which they will have to explain so extraordinary and abrupt a transition.

We have shown that the mere acquisition of shares, however numerous, will not materially affect the organisation of the Company, will not shake the authority of the governing body, and will not give the British Company any more effectual means of influencing its decisions than are possessed by every shareholder—perhaps in some respects our influence will be lessened, for it can hardly be exerted against ourselves. But the relations which this transaction has created between Great Britain and the Khedive are even more curious and interesting than those existing between Great Britain and the Suez Company. We have bought 176,000 20*l.* shares for four millions,

* This correspondence is quoted in M. de Lesseps' last Report to the General Assembly of the Company.

but they are said to have cost the Khedive as much as 5,200,000 francs, including the interest he has been obliged to give for the money he borrowed to pay for them. As the dividends for nineteen years on these shares have been renounced, the interest due from the Khedive to Great Britain, on four millions at 5 per cent., rests on no security whatever. It is simply a loan to a foreign ruler, granted at the discretion of the Government, and without the sanction of Parliament, in exchange for the benefits we may obtain nineteen years hence from our shares in the Suez Canal. Stated in this plain language the transaction is one which in private life would hardly be consistent with financial principles. Who on earth would lend a hundred pounds, as a matter of business, to an embarrassed and all but insolvent individual, upon the security of a deferred annuity, to take effect nineteen years hence, having in the meantime nothing to rely upon but the promise to pay of the borrower? We have no doubt that the Khedive will continue to pay us his 200,000*l.* a-year if he can, and as long as he can. But who that knows anything of the financial condition of Egypt can place the slightest reliance on her ability to pay? This recent emergency rose out of the most pressing necessity. The four millions went in a moment to release a portion of her floating debt, and to pay the interest on the remainder. Six months hence matters may be just as bad, although the Government have taken the extraordinary step of sending a member of the Administration and an English Privy Councillor, Mr. Stephen Cave, to control the Egyptian exchequer; and we observe that this gentleman, who is well known from his former connexion with the bank of Grote, Prescott, & Co., is to be accompanied by a staff of British officials, as if we were about to conduct the finances of the Egyptian treasury. But nothing is so hopeless as the attempt to introduce order and economy into the finances of an Oriental State by advice and interference, when we have not the absolute control of its expenses and resources. We have never been able to accomplish the task even in India, with feudatory princes dependent on us by treaty; much less can we hope to effect it in Egypt. At this very moment of supreme distress the Khedive has plunged into the folly and expense of an Abyssinian war, an expedition which we totally disapprove, and has had his own yacht (a vessel of 5,000 tons) pulled to pieces to transport troops. The greater probability is that the excessive extravagance and corruption of the Viceroy's government will bring about their natural punishment and the punishment of those foolish persons who

have trusted him. We certainly were not prepared to see the British Chancellor of the Exchequer in the number.

If the Khedive should be compelled or tempted to follow the example of his suzerain, the Sultan, and suspend or reduce the payment of interest on his debt, Sir Stafford Northcote, or rather the British Treasury, will be in precisely the same position as every other Egyptian bondholder. Our Government can have no fair claim to priority for the interest on this debt, nor can it take measures to enforce the payment of it, for that would be to reduce the assets on which the creditors of Egypt have a common lien, and many of those creditors are its own subjects. If the Khedive pays us 200,000*l.* a year for nineteen years, he will have repaid the four millions (all but one year), in interest; if on the contrary, the interest is not paid, we may lose a sum in interest almost equal to the capital we have advanced. We have no desire to place these proceedings in an unfavourable light, and, as a great national interest is at stake, we should scorn to misrepresent them for a party purpose, but really the more we examine their true financial character the more are we filled with amazement. Did ever an English Chancellor of the Exchequer loose his hold on four millions of public money on such terms as these, except when in a paroxysm of war we were subsidising half the Powers of Europe? Did ever Chancellor of the Exchequer stand in such a position to a needy State, except when we guaranteed a loan of much smaller amount to the Kingdom of Greece, and had of course to pay the interest on it, if not to pay off the principal when drawn by lottery? But those subsidies and loans had the authority of Parliament. This large advance has been made not only without the authority of Parliament, but without an explanation to the House of Commons. Nothing, we venture to say, can justify such a proceeding, except the possession by the Government of exclusive information of a most extraordinary nature. Even then such information, like the secret articles of the Treaty of Tilsit, ought to be communicated to Parliament without delay.

The relation of the Khedive to the Suez Canal Company was twofold; first, as a large shareholder, having renounced his dividends for 19 years; secondly, as the ruler of the territory in which the Canal is situated, and the potentate who granted the concession under which it was made. His interest as a shareholder the Khedive has sold to Great Britain for a consideration, and financially we stand in his place in respect to those shares; but his political and legislative authority over

the territory remains unaltered; he has not parted with that; we have not acquired it; it is in fact an inalienable part of his sovereignty, and if it did not belong to the Khedive and his family, it would revert to the Ottoman Porte, which indeed claims even now to exercise it. He is also still entitled eventually to 15 per cent on the net profits in consideration of the lands ceded to the Company without any other payment, and this charge is also in the market, but as it produces at present nothing, no purchaser has been found for it. No Power has more vehemently supported the authority of the Porte over Egypt, as a part of the Ottoman Empire, than Great Britain. Five and thirty years ago we very nearly went to war with France because we suspected her of a design to render Egypt independent of Constantinople; and down to the last mission of Lord Dalling, when he visited Egypt, the same policy has been, by Tories and Whigs, uniformly pursued. It is therefore impossible for the British Government to repudiate the principles on which this country has acted for so many years, and to invade or contest the power and authority established by treaties and firmans, of which we ourselves were the chief promoters.

There are, we suspect, a great many persons in England and other parts of Europe who imagine that, although it must be acknowledged that the financial and commercial results of this purchase are embarrassing and indefensible, yet that the political results to be anticipated from it are of such a nature as to demand and justify the sacrifice. Indeed, there are those who think that unless the British Government had clearly discovered some grand political results beneficial to England, no such financial sacrifice would ever have been made. We should ourselves admit and agree that if a political object of first-rate importance, such as the perpetual command of the military and naval route to India, and of the Red Sea, had been obtained, and peacefully obtained, by the purchase of shares in this Canal, we should not have paid too dear for them. It is certain that in directing the policy of a great Empire, mere financial considerations must give way to grand national interests; and we should be ashamed to depreciate a vast public benefit by a sordid calculation.

But upon a closer examination we find it extremely difficult to discover and to define what are the novel and peculiar political advantages which this purchase has secured to England. Whatever they are, they are certainly not exclusive, for they must be enjoyed in at least an equal proportion by our French, Swiss, and Belgian co-shareholders; and we cannot

understand how, by purchasing a large number of shares in a French or Egyptian commercial company, we acquire any political rights whatever. The Company itself claims none. The political authority of the Egyptian Government over the whole territory is not shared in by the Company; insomuch that when M. de Lesseps resisted the new tariff of dues, the Khedive, as a measure of policy, sent down troops to seize and work the Canal, if necessary. The same thing could be done again, whoever might be the shareholders. But in truth the fundamental principle on which the Canal was constructed, and for which M. de Lesseps has uniformly contended, is that it should be, in the words of the concession, 'perpetually open as a neutral passage to the mer-'chant ships of all nations, without any distinction whatso-'ever.' Obviously this neutral principle, which we ourselves have been the first to claim and to recognise, absolutely excludes the notion of the exercise of political rights over the Canal or the Egyptian territory by ourselves or by any other Power. Nothing could be more fatal to the large and liberal principles on which so great a work should be administered, than the pretension of any State to control its affairs or to establish a protectorate over Egypt under the guise of a large investment in shares. Such a pretension would be resisted, and justly resisted, by the whole civilised world; and we are satisfied from the language Lord Derby has repeatedly used in advocating the strict neutrality of the Canal, that no such idea or design ever crossed his mind.* Although the project and the Company were French, and Lord Palmerston accused the French Government of a scheme for using

* Since this was written Lord Derby has repeated the same sentiment in his speech at Edinburgh, and has entirely repudiated the notion that this was a grand stroke to acquire political influence. 'In 'our diplomacy, so far as the action of this country is concerned, there 'will be no mystery and no reserve. You may have seen in the news-'papers that there has been a good deal of sensation both abroad and 'at home created by the transaction into which we have entered by 'buying up some of the shares of the Suez Canal. I hold that to have 'been a wise step—it has certainly been a popular one, and I am pre-'pared to defend it if necessary. But I must add that *it would not 'have been a wise step nor an honest one if it had borne the construc-'tion which has been occasionally placed upon it.* It is hardly neces-'sary to disclaim any such notions as those which have been imputed 'to us—a wish to establish a protectorate over Egypt, an interested 'reversal of our policy on the whole Eastern Question, or an intention 'to take part in a general scramble for that which does not belong 'to us.'

the Canal as a means of subduing and annexing Egypt, the result has shown that these charges and suspicions were false, and that since the opening of the Canal French influence at Alexandria and Cairo has rather declined than augmented. It would be monstrous to suppose that British Ministers are labouring to effect the very thing which they vehemently denounced, when it was erroneously attributed to their allies on the other side the Channel. The French Government have honourably maintained the neutrality of the Canal, and we are bound by principle and interest to do the same.

Lord Derby's own account of the transaction to the Marquis d'Harcourt, the French Ambassador, on November 27th, was in the following terms:—

'It was only at the beginning of the week that we knew the intentions and need of the Khedive to sell his shares. My wish, and I expressed it, was that he should keep them. But, on the one hand, he had urgent need of obtaining resources for repayments which admitted of no delay, and on the other hand, we knew that negotiations were going on between the Société Générale and the Egyptian Government for the acquisition of those same shares. Therefore, we had either to allow the scrip to pass into other hands or to buy it ourselves. I can assure you that we have acted solely with the intention of preventing a larger foreign influence from preponderating in a manner so important to us. We have the greatest consideration for M. de Lesseps. We acknowledge that, instead of opposing him in his great work, we should have done better to associate ourselves with him. I deny, on behalf of my colleagues and myself, any intention of predominating in the deliberations of the Company, or of abusing our recent acquisition to force its decisions. What we have done is purely defensive. I do not think, moreover, that the Government and English subjects are proprietors of the majority of shares. I said some time ago in the House of Lords that I would not oppose an arrangement which would place the Suez Canal under the management of an international syndicate. I will not propose this, but I in no way withdraw my words.'

This is precisely the statement which we should have anticipated from Lord Derby's moderation and good sense. Not a word about the acquisition of political influence; but simply that the British Government took what they conceived to be the least mischievous of two alternatives, and that their policy was defensive. To ourselves it appears that they overrated the danger of this scrip, without dividends, passing into other hands; but on this point the Government may have information to which we have no access. On November 20th (five days before the purchase), Lord Derby had said to M. Gavard, the very able French Chargé d'Affaires—

'I should be very glad to see the time come when it would be possible

to largely buy out the shareholders and replace the Company by a kind of Administration or Syndicate in which all the Maritime Powers would be represented. In any case we will do our utmost not to let an undertaking on which our chief interests depend be monopolised by foreigners. The guarantee resulting from the control of the Porte is now no longer sufficient. If we lost that offered us by the participation of the Khedive we should be absolutely at the mercy of M. de Lesseps, to whom, however, I render all justice.'

The point on which we differ from Lord Derby is that 'the 'participation of the Khedive' does not merely consist in the possession of 176,000 unproductive shares, but in his right to 15 per cent. of the profits as sovereign, and in the other legal attributes of territorial sovereignty. We have bought his shares, but we have not bought any portion of his territorial and political rights. They were not in the market, and could in fact neither be sold nor bought. This confusion of ideas pervades all the popular writing on the subject, whether in favour of the purchase or against it. The intelligence was received in England with enthusiasm, because it was imagined that in purchasing these shares we had purchased more than the mere scrip, and were to stand to the Canal in the place of the Khedive. The measure was disliked by France for the same reason. In our view both impressions are alike unfounded. Thus the 'Moscow Gazette' writes:—

'In consequence of the English proceedings in Egypt, the difficulties incidental to the Oriental question have been considerably aggravated. England's step gives rise to questions of the most delicate and complicated nature. There is no precedent of a Government acquiring a share in a joint-stock enterprise on foreign soil, and thereby virtually extending its own territory. The fact of the Canal being an international concern adds force to this reasoning, though even if the Canal were purely Egyptian, the transaction might give rise to difficulties. Luxembourg was intended to be sold, but the sale was not allowed to be completed. As the crowning feature of it all, Egypt is not even an independent State, but the vassal of a Power, itself the client of European guarantors. Egypt is Turkish territory, and the Canal concession is based upon a Firman of the Porte. Has the Khedive the right to sell a portion of his territory—that is, to partition out the property of his suzerain? It is doubtful whether the Sultan himself would be entitled to take any such step without the consent of all Europe. Were the Sultan to claim an independent right to sell the harbour of Constantinople or the port of Batum, or the Turkish fleet, would England allow such a claim to be legitimate? But we remember reading in an English journal that there would be nothing to prevent the Sultan ceding his Navy to England in payment of the interest upon the national debt!'

It is not given to every Minister

'To purchase kingdoms and to buy renown;'

but it would be easy to answer the 'Moscow Gazette' that absolute transfers of territory in full sovereignty for money are by no means unprecedented. In 1768 the Republic of Genoa sold the island of Corsica to Louis XV.—a transaction the more remarkable as it caused Napoleon Bonaparte to be born a French subject. In 1800 Spain had ceded Louisiana to France by the secret treaty of St. Ildofonso. The fact becoming known, the American Government took alarm, and Napoleon was afraid lest they should join with England in the war. To obviate this danger, France sold Louisiana to the United States for sixty millions of francs; that vast cession included more than half the continent of North America, and the whole basin of the Missouri and the Mississippi, extending from New Orleans to the coast of Oregon.* Indeed, the Americans have frequently enlarged their territories by purchase. Russia herself sold to them the territory of Alaska; Denmark had agreed to sell St. Thomas; proposals have more than once been made for the purchase of Cuba from Spain. These were all transactions of considerable political importance. But it would be an utter delusion to compare them with the purchase of so many shares in the French Canal Company, which confer on the holders no tittle of sovereignty or political power in Egypt whatsoever. The only power we possess there is derived from the fact that we have rendered the Khedive a financial service for which he is grateful, and that we are trying to help him to escape from the clutches of sharks, cormorants, and usurers. We have acquired no political power in Egypt, and we are very glad of it, for political power, especially when it is limited and incomplete, brings with it the most embarrassing responsibilities, and is totally opposed to the neutral character which is established by the terms of concession, and which we hope to see maintained both by the Suez Canal Company and by the ruler of Egypt. The other Maritime Powers might fairly say, and would say, We are not afraid of a joint-stock company—we are not afraid that the Khedive of Egypt will assume a hostile attitude or a belligerent character; but if this great passage were to fall under the absolute control of the most powerful maritime empire in the world, it would in the event of war cease to be neutral and be used for belligerent purposes—a result totally opposed to the universal and pacific scheme on which it was undertaken by its first promoters. To support such a policy as that would indeed involve considerations of a much more serious nature

* See the Fifteenth Chart in Captain Walker's 'Statistical Atlas of 'the United States'—a work of extraordinary merit and value.

than those we have been discussing, and the Minister who could contemplate so daring and extravagant a course ought at least to have an army of 30,000 men to send abroad and a perfectly equipped fleet to sweep the seas.

The perpetual neutralisation of the Canal was from the first pointed out by Prince Metternich in conversation with Sir Travers Twiss (who enjoyed the confidence of that statesman) as a most desirable object, to be secured not only by the concession of the Viceroy of Egypt or the statutes of a joint-stock company, but by a formal agreement of the Maritime Powers. Lord Derby, as we have seen, has recently held the same language. The opposite course of policy would obviously give rise to jealousy, hostility, and endless political complications. A power of opening or closing the Canal for political reasons is not one which any wise statesman would wish to acquire or could easily exercise. The Canal should be as free and open as the sea. You might as well attempt to shut up the gut of Gibraltar or the Straits of Dover. No policy can be regarded as safe, honourable, and consistent by the statesmen of this country, but that which consists in taking or giving the best security we can that the freedom and neutrality of this Canal shall be invariably maintained. We do not believe that there has ever been any danger that this principle should be violated, and we ourselves should be the first to defend it, the last to contest it. Our new position as shareholders in the Company seems to us to make no alteration in this respect, because if the principle of neutrality were infringed, all the Maritime Powers would be alike interested in upholding it. The Company would be powerless, as M. de Lesseps was powerless, when he threatened to interrupt the passage on the tonnage question.

The question of neutrality, however, does not arise while all the world is at peace. It would only become a difficulty under the pressure of maritime warfare. In that event it might seriously affect ourselves. For the Suez Canal is to England not only a commercial highway for the passage of trading and unarmed vessels, but it is also the route by which the reliefs and reinforcements of the British army are constantly conveyed to India, and it is also used by our vessels of war. Vessels of war are not provided for by the concession of the Viceroy, whose declaration is expressly limited (Art. 14) to '*tout navire* '*de commerce.*' We presume that if troops and armed vessels are allowed to pass through any neutral territory, it is by the permission of the sovereign of that territory. This permission does not rest with the Suez Canal Company or with its share-

holders. It is a prerogative of the Khedive or of the Sultan, and has not been delegated to the Company. It is essentially a political right and power. Such a permission might still be conceded in time of war by a neutral State without any breach of neutrality to belligerents, provided it was conceded to all belligerents equally; just as belligerents are allowed to take refuge or purchase supplies in any neutral port. But it is a favour which no belligerent can claim as a right, and which certainly cannot be conceded as an exclusive right in favour of one belligerent and not to another. The possession of 176,000 shares in the Suez Canal Company by Great Britain would not invest her with the smallest right to interdict the passage of the Canal in time of war, even to an enemy, because she has acquired no territorial or political power over it. Nay, we are not even sure that she has acquired any right to use it herself for belligerent purposes, for that too is excluded by the principle of neutrality.

We are reluctant to reason on the hypothesis of war, because we most sincerely trust and believe that no such calamity will afflict the world in our days. But when we see the whole of Europe bristling with troops—when we see it computed that more than *seven millions* of men are, or soon will be, engaged in military service—when we know the immense preparations which are made for naval warfare, it is impossible not to feel that neutral and pacific principles are not in these days entirely secure. Least of all do we apprehend, and most of all should we deplore, a war with France—a contingency in the highest degree improbable; but can anything be conceived more embarrassing to the British Government than its relations to our French co-shareholders and co-proprietors of a large property in a neutral territory, if such a misfortune were to overtake us? Some people suppose that war suspends all laws, and justifies all acts of violence—the seizure of the Danish fleet and the confiscation of enemy's property in neutral ships. But these are not the principles on which wars can be carried on by liberal and enlightened nations in modern times. God forbid that we should seek to stretch the theory of belligerent rights, which are certain to be turned to our own detriment, because we have more property floating about the globe than any other people. We say, then, that war does not justify or permit any aggression on an enemy's property in a neutral territory, because such an act of aggression is an act of war against the neutral himself.

If the Crown and Parliament of England were ever moved by some extraordinary concourse of events which we cannot foresee—by some vast political convulsion tearing up the land-

marks of nations and plunging the whole world into strife and bloodshed—to repeat the expedition of 1798, and attempt, from paramount obligations of public safety, the conquest and occupation of Egypt, that would be an enterprise of the very greatest magnitude—greater than the Crimean War—greater than our Indian campaigns, because it must be accomplished in the teeth of most of the great Powers of Europe. Nothing in the world could excite this country to such an undertaking, or could justify us in engaging in it, but a peremptory conviction that the safety and the very existence of the Empire were at stake, and that we must defend it to the last extremity in Egypt and elsewhere. Far be it from us to enter upon such violent and desperate courses, which are utterly opposed to our principles, to our traditional policy, to our interests, to our pursuits. But if we were driven to any such extremity, the fact that we had possessed ourselves by purchase of 176,000 shares in the Suez Canal Company would really not weigh one ounce in the scale. In peace the neutrality and safety of the Canal are not in question; it is the common interest of all mankind to keep the passage open, and to improve the means of communication. In the event of war new complications might arise, and we must be on our guard against them; but it appears to us that they are more likely to be increased than averted by the fact that we have purchased an interest in the Company.*

We have now passed rapidly in review the considerations which occur to us on this subject, from the information it has been in our power to collect. In a financial point of view we think that the purchase was highly useful to the Khedive, and by no means injurious to the Company; but as a mere investment of British capital it is deplorable; and we question whether it has given us any important influence in the administration of the Company, at least for several years. It has given us no territorial or political rights whatever in Egypt, except in as far as we are creditors of the Egyptian Government, and have conferred an obligation on the Khedive. But while it has not strengthened our political position in the East, and may give rise to some embarrassing questions, it

* One of the contingencies which might occur, very much to our inconvenience and detriment, is that any hostile Power having a sufficient motive to stop, at least temporarily, the passage of the Canal, could easily do so. It would suffice to scuttle or blow up a vessel in a narrow part of the channel to block it up altogether for several days or weeks, as the port of Boulogne was accidentally blocked last year by the wreck of the 'Charles Dickens.'

suits the Northern Powers to regard it as an important political move on the part of England, which they will use when they please to justify some countermove of their own. In dealing with so difficult a question, and in disposing of so large a sum of money, within a few days or hours, we think the Government rashly took on themselves a perilous responsibility, and in not forthwith communicating all the particulars of the transaction to Parliament they appear to us to have laid themselves open to severe animadversion. In a few days, however, Parliament will meet, and there are those in both Houses who will fully vindicate their right to discuss the grounds and consequences of this important measure. Parliament may be of opinion that no course now remains open to us but to ratify a contract to which Ministers have attached the name and honour of the country. We do not doubt the strength and power of the Government to complete the transaction; but we desire to be equally satisfied of its wisdom and its prudence. These are the qualities by which the measure must eventually be judged, and we trust that the results may eventually conduce to the security and welfare of the British Empire.*

* A doubt is expressed at p. 262 as to the payment of interest in cash on the shares held till now by the Khedive, but we have now ascertained that the coupons on these shares having been cut off and sold they are presented for payment when due, and paid with the other coupons.

No. CCXCII. will be published in April.

THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

APRIL, 1876.

No. CCXCII.

ART. I.—*Charges delivered by Connop Thirlwall, D.D., Bishop of St. David's.* London: 1842 to 1872.

THE name of Connop Thirlwall is so closely bound up with the history of the scholarship and theology of the last half-century, that it may well claim more than the short obituary notice that for the most part chronicles the departure of divines and men of letters. To have been the last survivor of a generation whom we and our fathers knew and reverenced, but whose names are becoming less familiar and less authoritative with those who are now rising up around us, the companion and friend of Hare, and Whewell, and Sedgwick; to have been the first who, in his translation of Schleiermacher, made English students familiar with the bolder methods of critical exegesis which were beginning to gain ground in Germany, and in that of Niebuhr introduced them to the new line of historical scholarship which he had been the first to open; to have written the first history of Greece that rose above the level of a school-book, or was untainted by the animus of party—this, if this had been all, would justify the attempt to weigh the work which he had done, and the influence which he had exercised on the intellectual life of the age in which we live. But this was emphatically not all. For thirty-four years the late Bishop of St. David's occupied a commanding and almost unique position in relation to the theological movements which have affected, for good or evil, the mind of the present generation. The commencement of his episcopate coincided, if not with the origin, yet with the earlier stages of the growth and influence of the great Anglican revival. It witnessed the partial break-up of that revival in the secession to the Church of Rome of those who had been among its foremost

leaders, the gradual change in its character, so far as it remained within the limits of the Church in which it had its birth, into a deliberate attempt to Romanise, or, if the disclaimer of the authority of Rome should be pleaded against that term—to mediævalise the Church of England. Synchronising with that attempt there was the inevitable reaction which led men of another school of thought and trained in other methods of inquiry to push their questionings into regions that had previously been to most students of theology an untrodden ground, and to maintain as teachers of the Church of England doctrines which, at least to the minds of the timid and devout, seemed almost or altogether incompatible with a belief in historical Christianity as a revelation of the Divine Will. The great Tractarian controversy, and that which opened with the publication of the 'Essays 'and Reviews,' could not fail to engage the thoughts of one who, both by the duties of his office and by the special bent of his character, was led to inquire into the tenableness of the positions taken up by the disputants on either side, and their probable effect in the future, not only on the fortunes of the Church of England, but on the Christian life of the English people. And his position in relation to those controversies was, as we have said, unique. He was in no sense an advocate or a partisan. More than any theologian of his own time, more perhaps than any English theologian of the past, hardly excepting even the judge-like Hooker, or the profoundly thoughtful Butler, or the many-sided Taylor, he held the balances of judgment in an even hand, and apportioned with an unbiassed and fearless boldness the praise, the tolerance, or the censure which seemed to him to meet the merits of each case that came before him. The impression made by his long career on those who witnessed its close, many of whom were enlisted in the ranks on either side of the two great disputes, was shown in the acknowledgment, even amid the strife of tongues in the debates of Convocation, that to him belonged of right the praise of the '*nuda veritas, incorrupta fides*,' which was claimed for him by a warm-hearted friend.

We purpose, accordingly, entering on a survey of the character and work of one whose influence was at once so remarkable and so exceptional. The outward events of the life of such a man fall comparatively into the background, and it is no part of our purpose to attempt anything in the nature of a biography. We will content ourselves with noting the more salient facts, so far as they affected the growth of his character or were significant as indications of the character when formed,

and with expressing the hope that the gaps thus left may before long be filled up by hands better qualified than our own. It would be a real loss to the intellectual life of England, if the memory of such a man were to fade away, as that of too many of his illustrious contemporaries seems likely to fade, without a record, more or less adequate, of what he was, and how he spoke and wrote, while the lives of inferior men are exhibited and related with a wearisome prolixity.

The early life of Connop Thirlwall (born January 11, 1797) may be cited with that of another great thinker of our time as an instance that precocity of intellectual power is not always followed by a premature decline. The account which John Stuart Mill gives in his 'Autobiography' of the studies and attainments of his childhood at an age when most boys are hardly out of their primer, and are engrossed with hoops and marbles, finds its parallel in the boyhood of the future Bishop of St. David's. At the age of three he was taught Latin; at four 'he read Greek,' so his father reports, 'with an ease and 'fluency which astonished all who heard him.' At seven he began to write sermons, and continued the exercise of his powers in that direction for three or four years. Verse in various forms, based for the most part on a study of Dryden and Pope, filled up the intervals of leisure. A family tradition relates that when he was about eight he accosted a bishop (probably the Bishop of Dromore,* to whom the volume which his father published under the title of 'Primitiæ' was dedicated, but the story halts as to the name) with the announcement, 'My Lord, I can read Greek,' and on being tested gave such proof of his proficiency that the prelate thus addressed became his friend and teacher.

In some respects this early development of power was more remarkable in Thirlwall than in Mill. The latter was the son of a father of great energy and indomitable will, who from his child's earliest infancy set himself to mould his character, as an educational experiment, with an impulsive force and an almost relentless rigour. The former—though his father, the Reverend Thomas Thirlwall, was a man of some

* It is at least interesting to remember that the See of Dromore was then filled by Thomas Percy, who, as the editor of the well-known 'Reliques of Ancient English Poetry,' prepared the way for the revival of a truer school of poetry than that of which Dryden and Pope were the acknowledged masters. There is no trace, however, even in the 'Primitiæ' that the Percy collection exercised any influence on the taste of the future bishop.

attainments, who had passed creditably through the usual clerical career of curacies, lectureships, and livings, and published sermons and pamphlets—was left more to himself, and astonished his parents with the spontaneous productions on which they could but gaze in wonder as '*novas frondes et non* '*sua poma.*' Indeed the publication of the volume which has been just named indicates parental weakness rather than the judgment which could have done much in fashioning a boy's character. His mother, a woman of some culture and considerable energy and power, may perhaps have taken a larger share in his home education, and his first literary efforts. A copy of these 'Primitiæ' now lies before us. We look at the portrait of the youthful author and trace there the characteristic features of the aged bishop, the grand forehead, then, perhaps, disproportionately developed; the questioning eye, the lips parted as if released from habitual compression and yielding to a latent sense of humour. We turn over the pages, written, as the preface tells us, with hardly a single correction by either author or editor, and we note, if not any great depth of thought, a singular maturity of style. The boy's sermons, like those of most other homiletic children, were probably reproductions of his father's, but they might be preached by many young curates, and leave on their congregations the impression that they had been taking lessons in composition, and had profited by the discipline. At times there is an amusing assumption of the gravity of a mature experience, and the boldness of a prophet witnessing against surrounding evils. Thus, in a discourse on 'The Abuse and Profanation of the Sabbath,' the boy-preacher writes:—

'We once boasted, and perhaps truly, of the virtue and simplicity of the British nation; but alas, our vices and immorality have now rendered the boast absurd and ridiculous. And I confess when I look upon the present and past state of our public morals, and when I contrast our present luxury, dissipation, and depravity, with past frugality and virtue, I feel not merely a sensation of regret, but also of terror, for the result of the change. . . . When particularly amongst the higher ranks, it (the observance of the Lord's day) is still more criminally abused and neglected, when an assembly is held by a lady of the first distinction, and resorted to by the princes and nobles of the land, not to offer up prayers and thanksgivings to the Almighty, not for the purpose of devout conversation, not, in short, for any religious or useful purpose, but to discourse on that most absurd, ridiculous, and unimportant subject which can engage the attention of man: I mean, upon fashion.'* . . .

* Primitiæ, p. 168.

An 'Eastern Tale' shows that the boy had read 'Rasselas' with the avidity which seeks to imitate what it admires; and if the fortunes of Almurad had been told in the 'Rambler,' few readers, we think, would have detected the appearance of a new contributor, and still less have suspected that he was not yet in his teens. When the boy entered at the age of eleven on the perilous path of satire, having trained himself apparently, as we have said, on Pope and Dryden, the adventure was a bolder one. Yet even here the imitative power, as well as aim, is seen in no common measure. This, for example, is a picture of a lady who might have played her part in the 'School for Scandal:'—

> 'The fame of all, the good, the great, the wise,
> At Clara's mercy undistinguished lies.
> Clara is Fame's vicegerent here in Town,
> And amply shares the lying dame's renown;
> Her hundred tongues in Clara hold their seat,
> And make a one-tongued chatterer complete.'

The volume closes with a prophecy which, happily, perhaps, for the poet and his friends, was not fulfilled:—

> 'Such be my lot; however dull my lays,
> I care not if the voice of friendship praise.
> * * * * *
> On famed Parnassus' ever-blooming brow,
> Still must I seek the various flowers that grow,
> Still shall I seek Apollo's sheltering ray,
> To cheer my spirits and inspire my lay.' *

A writer whose literary career began thus prematurely and after this fashion might have been expected to develop into a man of letters after the type of the earlier Georgian era; writing satires, more or less embittered, translations from the classics, possibly becoming a clever advocate or a distinguished preacher. Fortunately the salutary, though it may be somewhat rough influences of English school and college life came to check the too luxuriant growth. In the playground of Charterhouse the boy-author was probably exposed to a fair share of good-humoured 'chaffing,' and his unquestioned powers were turned by Dr. Raine, the then head-master, to healthier and better work. No more flowers, real or artificial, were gathered on Parnassus, and Apollo placed his young votary under the care of the graver Muses that preside over history and philosophy. Though from time to time, in later life, he amused himself with *jeux d'esprit* in some or all of the

* Primitiæ, pp. 226–230.

numerous languages with which he was familiar, he never afterwards, so far as we know, wrote any serious poetry at all.

We pass rapidly over the period which to a biographer is at once the most interesting and often the most embarrassing, that in which character is forming and convictions ripening, and companionship with men like-minded, or it may be, quite other than like-minded, is telling upon both. It will be enough to glance at the school-life, the correspondence with school-fellows on subjects literary, political, philosophical, in French, and Latin, and English, and the friendship there formed, to last till the end of life, as the last page of this article will show, with an ever-deepening reverence and affection, with Julius Hare; at the years at Trinity with Hare and Whewell and Sedgwick, as companions at the Scholars' table; at the honours of the Craven and Bell Scholarships, and of the Chancellor's Medal, that attested the powers of the young student to whom the rigour of the Cambridge Examination system, then without the classical tripos, which was instituted in 1824, allowed no higher place than that of 22nd Senior Optime; at his election to a fellowship at Trinity in 1819. Of the influences that actually told upon the growth of mind and character we have as yet no definite information. There are no signs that he ever came in any measure under the influence of the great Evangelical leader who, in spite of many personal eccentricities and the want of any high intellectual gifts or culture, was for many a long year the prophet of his party at Cambridge. It was hardly likely, indeed, that a young man of Thirlwall's power, a power tending every year to a calm and self-possessed equilibrium, unemotional and unimpressible, should look to Charles Simeon as not a few men, even of high calibre, such as Henry Martyn, looked, as a guide into the regions of religious thought on which he was about to enter; and the first utterance of his mature judgment as Bishop on the school of thought known as Evangelical, makes it probable that even then he discerned its manifold weaknesses. So far as we may judge by results, he was more attracted by the teaching of William Hey, Norrisian Professor of Divinity, who died just before he began his Cambridge life, but whose Lectures on the Articles, published 1796–8, were for many years among the text-books ordinarily studied by candidates for holy orders. They were the work of a writer who was the survivor of one school of liberalising churchmen and the precursor of another, namely that of Herbert Marsh, Bishop of Peterborough, who had been among the first to make the work of the scholars of Germany, such as Michaelis (whom Marsh

translated), and Eichhorn, accessible to English students. The remarkable Introduction to the translation of Schleiermacher's 'Essay on the Gospels of St. Luke,' of which we are about to speak, shows how largely the 'Dissertation on the Origin of 'the Gospels,' which Bishop Marsh had prefixed to his translation of Michaelis, had occupied young Thirlwall's attention.

The Introduction to Schleiermacher's St. Luke was written, it must be remembered, before his ordination, when he was yet a young law student in the Temple. It shows, we think, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that his mind was then opening to the gravity of the questions to which the eyes of most English theologians were at that time closed, and that he was willing and prepared to face them without fear. To the future student of the history of belief in the English Church and among the English people, few subjects of thought will be more interesting than the fact that two men, afterwards taking so opposite a course, and recognised as leaders by parties so adverse, Bishop Thirlwall and Dr. Pusey, should at that time (circ. 1823–5) have been occupied with the same studies, and looking to their wider prosecution in England with hope and sympathy. When the Bampton Lecturer at Oxford (Dr. Conybeare) had blown his trumpet of alarm, almost echoing the devout wish of a former occupant of the university pulpit,* that 'all your German theology might be buried at 'the bottom of the German Ocean,' Thirlwall noted, with a characteristic irony, that 'it would almost seem as if at 'Oxford the knowledge of German subjected a divine to the 'same suspicion of heterodoxy which we know was attached 'some centuries back to the knowledge of Greek; as if it was 'thought there that a German theologian is dangerous enough 'when he writes in Latin, but that when he argues in his own 'language there can be no escaping his venom.' (Introd. p. ix.) When Cambridge, in its turn, heard the note of panic and of indignation in Hugh James Rose's 'Discourses on German 'Protestantism,' the voice of the apologist was raised first from the common-room of Oriel, and afterwards from the Hebrew chair at Christ Church, reminding men that 'even the teach-'ing of Kant might be a schoolmaster leading men to Christ;' asserting that 'there may be the same Christian feeling in 'very different forms of expression; or that the basis may 'exist, though the intellectual development of it may be im-'peded by the intricacies of an earlier admitted system of phi-'losophy; and that in the sceptical struggle after truth, of

* Dr. Tatham, Rector of Lincoln.

'many who are yet in doubt with regard either to the essential 'doctrines of Christianity, or to Revelation itself, there may 'be often more of the Christian spirit than in an unhesitating 'traditionary belief.'* To Dr. Pusey it then seemed that 'the 'faith of the Christian depends not upon the reception of the 'one or the other book of Scripture; and it has been a sup-'position pregnant with mischief, that any doubt respecting an 'individual portion of the sacred volume necessarily implies a 'diminished value for its whole contents, or a weakened rever-'ence and gratitude towards its divine Giver.'† He looked forward with hope to the Evangelical Church of Germany being once again 'in religious as well as scientific depth, at 'least amongst the fairest portions of the Universal Church of 'the Redeemer.'‡

The failure of the hope thus expressed, the course of events political and religious in England, and the influence of John Henry Newman as the master-mind, for a time, of the great Anglican revival, have, we know, led Dr. Pusey to a formal recantation of the views that were thus expressed, and his language towards the more recent developments of German theology, or to their supposed representatives in England, has been that of unsparing condemnation. We have no wish to censure, though we may regret, the inconsistency which has been so frankly acknowledged, and for which there is so much to plead in extenuation. But it is a satisfaction to remember that the two friends, Julius Hare and Connop Thirlwall, who, though separate and apart from him, were yet fellow-students in the same region, remained faithful to their earlier convictions to the end. Even when the outcry against 'Essays and 'Reviews' and, it may be, the impressions left on Thirlwall's mind by his personal controversy with Dr. Rowland Williams, led him to attach his signature to the vague and therefore unwise censure of that volume, in the famous Episcopal Encyclical of 1861, he did not for a moment disavow his own earlier teaching. He would not refuse to others the licence which he had ever claimed for himself; would 'never consent to the narrow-'ing, by a hair's breadth, that latitude of opinion which the 'Church has hitherto conceded to her ministers.'§

The choice of Schleiermacher's 'Essay on St. Luke' as that which seemed to him the most worthy, out of the rich stores of German theological literature, to be presented to the English

* Pusey's 'Historical Enquiry,' p. 165.
† Ibid. p. 154. ‡ Ibid. p. 178.
§ Letter to the 'Spectator,' April 20, 1861.

student, is at first somewhat difficult to understand. For the essay, though ingenious and suggestive, is neither masterly, nor elaborate, nor exhaustive. It raises questions which it does not answer. It treats the history of the Nativity in St. Luke's Gospel as a 'little poetical work rather than a properly historical narrative,' and St. Matthew's narrative of the arrival of the Magi as 'of a clearly symbolical character;' and, though it rejects the special form in which the rationalism of Paulus sought to explain away all that was supernatural in the Gospel records, there is throughout, as it seems to us, an inadequate sense of the greatness of the subject with which he deals, and even of the nobleness and beauty of the human character of Jesus. We must remember, however, that the name of Schleiermacher stood out then with a prominence and brightness which are now fading away. To the students who had tracked their way, under his guidance, through the dialogues of Plato, and had found in it an insight for which they looked in vain elsewhere, or who had felt their hearts burn within them as they read his 'Reden über die Religion,' he seemed almost as one who understood all mysteries and all knowledge. Hare, for example, speaks of him as 'the greatest master of irony 'since Plato,' as 'delighting in pouring out the boundless 'riches of his spirit to all who conversed with him.'*

The notes of the translator show a sufficiently wide range of reading among the works of the then leading critics and divines of Germany to make us feel sure that the selection was deliberate, and that it seemed to him that the method of investigation of which Schleiermacher's essay was an example, the inquiry as to the sources of each portion of the Gospel record, and the probable motives which may have guided the mind of the writer in recording it, was one likely (irrespective of the conclusions to which Schleiermacher had himself been led) to be fruitful for good. There seems no reason to believe that the views of the translator on the great question of Inspiration ever materially differed from those which he then maintained. On the one hand he rejected, as 'a doctrine so long abandoned 'that it would be a waste of time to attack it,' the belief that 'the sacred writers were merely passive organs or instruments of the Holy Spirit.' On the other he rejected also the theory which recognises some parts of each book of Scripture as 'written under a more immediate influence of the Holy 'Spirit than others;' and therefore draws a line of demarcation between the inspiration of the historical and dogmatic parts,

* 'Guesses at Truth,' p. 254, ed. 1866.

and after weighing the old and modern theories in the balance of a singularly judicial mind, was content to fall back upon the 'old opinion' that 'the whole of Scripture proceeded from the 'constant and uniform operation of this Spirit,' cleared 'from 'the exaggerations with which it has been loaded and which 'were not implied in the judgment of the primitive Church 'when it fixed the Canon,' and seeking 'the operation of the 'Spirit, not in any temporary, physical, or even intellectual 'changes wrought in its subjects, but in the continual presence 'and action of what is most vital and essential in Christianity 'itself.' *

It is important both in its bearing on the writer's consistency, and as showing what were his maturest thoughts on this great question, to turn to his latest utterances; and with this view we anticipate what would otherwise have come before us at a subsequent stage of our review of his life and work. At the time when Dr. Rowland Williams had startled the minds of many of the clergy by the publication of his 'Rational 'Godliness,' and especially by the views on Inspiration which that volume contained, Bishop Thirlwall, who was practically compelled by his position as Visitor of St. David's College, Lampeter, where Dr. Williams held the office of Vice-Principal, to deal with the questions thus raised, did not shrink from defending the statement that 'the Church was before the 'Bible, as a speaker is before his voice;' and 'that Holy 'Scripture is not the foundation of the Christian faith so 'much as its creature, its expression, and its embodiment.' † Even in reference to the wider statement that 'if that Spirit 'by which every man spake of old is for ever a living and a 'present power, its later lessons may well transcend its earlier,' he speaks in a passage of singular eloquence, with a wisdom and a calmness not often found in Episcopal Charges:—

'I should be sorry to put an invidious construction on this language. Though it may lend itself on the one hand to a Romish theory of development, on the other to the fancies of individual enthusiasts, I am persuaded that the author's meaning is equally remote from both. And I would not deny that there is a sense in which the statement may be accepted, and in which it will be found not only not to depreciate, but to enhance the value and dignity of Holy Scripture. For the fulness of the stream is the glory of its fountain; and it is because the Ganges is not lost among its native hills, but deepens and widens until it reaches the ocean, that so many pilgrimages are made to its springs. And to the end of time there can be no assignable limits to the true development, and, above all, to the practical application, of the truths

* Introd. p. xix. † Charge for 1857, p. 78.

contained in Holy Scripture; and so the later stages of this development may well "transcend the earlier, the new things be better than "the old." '*

Speculations as to what might have been Connop Thirlwall's career had he continued in his chambers in the Temple are not, perhaps, very profitable, yet it is scarcely possible to avoid indulging in them. The success of a *nisi prius* advocate, who can persuade juries by eloquent declamation, or make his way to high office through brilliant oratory in the House of Commons, would hardly, we may believe, have been his portion. But there are regions of law, dealing with the application of complicated or apparently conflicting principles, in which his intellect, at once so strong in its grasp and so subtle in its handling, would have found full scope and asserted its mastery. We cannot help feeling that if the Church gained the rare treasure of a judge-like Bishop, the State lost one whose name would have stood high in its catalogue of illustrious judges, who might have rivalled the fame of Stowell in threading his way through the labyrinth of International Law, and might have disputed the palm with Cockburn in disentangling and exposing some gigantic imposture. To the last he so far retained the old taste as to find a special delight in tracking the course of the more prominent *causes célèbres* of the day, and expressing his judgment on them.

An interesting passage in the Autobiography of Mr. John Stuart Mill enables us to picture to ourselves some of the surroundings of this period of Bishop Thirlwall's life. We find his name in 1825 among the members of the Debating Society which owed its birth to Mr. Mill and other disciples of Bentham, but which, as it expanded, came to include Macaulay and Frederick Maurice and John Sterling, Albany Fonblanque and the two Bulwers, the present Earl Grey and —as if the company of prophets would not be complete without a Saul among them—Samuel Wilberforce. Well-nigh all the names in Mr. Mill's list now belong to the history of the past; but it is not difficult to imagine the intellectual passages-at-arms, the conflict of feelings and principles, which must have been the result of the collision in debate of minds of so high an order and for the most so ready in eloquent utterance. Whether he came, as Hare did about the same period, and Maurice somewhat later, under the influence of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, as the representative of a new school of thought in religion and in politics, which was neither Whig nor Tory,

* Charge for 1857, p. 81.

orthodox nor, in the usual sense of the term, rationalistic, we have no means of knowing. His writings at all events have no trace of the teaching of the Seer of Highgate, and the clear, analytical character of mind which distinguished him throughout was hardly likely to be impressed by the discursive, half-mystic monologues in which the problems of the universe seemed to the speaker to be solved by some new formula intelligible only to the initiated.

We may probably trace, in part at least, the recollection of these early days in the exceptional and courageous action of Bishop Thirlwall when Mr. Mill offered himself in 1865 as a candidate for Westminster. Among the electioneering agencies employed by Mr. Mill's opponents, one was the circulation of a placard containing a sentence from his 'Examination of Sir 'W. Hamilton's Philosophy' (p. 183), in which he had said, that 'if he had to go to Hell' because he could not worship a 'Being who was not good in the sense in which he applied 'that term to his fellow creatures,' then, rather than pay that homage where it was not due, 'to Hell he would go.' The quotation was intended to shock the minds of the electors as bold, irreverent, blasphemous. The 'Record' and the 'Morning Advertiser' either opened the attack, or followed it up, in leading articles. Bishop Thirlwall, in a letter published at the time, maintained, on the contrary, that it was the utterance of a conviction in harmony with 'the purest spirit of 'Christian morality,' that nothing but 'an intellectual and 'moral incapacity worthy of the "Record" and its satellite' could have failed to recognise its truth, and that it 'thrilled' him 'with a sense of the ethical sublime.' It is interesting to note that the same paper that contained the Bishop's letter (the 'Spectator' of June 17, 1865) contained one from Mr. Maurice defending what Mill had said in yet more earnest and impassioned language.

As it was, however, his return to Cambridge to take orders and hold a tutorship at Trinity opened the way for labours that were more congenial to the culture of the scholar. In conjunction with his friend Hare he translated Niebuhr's 'History of Rome,' and thus led the way to the reception of that method of historical study in which it still remains a master-piece and a model, though its conclusions may have been more or less modified by the labours of later scholars, as Mommsen and Ihne, and Sir G. Cornewall Lewis.* In the same

* It may be noted as marking the difference of the air we breathe in these regions now from that which the first labourers had to en-

partnership too he became one of the editors of the 'Philological Museum' (1832–33), and was naturally one of the chief contributors. The list of subjects handled by him brings out with sufficient vividness the wide range of his reading, and his treatment of them illustrates the power at once of minute criticism and of a generalising grasp of thought which continued afterwards to characterise his writings. Dissertations on the myths of Ancæus, of Memnon, and of Ogyges, on the cycle of Socratic questions historical and philosophical, in papers on Xenophon, Niebuhr, and Delbrueck, and again on Socrates, Schleiermacher, and Delbrueck, and an elaborate review of Kruse's 'Hellas,' are all interesting as part of the training by which he was qualifying himself for the great work which was first to carry his fame beyond the limits of the University. But the paper most remarkable in every way from its profound insight, and its application of a subtle analysis to a poet's thoughts, is his essay 'On the Irony of Sophocles.' As we follow his inquiry into the nature and laws of an art in which he was himself so consummate a master, and see how he traces their operation in every scene and well-nigh every speech of the great tragedian, we regret that he was never led in the course of his literary labours to appear in the character of a commentator on Shakspeare. In any selection from Bishop Thirlwall's writings, such as that which has been announced under the editorship of Professor Perowne, this Essay ought not to be omitted.

These articles, however, were but the prelude to the task upon which he was soon to enter. The circumstances under which he began his great work were not, perhaps, the most favourable. Though familiar, as we have seen, not only with the broad pathways but with every hole and corner of Greek research, it does not seem that he had spontaneously formed the purpose of concentrating all this vast and varied knowledge on one single book which should take its place as a κτῆμα ἐς ἀεὶ in the historical literature of England. The impulse which was

counter that in an article in the 'Quarterly Review' (No. lxxvii.), which appeared shortly after the publication of the English version of Niebuhr's 'History,' the historian himself was denounced as 'a pert, 'dull scoffer,' and the translators charged with 'reproducing the most 'offensive paragraphs written since the days of the "Philosophical '"Dictionary."' It is only fair to our contemporary to add, that the actual review of the book (No. lxiii.) was temperate and scholarly, and that even the offensive note complimented Mr. Thirlwall on the ability shown in his Preface to the translation of Schleiermacher, and in that to his version of some of Tieck's tales.

needed to give form and shape and permanency to what might otherwise have left no other memorial of itself than a few scholarly essays and reviews came from without. Among the early enterprises for the diffusion of the results of scientific and historical labours beyond the circle of professed scholars and men of science was a certain series started by the publishers of this Review, and known from the name of its editor (an active, pushing, able man of science, the close of whose career clouded a reputation that had been gained by many useful labours), as 'Lardner's Cyclopædia.' To this series Mr. Thirlwall was invited to contribute a History of Greece. Taking the standard recognised for other subjects, what was probably expected was a popular narrative brought within the compass of two or three duodecimo volumes. To work on this scale, however, was soon found to be difficult, if not impossible, for one who in his treatment even of subordinate questions connected with his subject ever aimed at a singularly elaborate completeness. The 'Advertisement' to the first volume (published in 1835), accordingly states apologetically that 'the plan 'of the little work, thus begun, had been considerably enlarged 'since it was first undertaken,' and that the author feared that 'a critical eye might be able to detect some traces of this varia-'tion from the original design in the manner of treating one 'or two subjects.' There still remained, however, after that first enlargement, the uneasy sense that he was writing for two different sets of readers, 'whose wants might not always 'exactly coincide,' one, that of the large class who 'had 'neither leisure nor means to study Greek history for them-'selves in its original sources,' the other, that of the scholars to whom the writer would more willingly have addressed himself; and to this may be ascribed, we believe, the fact that the verdict of most students has, of late years, assigned the first place among the writers of the history of Greece, not to Thirlwall, but to Grote. In knowledge the former was at least the equal of the latter, in calmness of judgment and freedom from the partisanship which transfers the feelings of modern political contests to those of analogous parties in the conflicts of ancient commonwealths, he stood confessedly on a higher elevation. The latter had, however, the almost inestimable advantage of a self-chosen task, of working at his own will and at his own leisure, without the fear of remonstrances from an impatient editor pressing for volumes in succession at fixed intervals, and the result was that what he produced was more manifestly a labour of love, that to which he had not only brought all the vast stores of his information, but into which he had transfused

all the life and vigour of a singularly energetic nature, sharing in the activities of political life in England, and therefore better able to enter with animation, if not with impartiality, into those of the political life of Greece. So it is that we may trace in the apologist of Cleon one who found how easily a Conservative majority of country gentlemen, the *καλοκἀγαθοὶ* of the House of Commons, come to despise and denounce a Liberal leader sprung from the ranks of the people, and in the courage that led him to an elaborate vindication of the Sophists, as men before their time, the educators and reformers of their generation, a sympathy with the Benthamite school, of which he himself was one of the foremost representatives, and which had been decried as consisting all but exclusively of *doctrinaires* without principle and without heart.

Yet, in spite of the disadvantages under which Thirlwall worked, his History has distinctive merits of its own. We can scarcely expect the students of this generation to give much time or labour to works that are already fading into the dim obscurity of a past, almost of an obsolescent literature; but if we are to judge rightly of Bishop Thirlwall's labours in this region, they must be compared with those that had preceded, as well as with those that have followed him. Till the commencement of the present century, indeed, it may be said with truth that there was no History of Greece in the English language worthy even of the passing notice of the scholar. Goldsmith, with that facile pen of which it was true that '*nihil tetigit quod non ornavit*,' had written a popular and entertaining schoolbook, and this, with such part of Rollin as dealt with Greece, and one or two forgotten works by Stanyan and others, were all that were to be found even in the catalogues of our libraries. Practically, most men learnt what they knew of the heroes and statesmen of Greece from Plutarch's Lives. The appearance of Mitford's History, in 1808, on a scale commensurate with the greatness of the subject, and with a scholarship as much in advance of his predecessors as it has been distanced by his followers, may accordingly be noted, in a favourite phrase of our Teutonic friends, as that of an epoch-making work. Mitford wrote, however, unmistakeably, if not avowedly, from the point of view of an English Tory. The absurd pseudo-classicalism of the leaders of the French Revolution, the revival of the phrases and forms of old republics in the rhetoric of Girondists and Jacobins; perhaps even the analogy between the massacres of Corcyra and those of the Reign of Terror, led him so to write his history as to point a moral as to the

evils of democracy. As Mr. Disraeli, in one of the earlier phases of his changing life, described Alison's 'History of 'Europe' as written to prove that 'Providence was on the side 'of the Tories,' so might Mitford's 'History of Greece' be described as an *apologia* for the Toryism of Sparta and an indictment against the Liberalism of Athens. Grote came afterwards, as we have seen, as counsel for the defendant, and pleaded for his client with all the fervour of sympathy. Between the two, balancing evidence with a judicial calmness, but with the principles of a constitutional Whig, keen to detect the mistakes and exaggerations of the writer who was then his only rival, but somewhat crippled and restrained by the conditions of which we have already spoken, came Thirlwall. His History has at once the merits and the defects which under those conditions might be expected. It moves on in a calm and equable style seldom rising into fervour, free from all inaccuracy in language or in statement, yet wanting in that pictorial vividness which we have learnt to expect at the hands of historians of the first order; vindicating, where necessary, the persons or the institutions that passed under his review from the censures or the sneers of ignorance, sometimes with a characteristic irony, sometimes with a grave dignity. It is in these last passages that he rises to his highest level, and we may be pardoned for recalling one or two of them to the memory of a generation to whom the work is becoming, we fear, less familiar than it ought to be. Here, for example, is an answer to the common charge (of which Mitford had made much) of ingratitude brought against democratic governments on the strength of the sentence passed by the Athenians on Miltiades:—

'Darius might well think that the benefit he had received from Histiæus was so great that it could scarcely be effaced by any subsequent offence. But Miltiades was not in any such sense the benefactor of the Athenians: if they conceived that nothing he had done for them ought to raise him above the laws, if they even thought that his services had been sufficiently rewarded by the station which enabled him to perform them, and by the glory he reaped from them, they were not ungrateful or unjust, and if Miltiades thought otherwise, he had not learnt to live in a free state.'

It was to be expected, perhaps, that the work of one who never hurried to a close, and who gathered energy as he went onward, should attain its highest excellence in its later portions; and it is here accordingly, in the history of Philip and Alexander and their successors, that we find not only the greatest fulness in detail but the greatest vigour in the appreciation

and delineation of character. While we read his account of Themistocles and Pericles, and even of Socrates, with something like disappointment at the passionless calmness with which the story of their life is told, the estimates of the characters of Phocion and Alexander, with which we close our extracts, may take their place (even if we do not altogether accept his verdict) among the highest models of this part of the historian's task.

Thus, of the former :—

'Had he lived in an earlier period, he might have served his country, like Nicias, with unsullied honour. In a later age he might have passed his life in peaceful security. His lot fell on dark and troubled times, when it was difficult to act with dignity, and the best patriot might be inclined to despair. But he despaired and yet acted. He despaired, not merely of his country, which anyone may innocently do; but also for her, which no man has a right to do. He would have forced her to despair of herself. He resisted every attempt that was made by bolder and more sanguine patriots to restore her independence. He did not withdraw from public life; he acted as the tool of his country's enemies, as the servant of a foreign master; content to mitigate the pressure of the degrading yoke which he had helped to impose. Towards the close of his life he descended lower and lower, constant only in his opposition to whatever bore the aspect of freedom. The fellow who spat on him in his way to execution was perhaps a more estimable person than the man to whom he would have surrendered Athens as well as himself. He left a character politically worse than doubtful; one which his private worth alone redeems from the infamy that clings to the names of a Callimedon and a Demades; a warning to all who may be placed in like circumstances, to shun his example, whether they value their own peace, or the esteem of posterity.'

And of Alexander, after narrating the circumstances of his death :—

'So passed from the earth one of the greatest of her sons; great above most, for what he was in himself, and not, as many who have borne the title, for what was given him to effect. Great, not merely in the vast compass, and the persevering ardour of his ambition, nor in the qualities by which he was enabled to gratify it and to crowd so many memorable actions within so short a period; but in the course which his ambition took, in the collateral aims which ennobled and purified it, so that it almost grew into one with the highest of which man is capable, the desire of knowledge and the love of good. In a word, great as one of the benefactors of his kind. . . . It is not to be supposed that in any of his undertakings he was animated by speculative curiosity, or by abstract philanthropy. If he sought to discover, as well as to conquer, it was because the limits of the known world were too narrow for his ambition. His main object, undoubtedly, was to found a solid and flourishing empire; but the means which he

adopted for this end were such as the highest wisdom and benevolence might have suggested to him in his situation, without any selfish motive.'

From the work of the scholar we turn to that of the theologian. And here, as the first outward sign of a revived interest in the studies that had borne their first-fruits in the translation of Schleiermacher, we note the publication in 1834 of the memorable pamphlet on the 'Admission of Dissenters to 'Academical Degrees,' which led, in the first instance, as its direct consequence, to the loss of his tutorship at Trinity, and, afterwards, as placing him among the most conspicuous of the liberal thinkers of Cambridge, to his appointment by Lord Melbourne to the bishopric of St. David's. It would be a mistake to suppose, however, that it was the liberalism of the pamphlet wholly or chiefly that roused the indignation and anger of the authorities of Trinity and other colleges. The principles which it asserted were indeed clear and bold in their utterance. To him the compulsory attendance at chapel, then imposed on all students, seemed to make the daily service 'to 'the great majority of our congregations not a religious service 'at all, and to the remaining few the least impressive and 'edifying that can well be conceived.' If he was met, as he was by the present Bishop of Lincoln, with the plea that the alternative was between a 'compulsory religion and no re-'ligion at all,' the answer was, that 'he could not draw such 'delicate distinctions,' and that the 'difference between a com-'pulsory religion and no religion at all was too subtle for his 'grasp.' But that which caused the waters of bitterness to overflow was the startling assertion that the institutions which were resisting the admission of Dissenters on the ground that they were pre-eminently places not only of 'sound learning' but of 'religious education' were 'so far from being dedicated 'exclusively or principally to the study of theology, that 'among all the branches of learning cultivated in them there 'was none that occupied a smaller share of their time and 'attention.' Only 'in a very narrow, if not a forced sense,' could it be said that theology was cultivated in our colleges at all. One proof of this assertion lay in an induction from the programmes of Divinity Lectures and College Examinations, and in these he found that, while the papers set abounded in questions on points of chronology, of geography, of history, of antiquities, the occurrence of even a single question on any point of doctrine was a most rare exception to the general practice. On these grounds he maintained (1) that few Dissenters would object to their sons taking the whole

course of religious education as it was then actually given, and (2) that the few exceptions might be met on what we have now learnt to call a Conscience Clause. He believed that 'the substantial interests of the University, literature and 'science, morality and religion, would all gain by such an ac-'cession to our numbers,' and he ended in a passage of singular power and eloquence, marked with a greater fervour than the judicial calmness which was afterwards his predominant characteristic:—

'There is only one quarter from which I see a real danger lest this prospect—which makes me tremble, not with fear, but with hope—should be for a time overclouded. If the prophets of evil should become its preachers and ministers; if from our pulpits the spirit of strife and hatred and vindictive prejudice, some sparks of which exist even in the most generous bosoms, should be fanned into a flame; if our youths should be taught, by those to whom they look up with reverence, to consider themselves as martyrs, because their studies are shared by companions who have been brought up in a different creed; if they should be urged on sacred authority, in the name of the Prince of Peace, to fight even to the death for the passions and prejudices of their elders as for divine and infallible *truth*: if a voice from the sanctuary should cry to those who may soon be approaching us, with hearts perhaps as full of kindly feelings, of virtuous aims, and honourable ambition as any we have now among us: "Come—but come at your peril: come—but know that we hate and will persecute you, as we are sure that you must hate, and, when you can, will persecute us"—then I will not answer for the immediate consequences; but I cannot be deterred by them, both because the blame will rest with others, and because I feel assured that they will be only temporary and will cease with the short-lived effervescence that produces them.' (P. 44.)

We have thought it worth while to disinter these fragments of a forgotten controversy, not only because it is always well to note how principles that have since been generally received had at one time to be proclaimed, amid rebuke and reproach, by the great minds that were in advance of their time as the prophets of a better future, but because it was this almost contemptuous survey of the religious education given at Cambridge, though not without its parallel at the time in the comments on the theological teaching of Oxford in Dr. Pusey's pamphlet, 'Remarks on the Prospective and Past Benefits of Cathedral 'Institutions,' that involved Mr. Thirlwall in a painful controversy with the Master of his own, and the tutors of that and other Colleges, who thought themselves injured by what they looked on as misrepresentations. Moreover it explains, if we mistake not, the attitude of his mind towards the first great revival of the study of theology, with which he had to deal

on his elevation to the Episcopate. To him this so-called theological teaching, which was neither bold nor deep, neither critical, nor Anglican, nor patristic, nor even devout, dissociated almost entirely from any thorough study of the history of the Jewish or the Christian Church, seemed miserably inadequate. He was likely to welcome any efforts to lay the foundation deeper, and to raise upon it a more goodly superstructure.

The loss of his Cambridge tutorship was followed, as was natural, by preferment from the Whig Ministry of the day, and the living of Kirby-Underdale, with a small population of about 300, to which Lord Brougham presented him, gave him the leisure which he needed for the completion of the 'History of Greece.' It was followed, after an interval of five years, by Lord Melbourne's selection of the representative of Cambridge liberalism for the bishopric of St. David's.* Like the equally bold appointment of Dr. Hampden to the Regius Professorship of Divinity in 1836, and to the See of Hereford in 1847, it caused some outcry by way of protest from the organs of religious parties, but there was no systematic agitation backed by the force of University authority, as there was at Oxford, and he was left to begin his episcopate in peace. It was characteristic at once of the quick capacity of the scholar, and the high standard of duty with which he entered on the office of a chief pastor of the Church, that his first work was to make himself master of the language of the people who were now committed to his charge, and without a knowledge of which he felt that he and they would be, in St. Paul's language, as 'barbarians,' as strangers and foreigners to each other. Within six months he was able to preach to them in their own tongue, and bringing to the task a more skilled elocution, somewhat tremulous in its emphasis, and a higher culture in composition, made that tongue more capable of rhythmical form and musical intonation than in the mouths of most of those to whom it was their native speech. Of the Bishop's labours in his diocese this is not the place to speak in detail, but it may, at all events, be said that he gave abundant proof

* When Dr. Thirlwall paid the formal visit to the Prime Minister which etiquette requires from those who have thus reaped the advantages of his good opinion, Lord Melbourne is said to have called after him as he was leaving, 'By the bye, Dr. Thirlwall, why *did* you translate that 'book of Schleiermacher's?' Little as the outer world suspected it of the man who seemed almost too much of a *dilettante* to be a statesman, there were few speculative or theological works of mark with which he was not familiar.

that the habits of the scholar were not incompatible with the activity of the Bishop, and that he could look back at the close of his career with as much ground for thankful satisfaction as most other prelates, on a long list of churches built, restored, or enlarged; of schools founded, and supplied by a Training College with more efficient teachers; or last, but not least, of parsonages built, or poor livings augmented (to the extent, in the course of his Episcopate, of 30,000*l.*) out of revenues which he might without reproach have claimed and treated as his own. If he did not present, in the management of his diocese, the ubiquitous activity and the marvellous power of adaptation to men of all classes and tastes which were characteristic of Bishop Wilberforce, he was at least among the most active of the bishops of the Principality, and took his place as a leader in all works of good for the benefit of its people. It is not without good cause that those who wish to pay honour to his memory have decided that, while the grave and the bust at Westminster shall bear their witness of the historian of world-wide fame, and scholarships or a professorship perpetuate at Cambridge the memory of one who had once been 'her glory and her shame,' but whom now all alike delight to honour, the chief personal monument, the living form and likeness, of the Bishop and Pastor, should stand in the remote Cathedral of St. David's.*

But that which for some generations to come will cause the Episcopate of Connop Thirlwall to live in the memories of men is to be found, beyond a doubt, in the series of eleven Charges, in which from time to time he reviewed not only the successive stages of the work done in his own diocese, but the movements of thought and feeling which were affecting the condition of the Church of England as a whole. For the most part these utterances, however eloquent and earnest, have but a fame limited in extent and fugitive in duration. The clergy listen sometimes, when the speaker is a Wilberforce or a Magee, with rapt attention, sometimes with a weary patience. They are 'charged,' as Bishop Blomfield said in one of his punning moments, till they 'go off.' The discourse, half-sermon and half-essay, when printed, is circulated in the diocese and sent to friends, and there its work for the

* We learn, not without regret, as these sheets are passing through the press, that this plan has been abandoned, and that it has been determined (chiefly under the counsels of the Bishop's successor in the see) to do honour to Bishop Thirlwall's memory by effecting the restoration of the west front of St. David's, and inserting, if there are enough funds, a memorial window.

most part ends. With the exception of Bishop Butler's memorable Charge to the Clergy of Durham, which both on its own merits, and as being included in the volume of his Sermons, is still, we suppose, read and studied, we can hardly call to mind a single exception to the law which dooms such compositions to the dim region of the forgotten. That which gained for Bishop Thirlwall's Charges a wider attention when they were delivered, and will, we believe, rescue them, for many years to come, from oblivion, was that they had, more than most others, the character of Charges of another kind. The speaker was as a judge addressing himself, not merely to the clergy of his own diocese, but to the wider jury of thoughtful and earnest minds, clerical and lay, throughout the English Church and people, weighing evidence, stating the arguments on either side, pointing out their weakness or their strength, and summing up with an almost unequalled clearness and precision. As such, the future historian of the ecclesiastical life of England during the last thirty years will find them among his most valuable, if not indispensable, materials.

It need hardly be said that in discussing the questions which thus came under his review Bishop Thirlwall found himself for the most part on the side of the few and not of the many, and often stood alone, or all but alone, among his brother bishops. It was characteristic of him, as it was of Hare and Maurice, and of other living representatives of the same school, not of opinions (for in this they often differed widely), but of independent thought, that they had a kind of instinctive sympathy with minorities. To be 'ever strong upon the stronger 'side' was a sin to which they were scarcely tempted. The peril, if any, was that they were perhaps too ready to assume that the majority must be wrong; that, as Gregory of Nazianzus * said that he had never known any good result from the Councils, numerous, famous, œcumenical though they were, in which he had taken part, so they were disposed to think that now the greater part of men, and especially of the clergy, were swayed by passions and prejudices, by suspicions and by fears, which made them more or less incapable of a righteous judgment. Few bishops have spoken publicly with keener scorn of the petitions and memorials signed by clergy who are reckoned by the thousand, in which each period of agitation during the last forty years has been so fruitful. To him ten thousand signatures did but represent, for the most part, a unit with so many ciphers after it, and never influenced his

* Epist. ad Procop. 55.

judgment or his conduct. We can imagine few contrasts more striking or more instructive than that which would result from a comparison of the Charges now before us with the addresses of this nature, so full of passionate indignation and alarm, asking for 'something to be done,' and 'prognosticating a whole 'year of sects and schisms,' which now sleep beneath their seldom-disturbed dust in the closets of the library at Lambeth.

With the Primary Charge of 1842 this was pre-eminently the case. It was delivered at a time when the Oxford movement, then in its less advanced stage, had already excited the alarm of the Evangelical party in the Church, and disturbed the minds of the laity by innovations in ritual which, though now accepted as harmless, were then regarded with suspicion. Bishops and archdeacons were, with scarcely an exception, 'charging' strongly against the movement as at variance with 'the principles of the Reformation.' It was a welcome surprise to its leaders to find that the new Liberal Bishop of St. David's took a different tone. He stated, in terms more emphatic than even they had adopted, the objections which they had urged against the popular Protestantism of the day as a system which 'undervalues the authority of the Church, dis-'regards her ordinances, neglects her ritual, disparages her 'sacraments;' which 'substitutes empty phrases, barren unreal 'notions, sensible excitement, feelings, and impressions for the 'substance of religion;' and avows his own conviction 'both 'of the reality and of the extreme prevalence of the evil' (p. 44). Of Mr. Newman's 'Lectures on Justification,' then the chief object of attack, as 'radically false and utterly irre-'concilable with the Church's teaching,' he declares that, after the closest attention he could give to the dispute, he viewed it 'as one of words, involving no real difference of opinion,' and consequently 'looked upon both parties as equally orthodox' (p. 47). He vindicated the 'high' doctrine of Apostolical Succession from the charge of being 'exclusive and uncharitable,' and called attention to the fact that those who maintained it most firmly (as, for example, Mr. Newman) taught also that 'God's favour is not limited to the bounds of His heri-'tage,' but that 'in the Church, or out of the Church, every 'one that called on the name of the Lord out of a pure 'heart shall be saved' (p. 57). Even in regard to the famous 'Tract XC.,' which more than any other had made men ring the tocsin of alarm, his tone is that of an apologist. While he notes the possible dangers of the licence for which Mr. Newman contended in that Tract, and the 'just offence' given by the language used in it and elsewhere as to the Reformation,

he yet claims for those who used it the right to express 'regret' and 'disapprobation' at the 'course pursued by some 'of the Reformers, and especially at the extent to which they 'were swayed by foreign influence.'

'I have yet to learn that such views and feelings are inconsistent with the obligations of a minister of our Church, or with a sincere attachment to her. I know of no authority that is entitled to prescribe to us any of the opinions which we must hold as to the history of the Church, or the lessons which we must gather from it; and I have no wish to see such an authority established, whether it is to be administered by a few or by the many. Rather I would say, we cannot be too cautious of any approach towards such an odious and pernicious species of spiritual tyranny.' (P. 70.)

We have dwelt at some length on the contents of this Charge because its tone and temper seem to us eminently characteristic of the spirit in which he entered on his work in the episcopate, and on the theological questions on which, now for the first time since the translation of Schleiermacher and the Cambridge pamphlet, he had not only to form but to express his convictions. It is clear, we think, that what attracted him to the Oxford movement was that it promised to revive the scholarship of the English clergy, in at least one direction, and to raise their theology above the low level of which he had spoken in earlier days with such righteous indignation. It was for him a matter for rejoicing that 'the study of Divinity 'should have begun to embrace a wider range, that it should 'have become more generally conversant with Christian an-'tiquity, with Ecclesiastical History, and with the original 'sources from which the knowledge of these subjects is derived,' instead of being confined 'to a narrow circle of modern com-'pilations, systems, outlines, and commentaries' (p. 37). Here too, in the new life and heartiness that they had given even to week-day worship, he found a contrast to the deadness and coldness which marked the chapel services of Cambridge in the days when he had declared that they were 'a hindrance, 'and not a help, to the religious life.' His own sympathies were, as he did not affect to conceal, with studies of another kind, and with conclusions which they did not accept; but it was not his office as a bishop to contract the limits of the freedom which had hitherto been enjoyed. It is a singular instance of the recklessness and perversity of the *odium theologicum* that long afterwards, when the rift that separated him from the opponents with whom he then dealt in so frank and chivalrous a spirit had grown into a chasm which it was difficult to bridge

over, one of the minor controversialists of our time should have charged him with having 'been a party to the hounding of 'Dr. Newman out of the Church of England a quarter of a 'century ago.'* It is due to the fame of the great champion of the other side of the controversy to add that Dr. Newman himself, after he had joined the Church of Rome, noticed the 'kindness' of Bishop Bagot and the 'courtesy' of Bishop Thirlwall, as marked exceptions to the general treatment he had received at the hands of the English Episcopate.† In a letter published in the 'Guardian' he admitted, indeed, that the strong terms used by the Bishop in his Charge of 1845 would have modified his language; but as he 'never heard' of that Charge till 'quite recently' (he writes in February 1873), it could have had nothing to do with his leaving the Church of his fathers.

The later Charges of Bishop Thirlwall presented, in some respects, a marked contrast to the first in their tone towards the portion of the Oxford or Tractarian party that remained in the Church of England, after two of its four great leaders had passed over to that of Rome, and remained, it must be added, with the avowed intention of un-Protestantising her worship and her formulæ, and bringing her back, so far as the law allowed, and farther, if they thought it necessary, to her pre-Reformation state. He saw that the party was not broken up by the loss it had sustained, that it was not held back by the more moderate counsels of the leaders who remained, that it was aggressive, determined, restless; that it drew closer and closer to the theology of Rome, with the solitary exception of the two last figments of that theology, the dogmas of the Immaculate Conception and of Papal Infallibility; and that it was bent on emancipating the clergy from all State control as exercised through our highest tribunals in matters ecclesiastical, even at the cost of disruption and disestablishment; and as this danger became more imminent, his warnings and protests, though they rose far above the panic cries of the vulgar, and were judicial even in their severity, became stronger and more frequent. So, for a like reason, looking to the increased and victorious activity of the Ultramontane party in the Church of Rome during the last ten years, he became, in his later Charges, pre-eminently in those of 1866 and 1872—the

* MacColl's 'Damnatory Clauses,' p. 18. It is fair to add that the charge was afterwards, partially, at least, retracted.

† Lectures on 'Difficulties of Anglicans,' p. 133, ed. 4.

last of the series—more distinctly polemic in his assertion of the Protestant side of the formularies of the English Church; and it would be hard, we believe, to find any more masterly discussion of the great controversy as to the Presence of Christ in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper than that in these Charges, and, we may add, in that of 1857. It is not easy to say, in the wilderness of thorns and briars which a survey of that controversy opens to our view, how far any path traced by this or that writer is absolutely new; but, so far as we can call to mind, no one has pointed out with such subtle acuteness that the language of the Tridentine Catechism goes beyond the scholastic dogma of Transubstantiation in affirming that the '*totus et integer Christus*,' i.e. the 'accidents' as well as the 'substance' of His human nature—body, flesh, and bones, and blood—are present in the consecrated elements;* and that the morbid rhetoric and half-delirious verse of the Ritualistic school in speaking of the '*visible* Presence,'—the Presence '*manifested* on the altar'—goes even beyond the Tridentine language or the '*latens Deitas*' of Roman hymns. The habitual fairness and caution of his mind led him, in the Charge of 1866, to admit that 'apart from the express admission of Transubstantiation, or of the grossly carnal notions to which it gave rise . . . there could hardly be any description of the Real Presence, which, in some sense or other, is universally allowed, that would not be found to be authorised by the language of eminent divines of our Church;' and that he was not aware, and did not believe, 'that our most advanced Ritualists have in fact overstepped these very ample bounds.' The point on which he laid most stress was that it was not equally possible 'to reconcile their view of the Eucharistic Sacrifice with that of the Church of England, or to distinguish it from that of the Church of Rome,' and he looked with alarm on their liturgical ceremonials, because it seemed to him 'deliberately adopted to symbolise the latter.' It was with the thought of these dangers present to his mind, as letters before us show, that he could not bring himself to assent to Mr. Gladstone's plea on behalf of the Ritualist school as to the eastward position and the use of vestments, or to adopt the language in which one writer, who in some respects may be looked upon as his disciple, has urged that the agitation on these questions should be left to wear itself out, as being of the nature of a tempest in a tea-cup, a dispute in which the 'infinitely little' has been magnified by fear and

* Charge of 1854.

passion into the proportions of the infinitely great. Thus, as regards the Public Worship Regulation Bill, he wrote at first with some hesitation:—

'I am waiting to see in what form it will finally pass through the House of Commons, before I pass a judgment on its merits and value. I have always felt a doubt, which perhaps only experience can solve, as to its operation. I am afraid that, even as a check to further innovations, its effect will be but partial and precarious, while, if applied to the past, it will provoke attempts at retaliation, which, whether successful or not, will disturb and weaken the Church. The best thing about it seems to me to be that it must sooner or later lead to a revision of the Canons and to some relaxation or enlargement of the terms of communion.'

At a later date, however, and after Mr. Gladstone's memorable speech and abortive resolutions on the Public Worship Bill, he expressed his satisfaction that the Bill had passed the House of Commons, as it did, without a division:—

'I consider this fact as a decisive and most valuable proof of the interest felt by the great majority of the House of Commons in the concerns of the Church, and of their attachment to it, on the condition of its remaining a Protestant Church. I cannot yet forgive Gladstone for overlooking or ignoring the radical and all-important distinction between the High and Low party, with regard to the observance of the Rubrics. It is, I think, notorious that the Low party drifted into a departure from the Rubrics from manifold causes, without the slightest consciousness of any doctrinal bearing in their practice. The Tractarian ritualistic party, on the other hand, have introduced innovations avowedly for the sake of their doctrinal significance and with a most distinct and deliberate design, which is no other than that of transforming the character of our Church until it becomes ripe for union with Rome. Those who do not at present contemplate this step would do something still worse. They would inflict upon us all the evils of a thorough adhesion to "all Roman doctrine"—except, perhaps, the Papal Infallibility, as to which Orby Shipley seems to be still hesitating—without any of the social advantages which might result from the union.'

So again, later on, of Mr. Gladstone's article on Ritualism in the 'Contemporary Review':—

'It wholly overlooks and ignores the great, and, in my view, by far the most important practical question of the day, which is this: Shall any section of the Church, or any clergyman be permitted to conduct the public services of the Church in such a way as to make it appear that the Church gives its sanction to a doctrine—I mean that of the Sacrifice in the Romish or Tractarian sense—which the greater part of her members reject as false and mischievous? So long as the Church is secured from this flagrant wrong, I, for one, am ready to allow the widest possible latitude that any heart can desire, both as to the quantity and the quality of Ritual.'

And once more, in one of the letters which he dictated (for blindness had deprived him of the power to write) but two or three weeks before his death, in answer to the argument that neither chasuble nor surplice, neither eastward or southward position, could affect the validity of the sacrament:—

'Might not they' (the partisans on either side) 'say that though the reality of the Sacrament was not affected by the mode of its celebration, its efficacy and value depended in a very great measure upon it, and might be greatly impaired, if not utterly lost, if it were made to convey inadequate and, above all, erroneous notions of its nature? They might, perhaps, observe that after all, a sacrament is nothing more than a means to an end, namely, the communication of grace, and that when this end is in any way defeated, it can matter little that the rite is notwithstanding a real sacrament. It might be still neither acceptable to God, nor edifying to man, as our Church does not admit the notion of an "*opus operatum*," but makes the efficacy of a sacrament, though not its reality, to depend on the inward condition of the communicant.'

It might, we think, have been urged in answer even to this keenly-reasoned plea for judicial rigour in dealing with the '*ineptiæ*' of Ritualism, as being not even '*tolerabiles*,' (1) that the points of ritual specified, though they may be vaguely associated in men's minds with this or that phase of doctrine, and may indeed have been adopted for the purpose of expressing them, have yet (as Mr. Gladstone, and more recently the Bishop of Winchester, have urged) no necessary connexion with them, and that, if adopted also by those who represent a different school of theology, their symbolic associations would at once be modified; and (2) that they are, to say the least, perfectly compatible with the repentance, faith, and charity which we are accustomed to regard as the only indispensable and sufficient conditions of the 'efficacy' of the Sacrament of which liturgical positions and vestments are the separable accidents. For our own part, therefore, we are free to own, while we admit that the spirit of defiant lawlessness in too many instances calls for some strong measure of repression, that we view with little hope or satisfaction the prosecutions with which we are threatened by the Church Association, turning, as they do, on rubrics that are obsolete or obscure, and which, even if their meaning were clear, are but a small portion of a code of rules which no one pretends to keep in its entirety. We confess, if we may speak in parables, that we are reminded, as we read the declamations on either side in such controversies, of those exhibitions in which we see projected on a disc a scene of horrid warfare, and strange monstrous forms ready to de-

vour. Children cry at such sights, and women of weak nerves are startled, but we look behind the lens of prejudice and fear, and we see only a drop of stagnant water, in which the creeping things that have life, though their presence indicates a taint that may become putrescence, need cause no panic-fear, and which may be purified, either by the moving of the waters, or, if necessary, by a judicious filtration.

For the most part, however, the work of Bishop Thirlwall in these periodical counsels was to allay, not to excite, the panic to which the clerical mind is from time to time subject. In regard to the now forgotten controversy as to the Management Clauses (Charge of 1848), which once threatened the disruption of the National Society; to the Conscience Clause (Charge of 1866), which after having been resisted, except by the more temperate few, with a petulant defiance, has now become universal and been accepted with hardly a protest or a murmur; to the alarm created, by the decision of the Judicial Committee on the Gorham Controversy, as though it sapped the very foundations of the Faith (Charge of 1851); we find him consistent in his assertion of the calm equilibrium of thought and judgment of which the history of the last thirty years supplies so few examples. So, in like manner, he put to flight, as far, i.e., as reason can banish prejudice and fear, the superstition that the Christianity of the nation depended on the exclusion of Jews from Parliament, or that its Protestantism was sacrificed by the Endowment of Maynooth, or that the Church of England was committed to a denial of the Faith, unless the Bishops gathered for quite a different purpose at the so-called Pan-Anglican Synod of Lambeth * plunged into the vast field of difficult questions opened somewhat rashly by Bishop Colenso's publications on the Pentateuch. Lastly, in the closing act of his legislative life, he was found alone among his brethren of the Bench in voting for the Bill for the Disestablishment of the Irish Church, accepting it as just in itself and as an inevitable necessity, though his own preference would have led him, with many others of our wiser statesmen of both the Liberal and Conservative parties, and

* We are reminded by the publication of Bishop Grey's Life, that Bishop Thirlwall was one of the four members of the English Episcopate (the others being the present Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and Bishop Prince Lee of Manchester) who dissented from the resolution to inhibit Bishop Colenso from preaching in their dioceses, and that he stood alone in withholding his signature from the address requesting him to resign his see.

not a few of our more clear-sighted Churchmen, to extend the principle which had been adopted in regard to Maynooth, and which he had himself defended in his Charge of 1848 as an 'act of justice' which he viewed 'with the deepest satisfaction,' and to adopt a policy of concurrent endowment. Hardly less important in its bearing upon another controversy was the part taken by him, in the Charge of 1872, in reference to the proposal to relieve the consciences of those who were oppressed by the necessity of having to read the damnatory clauses of the pseudo-Athanasian Creed. In this, as in every dispute in which he took part, he went straight to the root of the question, and did not attempt to evade the difficulty by speaking the smooth things of compromise and concession. As in the utterances of every true judicial mind, the immediate controversy leads him to the great principles which are really involved in it, and so we have not merely what have been called the *obiter dicta* of the judge, but the great ethical laws which formed the grounds of his conclusions. Thus, it is worth noting, that in this instance we find him bold enough to proclaim his conviction, that 'the assertion, without any 'qualification, that unbelief itself is sin,' is 'subversive of the 'first principles of religion and morality;' that 'the freer use 'of unscriptural metaphysical terms which distinguishes the 'Athanasian from the earlier creeds' was a 'sign of progres-'sive deterioration;' that 'all Christians would agree that eyes 'which are closed against the truth by an honest doubt will be 'opened to it in the light of the Last Judgment;' and that the question therefore is 'whether it is more agreeable to our con-'ceptions of Divine justice to believe that the final disclosure 'will be accompanied with a sentence of eternal perdition,' or to 'shrink with horror,' as he shrank, from the thoughts of such a decree as possible. With a courage which stands almost alone in the history of the English Episcopate since the days of Jeremy Taylor, and in which even he was not always consistent, he declares his belief that—

'Strangely as it may sound to those who have been accustomed to have heresy described as the most atrocious of crimes, there is no fair pretence for doubting that the errors of Arius and Apollinaris, of Nestorius and Eutyches, whatever may have been the weakness and faultiness of their characters in other respects, were purely intellectual, and that they were only misled by their zeal for the glory of God and the honour of Christ into taking one part or side of the truth as if it had been the whole.'*

* Charge for 1872, pp. 43–47.

It remains that we should pass to the consideration of Bishop Thirlwall's acts and language in relation to the disputants of what may be called, in the language of the French Chambers, the 'Extreme Left' of our ecclesiastical parties. Standing before the world and the Church as he did, as the leading representative of what, in the same language, may be called the Left Centre, it might have been expected that they would have rallied round their leader, and that he, in his turn, would have thrown round them the ægis of his protection, even if they were not able always to act in entire concert. As it was, in two memorable instances he was led to separate himself from them. The Life of Dr. Rowland Williams shows that he felt aggrieved by the Bishop's action, or inaction, in the controversies that were roused by the volumes of sermons which he published under the title of 'Rational Godliness.' Some of the admirers or defenders of 'Essays and Reviews,' in particular the Dean of Westminster, whose chivalrous nature leads him to undertake the often thankless office of counsel for the defendant in all causes ecclesiastical where the counts of the indictment charge heresy or rationalism, have expressed their regret that the name of Bishop Thirlwall should have appeared in the list of signatures to the Pastoral or Encyclical Letter which, under the form of an answer to an individual clergyman, was issued by the Episcopate of England. Each of these points calls, it seems to us, for separate consideration.

It is clear, we think, both from Dr. Williams's account of his first interview with the Bishop, and from the whole tenor of the Charge delivered by the latter in 1857, that it was his strong desire, at the outset, here also to allay the panic which had been created by the new and somewhat startling phraseology in which Dr. Williams had expressed his convictions. His tone (as the passages we have already quoted will have shown) is throughout that of an apologist. He saw how little the accusers knew of the difficulties of the problems with which they were disposed to deal so summarily, and he sympathised with the earnestness with which the accused had pursued studies so congenial to his own tastes. The temperaments of the two men were, however, antipathetic. The Vice-Principal of Lampeter, with all his excellence—earnest and devout, leading, more than most men, a life of prayer, pouring out his soul in openly uttered speech, or committing its secret yearnings to his journal, and yet, it would seem, too often, in the energy of his enthusiasm, making answer to himself—belonged to the class of the 'irreconcilables' of Church politics—impetuous, excitable, delighting to startle men by new phraseology, and

pouring out the vials of his wrath not only on his opponents, but on candid and judicious friends. The Bishop had learnt by the long experience of a life that the way to lead men on to wider thoughts is to bring the truth before them as they are able to bear it, to correct each prejudice and misconception as it arises, to soothe their fears, and to lead them to look on the silver side of the shield as well as the golden, till they learn that even religious truths have many different sides and may be stated in many different forms. As in the preface to his 'History of Greece' he had, under protest, acquiesced in a system of orthography which he felt, as a philologist, to be full of anomalies and absurdities, so from quite another point of view than Dr. Newman's, he was content to work with and under an ecclesiastical system which must have seemed to him to include 'ambiguous formularies and inconsistent precedents and principles imperfectly developed.' To him therefore the petulant defiance which marked Dr. Williams's writings was altogether foreign and distasteful, and he felt that if anything was calculated to throw back the progress of true criticism and exegesis for half a century, it would be this extravagant display of what were produced as its results. To this too we must add, that his calmer and more discerning intellect saw (what indeed Dr. Williams's diary and correspondence amply prove) that there was a real risk lest this recognition of the working of the Divine Light, even in what have been thought the times of ignorance, and in systems which have been hastily branded as altogether evil, might lead, if it were not balanced by other truths which Dr. Williams and his followers were at least in danger of forgetting, to a denial of any special supernatural revelation in the faith of the Christian Church, and therefore of any distinctive pre-eminence over the other religions of the world.

The same strong feeling shows itself in the 'Charge' of 1863, in his treatment of the memorable 'Essays and Reviews,' and had probably led him to take the step—so unlike his usual plan of acting singly and stating definitely on what grounds he acted—of signing the Encyclical Letter to which we have already referred. There were, indeed, some circumstances, more or less mysterious, connected with that document which may one day, when all the interest that attaches to them is gone, be brought to light; some Bishops, it may be, holding back until they knew whether others were going to sign, some exerting their powers of fascination to overcome all reluctance, and we have before us a letter from Bishop Thirlwall to a friend, in which he speaks of

'its secret history as known only to some two or three, and that 'of those few one only' (obviously himself) 'would wish all the 'facts to be brought into the clear light of day.' It is clear, however, from the fuller discussion in the 'Charge,' that what alarmed him in the book was not the freedom of its criticism as to the authorship of particular books of Scripture, nor its language as to the human element in the Sacred Writings, nor the doubts which it expressed as to the nature and duration of the punishment of evil in the world beyond the grave. The very Charge which condemns the 'Essays and Reviews' shows, in its treatment of the kindred teaching of Bishop Colenso, that he did not hold the absolute identity of the 'Bible' and 'the Word of God' which was assumed by those who were eager to condemn the Bishop, but distinctly taught that there was not one passage in the New Testament in which the latter phrase occurred 'in which it signifies the Bible, or in 'which that word could be substituted for it without manifest 'absurdity' (p. 105). In words which even Dr. Williams could have accepted, he taught that 'if the Word of God is to be 'found nowhere but in Holy Writ, . . . the Bible itself would 'be degraded to a dead and barren letter.' He reminds those who were eager to pass a sentence of condemnation that 'our 'Church has never attempted to determine the inspiration of 'Holy Scripture; and that whether such a determination is 'desirable or not, no friend to Convocation would wish to see 'it undertake a task of such perilous moment, and so far 'beyond its legitimate province.' So, in speaking of the questions raised by the Bishop as to the authorship of the Pentateuch, he entirely rejects the notion that the casual references in the New Testament to Moses as the writer are conclusive, any more than the casual references to David as the writer of the Psalms; warns those who were eager to assert that the genuineness and authenticity of the Pentateuch were 'gua-'ranteed to all men' by Our Lord's citations from it of the danger they were in of rushing into a labyrinth of mysterious and insoluble problems, and cites a passage of marvellous power and beauty from Jeremy Taylor (here, as in other instances, the theologian with whom he found himself in closest sympathy), as sanctioning that warning.

It is, we think, a matter for regret that Bishop Thirlwall did not speak with equal clearness and boldness on the last great question as to the nature and duration of the punishment of evil-doers after death, on which the 'Essays and Reviews' had been attacked; one which sooner or later will swallow up in its

momentous awfulness all the miserable trivialities about which we are at present wrangling. Few more precious legacies could have been left to the Church of England—may we not say to Christendom at large?—than the expression, at once bold and reverential, of his convictions on that question; and we cannot refrain from the hope that even now some such expression may be found among the posthumous papers which are promised us. Meanwhile we are able to state from personal knowledge something as to their general nature. Some five years ago a sermon was sent to him dealing exclusively with that question, and maintaining a modified purgatorial theory (modified, that is, as compared with the Romish doctrine), representing partly Dr. Newman's teaching in his 'Dream of Gerontius,' and partly that which Professor Maurice had put forward in the last of his 'Theological Essays,' and which led to his expulsion, as the proto-martyr of the wider hope, from the chair he held at King's College, London. In acknowledging the receipt of it, the Bishop, in language which for him was singularly fervent, expressed his entire and unqualified acceptance of the views which the writer had maintained as to the possibility of discipline, progress, amendment, and even of repentance, in the state that follows death.

On the other hand, that which Bishop Thirlwall did condemn with an unsparing though not unloving severity, in the teaching of some of the writers in 'Essays and Reviews,' and of Bishop Colenso, was their use of language which denied, or seemed to deny, the existence of any distinctly divine, supernatural element, in the religion which has been received as a revelation from God through Christ, and the assumption expressed or implied, especially in Dr. Williams's and Mr. Wilson's papers, that men who sat apart, 'holding no form of 'creed and contemplating all,' could honestly continue to be ministers in a National Church calling itself Christian. The very temper of judicial equity and truth which made him so tolerant of all other errors and speculations made him of necessity righteously severe in this. It was, therefore, a singular instance of the ignorance or recklessness in which many of the rumours that float in literary and theological coteries have their birth, that in spite of all this there were found some who, on the appearance of the work on 'Super-'natural Religion,' which was hailed by some and struck terror into others as the most formidable attack yet made on the claims of Christianity to be a Divine Revelation, did not hesitate, to circulate the wild conjecture that Bishop Thirlwall was the author. Mysterious allusions appeared in this or that

journal and were whispered with more or less confidence in private society. The name of the Bishop of St. David's—'*clarum et venerabile nomen*,' if any ever was—was to take its place, with the names of Bishop Colenso and Bishop Hinds, among those who destroyed the faith which they had once preached. And as the work was one which from its grasp and range of reading (including the theological and critical literature of Holland, which was probably the starting-point of the conjecture) had obviously been some years in preparation, it was assumed that he had ended the labours of his episcopate with a lie; and that while he was protesting against the latent, half-unconscious denial of a supernatural religion which he thought he found in 'Essays and Reviews' and the writings of Bishop Colenso, he was himself deliberately constructing a masked battery from which to open a far more destructive attack. Happily the rumour came to the Bishop's ears before his death, so that he was able to declare that he had never even seen the book which he was accused of writing. But for this, if the writer of that book continues to wear the mask which as yet has proved as impenetrable as that of Junius, a later generation might have been entangled in the task of weighing circumstantial evidence, or calling in experts to examine hand-writings to disprove a calumny.

It is clear from this survey of the work of Bishop Thirlwall that he stands apart from the two great parties, which under the titles of High and Low have been in past days regarded as forming an almost exhaustive division of the members of the Church of England. It is not less clear, from the interesting memorandum on 'the Broad Church School,' published since his death in the 'Contemporary Review' for October 1875, that he would not have accepted the epithet of a Broad Church bishop in any sense that identified him with a school, a clique, or a coterie. 'There is an opposition,' as he there says, 'between High Church and Low Church, which all educated 'men more or less clearly understand, but there is none between Broad Church and either. The proper antithesis to 'Broad is not High or Low, but Narrow.' He is not satisfied, however, with 'representing the note of Broad Churchmanship 'as consisting simply in a certain charitable and conciliatory 'disposition.' It implies also an 'intellectual peculiarity,' which he will not define, but which he illustrates by the examples, 'in the more distant past, of Jeremy Taylor, and, 'among those of his own generation, of Archdeacon Hare.' On Dr. Littledale's somewhat supercilious assertion that the deficiencies of the Broad Church school were the result of

ignorance, and that 'Theology grows clearer with the advance 'of knowledge,' he remarks, with an irony to the last keen as ever, that 'if this means that as knowledge advances more 'becomes known, all, he supposed, would bow to his oracle.'

'But if it means that as Theology becomes more definite and systematic, it carries deeper conviction of its truth to minds which have ever been used to discriminate between that which is human and that which is divine in it, it would hardly be possible to frame a proposition more entirely contrary to all the results of my study of Ecclesiastical Theology, or to those of my personal experience.'

We have dwelt at some length—not, we trust, trespassing unduly on the patience of our readers—on the character and teaching of the great scholar, historian, thinker, and theologian who has been so recently taken from us. The loss involved in his departure from among us is one that cannot easily be repaired. We should look forward to the future of the Church of England with more hope if we could perceive any signs that there were at least the 'ten righteous men' among us in any measure like-minded with the teacher whom we have lost. But that gift of the '*cor sapiens et intelligens ad discernendum* '*judicium*'* is given to a few only in any generation; and as we look around at the wrangling chaos of our sects and parties, at our prosecutions about vestments and positions, at the zeal without knowledge, and the knowledge without love, which are engendered by the falsehood of extremes; at the purely negative criticism which undermines the faith, and the passionate clinging to dogmas and damnatory clauses that are no longer tenable by its defenders, we are compelled to confess that while we recognise in many things the same largeness of heart and dispassionate calmness and courage in resisting popular clamour in the Prelate who is happily the chief official representative of the Church of England, we seek in vain among those who are most prominent in their respective schools of thought for one on whom the mantle of Bishop Thirlwall has so far fallen as to give the promise of 'that 'double portion of his spirit' for which the disciples of one who has been as a master and prophet in Israel may well pray as their most precious inheritance.

* We quote the words engraved on the granite slab over his grave in Westminster Abbey, where he sleeps side by side with his brother-historian Grote.

ART. II.—1. *Passages in the Life of Mrs. Margaret Maitland of Sunnyside.* Written by herself. 1850.

2. *Merkland: a Story of Scottish Life.* By the Author of 'Passages in the Life of Mrs. Margaret Maitland.' 1851.

3. *Harry Muir: a Story of Scottish Life.* 1853.

4. *Katie Stewart.* By Mrs. OLIPHANT. 1852.

5. *The Minister's Wife.* By Mrs. OLIPHANT. 1869.

6. *The Story of Valentine: and his Brother.* By Mrs. OLIPHANT. 1875.

7. *David Elginbrod.* By GEORGE MAC DONALD. 1863.

8. *Alec Forbes of Howglen.* By GEORGE MAC DONALD.

9. *Robert Falconer.* By GEORGE MAC DONALD. 1868.

10. *Malcolm.* By GEORGE MAC DONALD. 1875.

11. *A Daughter of Heth.* By WILLIAM BLACK. 1871.

12. *A Princess of Thule.* By WILLIAM BLACK. 1873.

THE practical character of our busy modern life has done some injustice to the Scottish nation. Not altogether without reason, people have come to regard us in those practical aspects which are least engaging. The typical Scotchman is the keen and pushing man of business who looks closely to the main chance, seldom misses a profitable occasion, and takes religious care that in his dealings with his neighbour he shall never fail in his duty to himself. Whatever sterling qualities he may possess, there is supposed to be the minimum of poetry in his composition. The Scots have now more than their share of wealth and honours all over the British possessions, and the virtues by which they command success have made them less liked than respected. Their peculiarities of speech and manner lend themselves easily to ridicule. Their constitutional reserve and caution tend to repel easy intimacy; and superficial observers have been slow to appreciate the amiable qualities that lie hidden under a commonplace or chilling exterior. We need hardly wonder, then, that they have seemed to offer unpromising material to the hurried authors of ephemeral novels. These ladies and gentlemen write for their readers; they dash down the vague impressions that glance from the surface of unreflecting minds; their indolence saves them from attempting the discriminating analysis which could only result in lamentable failure, and they dwell either on the trivial or the coarsely emotional life that recommends itself

most to the vulgar fancy. It neither suits their 'genius,' nor is it in their capacity, to remember that it is the stillest water that runs the deepest.

On the other hand, the writing a good Scotch novel demands a technical mastery of difficult and delicate subjects. The more distinctive effects, the most telling points, are to be sought in those humble interiors to which strangers seldom make their way, and which are less familiar than they ought to be even to cultivated Scotchmen of the upper classes. The language and its idioms are serious stumbling-blocks to begin with. In the more primitive districts the peasants speak as their 'forbears' did before them, and their most ordinary words may convey an infinity of shades of meaning which the most elaborate paraphrase could scarcely interpret to the uninitiated. After all, popularity is the ambition of a novelist. He desires to write for the world in general, and to make his work intelligible to all. If he overload his pages with local dialect which sounds sometimes barbarous and sometimes vulgar, his book is likely to be dropped with distaste. We are scarcely surprised, then, that the list of good Scotch novels is a short one; but the fact that it is so leaves an inviting field in these hackneyed times to writers who chance to have the special knowledge and are conscious of the needful gifts.

In reality the genius and disposition of the Scottish people has always tended instinctively to the romantic. It is not only that in the turbulent ferocity of their earlier history they were in the habit, like their neighbours, of translating romance into adventurous action. Rapine and bloodshed are the invariable distractions of unsettled and semi-barbarous societies. But the national poetry of the Scotch, the songs and ballads that pleased their untutored fancy and enlivened their rude feasts, had a romantic character all its own. For all its martial ring, it was no mere celebration of deeds of daring or carnage, of battle and fireraising and bloody deaths. It did not glorify successful guile like the Scandinavian scalds and sagas, or exalt the joys of ceaseless slaughter and debauch as the only heaven for a man of action. The most primitive Scotch minstrelsy was characterised as much by a gentle grace and touches of tender pathos as by fire and spirit. Through it all there ran a deep vein of the imaginative, which sometimes, in such wild legends as 'Tamlane,' became as fantastic as any Teutonic *märchen*. Even in warlike lays like the fight of Otterburn, where the death-struggle of the Douglas and Percy appealed to inveterate national animosities, the minstrel played on the heartstrings of his audience like the immortal Timotheus

in 'Alexander's Feast.' He turned from the shivering of lances and the shouts of victory to the softer and nobler emotions. And love was as favourite a theme as battle; witness the plaintive blending of sorrow, passion, and malignant revenge in fair 'Helen of Kirkconnel.' What can be more delicately insinuated than the forgiving bye-struggle of the poisoned and heart-stricken lover in 'Lord Randal'? What more tellingly impressive than the sharp touches of nature, the terse and vigorous descriptions of storm-scenery and shipwreck, in the 'Grand old ballad of Sir Patrick Spens'? And instances of the sort might be multiplied indefinitely.

Nor as time went on and Scotland became more peaceful, did the Scottish gentleman undergo much change, although he had to shape his course somewhat differently. He was poor as his country was barren, but his spirit was too high to resign itself to his circumstances, and settle him down into a tame existence, getting his living somehow from hand to mouth. The laird might live on his lands among his people, exercising a rough paternal authority over the tenantry who were bound to him by filial as by feudal ties. Their needy circumstances spurred the ambition of well-born cadets whose ancestors had always followed the profession of arms, and sent them to foreign lands to seek an outlet for their energies. Read the deeds of the Scotch auxiliaries in the pages of Froissart, or the records of the French kings' Archer Guard, their surest safeguard against domestic treason. Scotch seamen of the middle classes went trading and privateering when European commerce was still in its infancy; and chivalrous old captains like Sir Patrick Spens had worthy successors in the Andrew Bartons. The same spirit of adventure has survived to modern times, spreading itself downward through the nation, although it has been regulated by shrewd sense and has been circumscribed by the modern ways of money-getting. Yet there was romance enough in all conscience, for example, in the lives of the *employés* of the North American fur companies, who were recruited from the Highlands almost to a man, and who earned their pay and pensions in perpetual warfare with the savages, with the elements, and with one another. And to come more decidedly within the pale of civilisation, in our Indian dependencies, in the colonies, and even in foreign countries, we find Scotch adventurers holding a disproportionate share of offices of trust, profit, and difficulty, simply because they have the reflection, resolution, and courage which sends the fittest men by natural selection to their fitting places in positions of emergency. We seem to have been betrayed into a panegyric

when we merely meant to indicate an argument. But we have reached the conclusions we desired to draw—that the race, whether abroad or at home, is much the same as it has always been; consequently that the elements of romance and dramatic surprise are to be found in abundance even among those 'canny' folk who have seldom strayed beyond their parish bounds, although these may lie hidden under an impassive demeanour which repels the scrutiny of the uninstructed observer.

Perhaps for all purposes of argument, it would have come much to the same thing, had we gone straight to the Waverley Novels, which must remain, so long as there is a national literature, the alpha and omega of Scottish fiction. Sir Walter is at once the encouragement and despair of those who have followed or are to follow in his footsteps. He showed all that may be made of the character of his country people, and handled it with a versatility of knowledge and flexibility of touch that at once invite and defy imitation. He had in him all that was needful to do them the most complete poetical justice—a poet's nature and sympathies, intuitive powers of perception, intense but enlightened patriotism, a sense of humour as goodnaturedly alive to their failings as it keenly appreciated their native wit, and an artistic discrimination which rejected what was coarse, while it could throw a halo of romance over the homely. An aristocrat by nature and a high Tory in politics, he never enjoyed life more heartily than when mixing with the rough farmers of the dales. He had the key to the hearts of humble retainers like the Purdies, and drawing instinctively to sympathetic and sterling worth, he stepped lightly over social barriers without breaking them down. The secret of the sparkling realism of his pictures was his lifelong familiarity with the people he dashed on to his canvas. He reproduced what rose naturally before him, scarcely drawing on memory, far less on fancy. An enthusiastic boy absorbed in the perusal of old romances, he had been sent for the benefit of his failing health to the seclusion of a border farmhouse. He had basked out on the hillsides in the summer day, among sturdy shepherds familiar with lays and legends of the Tweed and its tributaries; and in the cool evenings had drawn in his stool among the good people who gathered round the 'ingle 'nook' for the nightly gossip. As a lawyer's apprentice going on business errands beyond the Highland line, his observation was straying in fields more congenial than jurisprudence, and his imagination was unconsciously assimilating all he heard and all he saw. Afterwards when the sheriff, as he told Lock-

hart, 'had many a grand gallop along these braes when 'thinking of Marmion,' he would often draw rein to find a welcome among the hospitable Dandie Dinmonts of the 'Forest.' He goes a cruise with the Commissioners of Northern Lights along the eastern coast and in the northern islands, and it is not only in the 'Pirate,' the immediate fruit of the expedition, that you may trace his course by the information he gathered. Thenceforth he shows a wonderful familiarity with the seafaring population he had merely got glimpses of, and his marine pieces are painted with the hand of a master.

Like all great artists, he closely followed nature, and availed himself to the utmost of the wide range of his personal observations. But the winning man of the world and indefatigable student of manners was a poet before everything; his genius refused to be fettered, and notwithstanding his fidelity to nature, which was the spell with which the wizard worked his marvels, he occasionally departed from inartistic realities and took bold liberties for the sake of his art. It was not that he did it of deliberate purpose. The man who threw off page after page of his great fictions with the swift regularity of an office drudge, probably seldom paused to reflect, never hesitated as to how he should express himself. He wrote from inspiration; his matter naturally arranged and expressed itself in the most telling forms; and such is the glamour he throws over his works that criticism is charmed into silence, or forgets to carp at details. Poetic expression is the very soul of Scottish fiction; for like all earnest and strongly self-contained peoples, the feelings of the Scotch, when they do break out, are apt to seek vent in poetic language, and there is an eloquent dignity in their rudest lamentations. It is the same with the inhabitants of the Basse Bretagne for example—a race who have much in common with the Scotch—and whose heaths and woodlands have a ballad literature as rich and passionate as that of the Scottish border. To our mind the prose Scott places in the mouths and cottage scenes of the humblest of the Scotch is more exquisite poetry than anything in the 'Lady 'of the Lake,' or 'Marmion.'

Others, of course, struck into the rich vein Scott had been working, and the conspicuous absence of effort in his writings possibly made imitation seem comparatively easy. Nothing gives more decided proof of his power than the comparative failure of very capable contemporaries. Both Lockhart and Wilson were men of real genius, and the latter especially could boast many of the qualifications by which Sir Walter attained success. Wilson knew his countrypeople well, and had an

intense sympathy with the humbler classes; he had the eye of an artist and the soul of a poet. Perhaps the redundant poetry of his temperament proved a snare to him. It is certain his works, abounding as they do in beautiful descriptions, and over-abounding in elaborate pathos, showed little of the nervous and manly tone of Christopher North the trenchant essayist. Neither in his 'Margaret Lyndsay' nor his 'Lights and Shadows of Scot-'tish Life,' nor yet in the 'Adam Blair' of Lockhart, is there the well-balanced handling and lifelike versatility of their great prototype. Wilson over-refined in overwrought sentiment—Lockhart introduced a dramatic and theatrical element, almost anticipating in scenes in the Highland glens something of the hazardous social sensationalism of the French romances of later generations.

Galt struck into another line altogether, and succeeded all the better that he always went on the maxim, *ne sutor ultra crepidam*. A shrewd, clear, self-made Scot of the middle ranks, he described with inimitable accuracy the manners, feelings, and motives of action of the class of which he came. His provincials have but a dim idea of the world that lay beyond their parochial horizons, but their sight is keen enough within the range of their everyday vision. Although sufficiently neighbourly, and the readier to do a good-natured action that it cost them little but words or time, perhaps their most conspicuous quality is reputable selfishness. The author's peculiar humour delights in following them into the most trivial details of their daily life, and in analysing those petty motives of conduct that we are all conscious of, though we take pains to conceal them. His ministers are godly and kindly men, but we see them in their manses, troubled by their parochial cares, divested of the dignity of their sacred office, though seldom insensible to its high responsibilities. The most trifling local incidents are the same to them as the public events that may sway the fortunes of kingdoms—a subscription to a parish charity is more welcome than the news of a decisive national victory; and even when they are ministering to the sick and suffering in spiritual sympathy, the associations that cling to them are of the earth, earthy. His laymen are of similar stamp. His provosts and baillies are really 'bits o' bodies'—very decent in their way, but eaten up by a sense of their personal consequence, and extraordinarily adroit in shaping a self-seeking course in accordance with their lax interpretation of the moral law. They are as likely to be elected to the kirk session as to the town council; but you feel that nature never could have meant them for higher spheres than the council chambers of

their own burghs. Galt, in short, gives an unjust impression of his countrypeople, while keeping very strictly to the truth. You are compelled to admit the striking likenesses in a portraiture which brings foibles and meannesses into the light, while it leaves more engaging qualities in impenetrable shadow. But you are led into generalising as to the character of the nation from the delineation of a class which morally and æsthetically is decidedly one of its least favourable specimens. We have called attention to these points because some of our contemporary writers are inclined to imitate him in these respects. You have only to compare Galt's characters with Scott's, the ministers of the one with those of the other—and Scott had no partiality for the Presbyterian Church—or Baillie Nicol Jarvie with 'the Provost,' and you may judge of the artistic merits of their respective methods of treatment by the very different impressions they leave behind. The writer of genius studies the use of shadow as well as of light. He knows where to eliminate and where to idealise.

We may pass at once from Galt to the writers of our own time, for we find nothing characteristic enough to arrest us between; and among three of the most distinguished of these whom we single out for review, giving place to the ladies, we begin with Mrs. Oliphant. Mrs. Oliphant, moreover, has been writing for many years—her 'Margaret Maitland,' if we are not mistaken, made its appearance more than a quarter of a century ago. Since then she has laboured indefatigably, and of late has laid her scenes, for the most part, out of her native country. She has acquired great literary experience, has cultivated her style, ripened her judgment, and greatly extended her knowledge of the world, while losing little of her early freshness. But perhaps she has never written anything more simply enjoyable than her maiden novel, though the 'Minister's Wife'—which we shall notice by-and-bye—is as admirable in its way, and far more finished. Mrs. Oliphant, we may say at once, is in no way amenable to the imputations we have brought against Galt. She turns for choice to the more graceful sides of human nature, and never overlooks anything that is picturesque in the homeliest of the scenes she embodies in her pages. It is evident that she has gone to nature for her men and women: in her female creations, in particular, we cannot doubt that she has freely drawn inspiration from an examination of her personal idiosyncrasy. But though she must have borrowed largely from her own experience, we can never trace any decided self-portraiture. From the first she has shown herself both original and enterprising

in her search after studies, and the play of her imagination introduces marked variations even in types she is somewhat fond of repeating. In examining into an individual, writers like Galt never care to penetrate far beneath the surface, though they reflect to us very clearly all they have seen, so far as they have gone. Mrs. Oliphant invariably dives far deeper, giving us glimpses besides at those mysterious tides and currents which insensibly influence the course of human existences.

We said that all the most successful Scotch novels have been written from personal knowledge and close observation, and 'Mrs. Margaret Maitland' is an instance in point. We know nothing of Mrs. Oliphant's early life, but we suspect that much of it must have been passed in the retirement of a rural parish. So her first story suggested itself naturally to one who had a natural impulse to writing. There is a truthful and old-world simplicity about it which perhaps can only be fairly appreciated by residents in Scotland who have passed middle age. Pasturelands, although within hearing of the distant murmur of 'the great city' of Glasgow, was yet entirely secluded. There were no railways then with branch lines, developing traffic, stimulating enterprise, bringing in patent manures and machinery, and exciting the country folk with unfamiliar ambitions. Where they were born the parishioners were contented to die, and even the lairds lived among their own people. There was a 'great house' in the parish, inhabited by 'the Earl'; but to the parish in general, and indeed to the author in particular, it is altogether an unfamiliar region. The peer, his family, and his guests are drawn so fancifully as to throw their quieter neighbours out into more effective relief. Although they lived in Pasturelands, they were not of it—'a pleasant country place, where there was 'neither stir nor bustle, but a quiet kirk to preach in, and a 'godly congregation to minister to.' Pasturelands is by no means exempt from sin and scandal, even as it is idyllised in Mrs. Oliphant's pages. The heritor of most consequence, next to the earl, seems at one time likely to bring reproach on his honourable family. Subsequently when he goes in impulsively for rash parochial reforms, he unintentionally fosters a deal of violence and rascality. But the general tone is 'douce' and pious: public opinion establishes a strong but benevolent rule of morality; and the clergyman exercises a friendly authority on a flock who hang on his pulpit utterances, and listen respectfully to his affectionate rebukes. The predominating religious feeling is not opposed to innocent merrymaking; on

the contrary, the spirits of the young generation are the more buoyant that they have been unembittered by dissipation and consequent remorse.

The subdued tone is preserved throughout. The local colouring is clear but soft. The simplicity of style is so carefully sustained that it is difficult to do the book justice by quoting from it. There is no striving after effects, although quiet effects are perpetually being produced; but they arise out of the intrinsic charm of the narrative, and almost steal upon you unawares. The scenery of Pasturelands is illustrative of the manner of the book. We have no glowing descriptions for the best of reasons, that there was nothing grand or romantic to describe. We gather that it was one of those lowland parishes whose general features have nothing distinctive about them. No doubt much of it was moorland; there was a dearth of ornamental timber; the farmers made the most of the land under tillage, and would remorselessly have grubbed up hedgerows had there been any. We are told of the stinginess of the heritors, and we take it for granted that the church was a bald edifice on a bleak hill; the village had been built strictly with an eye to the utilitarian; and even the manse, although it must have been sheltered from the bitter blasts by embosoming trees, for there were no such flowers anywhere else in the countryside, must have been unattractive as usual, if it were not muffled up in creepers. Yet out of these unpromising materials Mrs. Oliphant brings such bright impressions and sweet associations, as many a clever artist might fail to produce, with the range of the most luxuriant of southern landscapes. It is all done apparently by insinuation or incidentally. Here we have a glint of sunshine between showers falling among the sheep that are feeding on the hillside. There a waft of the fragrance of the sweetbriar in the manse garden, or a regretful allusion of the country pastor to the bonny flowers and the old-fashioned flower-beds he has been driven to abandon for conscience' sake.

Mrs. Margaret herself is just the old lady you would look to find among such surroundings. She is a very favourite type of Mrs. Oliphant's, though we may safely say she has never been improved upon in any subsequent story. She is strong-minded as well as simple-minded. Brought up in contentment from her cradle, and always cheerful, she has been at once chastened and elevated by the memory of an early disappointment. That sorrow of hers has given her a wonderful capacity for entering into those feelings of the young and the hopeful which has scarcely yet died away in herself. She has the gentle but

formal manners of a lady of the old school, who owes little to education, or at least to book-learning. She is come of an old covenanting family, who for generations have furnished clergymen to the church, and have established a sort of hereditary claim to the cosy living of Pasturelands. Her introductory mention of her father and his flock gives an admirable idea of the style of the book.

'My father was minister of the parish of Pasturelands; a pleasant country place where there was neither stir nor bustle, but a quiet kirk to preach in and a godly congregation to minister to. My father was a man of bye-ordinary mildness, and just in an uncommon manner fitted for his charge. His session also were douce, grave, elderly men, who had a perception when to draw the rein tight and when to let it slacken; and of the folk themselves, I have often heard the minister my father say, that among them there were fewer of the dross and more of the salt of the earth than is to be found often in this weary and wicked generation. They were mostly farmers and farm servants, with a sprinkling of country tradesmen, and here and there a laird and a laird's family, with lady-daughters brought up in Edinburgh, and bringing their fine garments to put foolish notions of pride and gentility into many a young head, no excepting my own; for I was just like my neighbours and thought much of the shining vanity of apparel, the purple and fine linen of the world.'

'Aunt Margaret,' however, as she is affectionately called by the young people, is not Mrs. Oliphant's heroine; but Grace Maitland, who is brought up from childhood in Mrs. Margaret's charge, is nearly as original in her way. The precocious but engaging child grows into a fascinating woman, whose gentle nature has strength enough to determine her own future in spite of the evil influences of her nearest relations. We fancy we can hear Mrs. Maitland telling the story of her introduction to her little charge:—

'The bit little, thin, genty-looking bairn, with a face no to be forgotten, though I could not say it was bonnie. There was no colour in her cheeks, and she had dark hair; but the eyes! I never saw the like of them. The little face was like a shady corner when they were cast down, and when she lifted them it was like the rising of the stars in the sky; no that they were sharp, but like a deep stream flowing dark and full. Truly my spirit was stirred within me there, standing at the gate of Sunnyside, with the bairn's hand in mine and her eyes shining into me, as if she was reading my very heart; the bit little thing, with the spirit within her that would never die; and I resolved within myself from that day that the bairn the Lord had sent to my lone and quiet house should be to me as my own blood and kin.'

If she could not say that the little Grace was bonnie, she had no difficulty about affirming it later of Miss Maitland the

grown-up heiress. Grace and her bosom friend Mary Maitland, niece of Mrs. Margaret, and daughter of the manse, were both blessed with great good looks and pursued by the addresses of ardent admirers. The unselfish old spinster renews her griefs and sighs in silence as she finds herself again in an atmosphere of love-making, and is made the confidante of attachments that threaten to be unfortunate. There is nothing in any of Mrs. Oliphant's works prettier than some of these love scenes and love confidences, slight as they often are; and through the whole of them she never loses once sight of her leading purpose and her central character. The influences that radiate from the beauties of Mrs. Maitland's single-minded nature pervade the whole story; even when she is not present in the flesh, she is the good genius of both the girls who are brought up near her, and even the wild and high-spirited young man, who turns afterwards into a devoted husband and valuable member of society, has her to thank, in great measure, for being converted to marriage from the folly of his ways. Thus 'Mrs. Margaret Maitland' is not only a charming picture of a peaceful and beneficent life, but almost perfect art, so far as it goes, in its compact and simple construction. Nor while full of earnestness and pathos, is it at all wanting in humour. But the humour is more diffuse than epigrammatic, and we are sorry we have no room for the tender interview, when the elderly schoolmaster makes Mrs. Maitland an offer of his heart and hand, on the occasion of his receiving the presentation to the kirk of Pasturelands, in place of the lady's brother, who had resigned on occasion of the disruption.

'Merkland,' though more ambitious, more nearly resembles the ordinary novel, and may be dismissed much more briefly. Strathroan, where the scenes are laid, is a picturesque counterpart of Pasturelands; the subject is far more sensational than the 'Passages from the Life of Mrs. Margaret Maitland of 'Sunnyside,' a precise old-fashioned title, which admirably expresses the manner and method of the contents. Merkland lies in a mountain district among wild hills and lochs, the *dramatis personæ* are the members of old Highland landed families, and the interest mainly turns on a mysterious murder that casts its shadow over the lives of many of them. Mrs. Catherine Douglas stands for Mrs. Margaret Maitland; the beneficent female genius, unattached, always ready to give anyone a helping hand. But, except in their kindliness and generosity of nature, there is little in common between the haughty, wealthy, dictatorial *chatelaine* of the Tower, and the

retiring unassuming mistress of Sunnyside. Mrs. Margaret is nature itself; Mrs. Catherine, with her grand airs and high-flown language, is nature of the kind one is apt to associate with fiction, if not with the stage. Yet the plot is laid with skill, and worked out with patient ingenuity. Some of the episodes are highly dramatic, and the Highland gentlemen and the ladies of their families play their parts with great *vraisemblance*, although they strike us as decidedly more shadowy than those inhabitants of Pasturelands we came to know so intimately. In 'Merkland' too, as in 'Mrs. Margaret Maitland,' Mrs. Oliphant shows herself very much abroad in those circles of society that lie beyond these Scottish parishes. The southern lord, who establishes himself in the hereditary halls of the Sutherlands, is a person as improbable as he is decidedly unpleasant; the lad he is leading astray, the Honourable Giles Sympelton, is in Dickens' feeble style of caricature, and the hanger-on Lord Gillravidge employs as his envoy is a simple monstrosity. But there are stirring scenes rising out of the high-handed proceedings of these eccentric aliens; and with her foot set down on her native heath, describing the ejection of the hapless MacAlpines from their cottages, Mrs. Oliphant regains all her natural vigour.

We greatly prefer 'Harry Muir' to 'Merklands.' It brings out most effectively the poetical side of a hard-working and poverty-stricken life in a great manufacturing city. It is a touching romance of the domestic affections, pushing out their delicate shoots and tendrils in a blighting and uncongenial atmosphere. It shows Mrs. Oliphant's habit of making the best of everything and everybody; of treating human weaknesses with something of angelic consideration; and it moves one's feelings with a melancholy story, without leaving the sting of painful impressions. Harry Muir is the idol of the little group of women who surround him; they suffer in silence from the faults they conspire to throw a veil over, as they watch him with painfully unselfish anxiety while he runs a course of thoughtless and selfish folly; and when he comes at last to his untimely end, he ends so that he is only mourned for as one mourns a heavy family bereavement. The moral of the book is practical and admirable. It does not make light of sin; it dwells on the bitterness inseparable from the fleeting pleasures of dissipation; it demonstrates their baleful effects on a captivating and joyous nature that has never been in the habit of controlling its impulses; but at the same time it shows the power of patient and gentle family influences in saving the offender from the depths of degradation, and shielding him

from the worst consequences of his faults. Harry Muir's careless goodnature brings out the shining qualities of his self-sacrificing wife and sisters, and you cannot help liking the man they are so devoted to. The family belongs to a class that, as we are happy to know, has never been very rare in Scotland. They live in penury; they toil with their hands for their daily bread; neither from their upbringing nor their education can they well be ranked among gentlefolks; yet when an unlooked-for inheritance raises them to affluence, and throws them into good county society, they take their places with perfect propriety and composure in their new set of acquaintances.

'They themselves were of an order peculiar to no class, but scattered through all; without any education worth speaking of, except the two plain, indispensable faculties of reading and writing. Harry Muir and his sister, knowing nothing of the world, had unconsciously reached at and attained the higher society which the world of books and imagination opens to delicate minds. They were not aware that their own taste was unusually refined, or their own intellect more cultivated than their fellows, but they were at once sensible of Cuthbert's superiority, and hailed it with eager regard—not without a little involuntary pride either, to find that this, almost the most highly cultivated person they had ever met, was, after all, only equal to themselves.'

Martha, the eldest, and the finest if not the most taking of the characters, is especially Scotch. She had been schooled into outward sternness by a life of self-denial and privations, and from early childhood had been a thoughtful woman. But the wearing cares that engrossed her time and thought had only intensified her fondness for the family that Providence had entrusted to her charge.

'To raise them—these children—to that indefinite rank and honour which exists in the fancy of the young who are poor—to win for them exemption from those carking cares amid which her own youth, a strong plant, had grown green and flourished. Such hopes were strong in the heart of the passionate girl when people thought her only a child; and when dark necessities came,—when following many little pilgrims, the father and mother went away, leaving her the head of the sadly diminished family, her strong desire, intensified by great grief, possessed her like a fiery tormenting spirit.'

In that blending of hopeful dreams for the future of her charges, with the unremitting and unromantic drudgery to which she uncomplainingly condemned herself for their sakes, she is the representative of many a humble Scotchwoman who outwardly seems commonplace and unprepossessing enough.

That university education, invariably described in George Mac Donald's pages, which is to prepare the humble student for possible destinies which otherwise he could never have pretended to, is the fruit of such self-denying aspirations and such sublime self-sacrifice. But we have said enough to indicate the especial merits of 'Harry Muir,' and must hurry on, without calling attention to its lighter beauties, or indulging in other extracts we had marked for quotation. Yet before leaving it we must single out, for notice, as in sober keeping with the cheerful contentment of the hard-working family living among noisy neighbours in a dismal suburb, that picture of 'Nature, which is beautiful in every place,' with which the Muirs refreshed themselves when they could spare themselves the time:—

'The distant traffic of the "port," to which the canal is the sea, the flutter of dingy ship-sails, and a far-off prospect of the bare cordage and brief masts of little Dutch vessels delivering their miscellaneous cargoes there, gave a softened home-look, almost like the quiet harbour of some little seaport, to a scene which close at hand could boast of few advantages. But the air was light with the haze of sunset, and in the east the sky had paled down to the exceeding calmness of the eventide, lying silently around its lengthened strips of island-cloud like an enchanted sea. Dull and blank was the long level line of water at their feet, yet it was water still, and flowed, or seemed to flow. . . . . These were homely sights, but the charmed atmosphere gave a harmony to them all.'

'Katie Stewart' was published in 'Blackwood's Magazine' nearly a quarter of a century ago. It may be more properly styled an historical *novelette*—compact and light, abounding in action, and overflowing with feeling and passion. It takes us back to the generation that was excited in 'the '45' by the chivalrous exploits of the young Pretender. The scenes are shifted between the family mansion of the noble Erskines, Earls of Kelly, and the dwellings of their humbler neighbours and dependents. Katie Stewart, the daughter of the miller, is almost the adopted sister of the Ladies Erskine. Bewitching in mind as in person, made half indifferent from habit to the love and admiration that are lavished on her, she has had the gift of winning all hearts from her childhood. In the natural pride of her fascinations she takes very kindly to her new position, and had there been less of warm impulsiveness and earnestness in her heart, her happiness might have been wrecked in her ambition, and she might have been betrayed into an unfortunate *mariage de convenance*. But a genuine love lays hold of her in time, and she discovers somewhat

regretfully that her heart has been ravished away by a handsome young seaman in her own original station. The perils and misfortunes of her lover keep her true to him through a suspense that might well have shaken an ordinary constancy, and we have a delightfully piquant tale of alternating hopes and fears, that end in a prospect of unclouded happiness.

The 'Minister's Wife' takes a more ambitious range. In place of a quiet narrative of every-day feelings and incidents centring very much in a single family, we have the throbbing sensation of one of those great waves of religious agitation which from time to time will stir to its depths the fervid earnestness of the Scottish people. The Spirit is abroad in a Highland parish; single-minded fanaticism believes itself charged with inspired messages to a sinful generation; the ignorant in their terror hang eagerly on the lips of the self-commissioned apostles, and the moderate and cool-headed people who resist the contagion are confounded and denounced with the scoffers and the indifferent. In the revival at Loch Diarmid we see the germs of the great religious schism that severed the Kirk; and as they are forced in the warmth of an unnatural atmosphere, it seems as if you were examining their growth through the lenses of a microscope. No one could have attempted to describe that course of thought and feeling who had not an intimate acquaintance with the habits of mind of an undemonstrative people, and who had not been herself subjected in her youth to the influences of Presbyterian teachings. Nor is the actual life of the minister's wife as uneventful as the title would imply. A young and lighthearted girl, she is scarcely caught up in the vortex of the devouring spiritual agitation around her. Yet she becomes the innocent instrument of deciding the fate of others, and her spirits are sobered prematurely by the scenes passing around her. Her mind, besides, is tempest-tossed from the first by personal doubts, fears, and troubles. She forms in her innocence an unfortunate attachment; friends and circumstances save her when her happiness has almost made shipwreck; and she glides into contented tranquillity at the manse with the minister, only to be cast out again by a mysterious crime into a more stormy sea than before. Under the chastening of misfortune she is strengthened and purified. Struck down by her sudden and bitter reverses, she emerges from her trials sadder and better; and although the course of her education seems natural enough as you follow it, yet you can barely recognise the gay Isabel of the opening chapter in the sorrow-stricken mother who only struggles against despair from her sense of

religion and her devotion to her only child. The turmoil of her conflicting feelings is highly dramatic, when she discovers that that first love of hers to whom she has bound herself in second nuptials was the murderer of the fond and generous husband who had taken her to his bosom, to cherish in the manse.

In the prelude to our article we remarked on the unsuspected veins of feeling and passion in those quiet Scotch people who spend their uneventful lives in their native parishes. We appeal to the 'Minister's Wife' in illustration of our remarks. Intense local excitement had made the parishioners of Loch Diarmid forget their self-consciousness and cast off their reserve. In a succession of thrilling scenes we have them brought out in dramatic lights, which we feel notwithstanding to be perfectly natural. Among all those who are troubled about their spiritual state, one mind at least remains blessedly tranquil. Margaret, the elder sister of Isabel, lying in the last stage of a decline, is joyfully expectant of the end that is approaching. The whole parish recognises her for a saint, and because her hold on heaven is so evidently assured, it comes into the heart of Ailie Macfarlane, the inspired prophetess, to bid the invalid arise and walk, that she may take her share in the work of revival. The one thing needful is faith on the part of the sufferer. Ailie burst into the chamber of the dying girl, followed by a troop of devotees and curious inquirers, all eager to be present at the working of the miracle. With Ailie there comes a certain Mr. John Diarmid, a converted profligate who is now amongst the prophets, and who had once made dishonourable advances to Margaret. On the other side of the sick-bed are grouped the relatives, with the worthy minister of the parish. Though they would gladly keep her last days undisturbed, they are overmastered by the earnestness and impetuous faith of the intruders. The contrast of the peace breathing from the death-bed, with the tender earthly anxieties, on the one side, and the fanatical turmoil on the other, are painfully impressive. Ailie makes her appeal with the authority of one with a mission, but the convictions she counted on to work the miracle are paralysed by Margaret's assured and enlightened resignation. A chilling doubt will creep to her heart that her fancied power and message may be a delusion; and half with the idea of reassuring herself, she breaks out in a final passionate appeal:—

'"You're not to think your prayers refused," said the sick girl. "I'm near to the gate, and I can hear the message sent. It says, 'Ay, she shall be saved; ay, she shall rise up; not in earth but in heaven.'"

'"No," said Ailie passionately, "it's no a true spirit of prophecy; it's an evil spirit come to tempt you. No! oh ye of little faith, wherefore do you doubt? Is the Lord to be vexed for ever with the generation that will not believe? Listen to His voice. Arise, arise, shake off the bonds of Satan. Rise up and stand upon your feet. Margaret, let not God's servants plead in vain. Oh, hearken while I plead with you, harder, far harder than I have to plead with God. Why will ye die, oh house of Israel? Rise up and live: I command you in the name of the Lord!"'

Even the calmer onlookers are half carried away by Ailie's fervour, and for the moment would scarcely be surprised if the wild appeals proved effectual.

'"Oh, if ye would but try! Oh my Maggie, will ye try?" sobbed Isabel, clasping her sister closer and gazing with supplication beyond words in her face. And the minister lifted his face from his hands and looked at her; and little Mary, who had stolen in, came forward like a little wandering spirit and threw herself with a cry on Margaret's shoulder in a wild attempt to raise her up.'

We have Ailie wrestling afterwards in the hillside in anguish that is almost despair; we have Mr. John writhing in agonies of grief and self-humiliation in the heather, under the windows of the dying girl. Such scenes would be impossible to Scotch temperaments in ordinary times. No one but the minister or some godly neighbour would venture to intrude on the sanctity of a dying chamber; no peasant maiden would forget her sex, her station, and her ignorance like Ailie; no laird would make a parish spectacle of himself like Mr. John, careless of opinion. But we know from the actual annals of these revivals that all that Mrs. Oliphant has imagined might happen, when Scottish folk intoxicate themselves with religious hysteria, as eastern dervishes get drunk with bang. The power of her art lies in the dramatic purpose to which she has turned these contagious outbreaks, and the vigorous discrimination with which she has laid bare the working of the people's minds as they fall into moral convulsions in such 'seasons of awaken-'ing.' And such a novel flashes a strong side-light on some periods of Scottish history. It helps you to understand how the stern Cameronians suffered the spoiling of their goods, torture, and death, rather than submit to the arbitrary edicts of the Government on secondary points of faith or forms. Then the obvious arguments and retorts of the fanatics, the temporisers and Erastian Gallios among the farming people who gather nightly 'for their cracks' round the village forge, have a quaint, reverential, religious humour about them that we should be loth to pass over in silence, were it not that we

shall come on something even better of the kind in examining the novels of Mr. George Mac Donald.

After an interval of several years, we come to the last of Mrs. Oliphant's Scottish works. Indeed, 'Valentine: and his 'Brother' appeared only the other day in the pages of 'Blackwood's Magazine.' We remark in it especially the progress the author has made in the experience of life in its various phases. Now she shows herself as much at home in the aristocratic society of the county of Mid Lothian as she has always been in the homes of the lairds and the manses of the clergy. She dedicates the book to her boys at Eton, and she writes of the Eton 'fellows' with a fullness of knowledge that is wonderful in a woman. That, however, although deserving of notice, is a very subsidiary merit. The story is an admirable specimen of the constructive and dramatic art; and if the foundation of the plot is bold almost to extravagance, we are ready to forgive anything that is improbable in it, in consideration of the telling situations evolved. The heir of the noble house of Eskside, in his inexperienced but virtuous youth, has fallen a victim to the charms of a beautiful gipsy. He has married her, and bitterly regretted the *mésalliance* when he finds himself mismated in every way. Cold, though clever, the very stuff out of which you make a polished diplomat, adapting himself easily to cosmopolitan society, amusing his elegant leisure with æsthetic pursuits, he has nothing in common with the child of nature he has chosen. They drift apart, and their paths in life lie widely separate. While the Honourable Richard Ross is shining at foreign courts, Myra Forrest has gone back to her gipsy camp fires, and is carrying his twin children about on the tramp. At last she decides to do one of the children justice, and to perform a grand act of restitution. She drops the younger of the boys at the doors of the ancestral halls, and the old folks at home, Lord Eskside and his wife, recognising the features of their heir in the little waif, eagerly welcome him as their missing grandchild.

The boy, with much of the warm gipsy blood in his veins, turns out all that his fond grand-parents could desire. The only drawback to their pride in him is the fear that he may betray the wild tendencies of his maternal race; and then there is the shadow of a cloud hanging over his origin. Gossips will talk of the 'randy beggar wife' who brought him to the doors of Rosscraig and then vanished on the night of the great storm. But these reports about the handsome, spirited youth have been well-nigh forgotten, when they are maliciously

revived in the height of a contested election. The secret blow has been dealt by the father of Valentine's lady-love and distant cousin—a gentleman who is heir presumptive, failing this unlucky foundling, to the honours and estates of the Esksides. Hence much trouble and excitement, and many openings for effective and suggestive writing, of which Mrs. Oliphant has not been slow to avail herself. Distracted between her family and her lover, Violet Pringle has bitter times of it. As for Valentine and his grand-parents, they experience surprise on surprise, and sustain shock on shock, although these sensations follow naturally enough on the extravagantly romantic origin of the novel. Valentine had stumbled by accident on his mother and missing brother, was instinctively attracted to them, and had patronised them magnificently in unconsciousness of the relationship. It is much of a mystery how Myra the gipsy woman should have preserved, through her wandering gipsy life, the lady-like refinement of manner and feeling that had captivated the Honourable Richard Ross. It is more intelligible that, with such a mother, 'Dick Brown,' who is really Richard Ross the younger, should have been 'brought up so respectable' as to be quite ready to turn into a gentleman. And the scenes arising out of discovery, recognition, and the coming together of the strangely assorted family under the influences of common interests and anxieties are admirably devised and depicted. Violet and Valentine are of course made happy in the end. Dick has a sublime opportunity of evincing his gratitude to his brother and benefactor; even the polished secretary of legation, after being woke up from his long lethargy of feeling, is sent back to his legation a better and happier man; and there is a promise of cheerful closing days for the old Lord Eskside and his warm-hearted Lady. But 'Valentine: and his Brother' do not shake us in our preference for our old acquaintance 'The Minister's 'Wife.' The conception of the latter is more simply natural; the analysis of minds and feelings more searching and profound; the work is more perfect in its finish and in its general harmony of idea. 'Valentine: and his Brother,' on the other hand, is rather a *tour de force*; having seized on a striking and sensational plot, its author succeeds in absorbing us afterwards so as to make us forget to be incredulous and critical. It shows great literary talent on every page, and an extraordinary fertility of resource and invention; while nothing can be more enchanting than the description of that woodland scenery on the romantic banks of Esk, with which very few Scotchmen are unfamiliar. Mrs. Oliphant writes indefatigably, and, as it seems

to us, she is generally in the habit of driving at least a couple of works abreast. But so long as her fancy grows with what it feeds upon, and her execution improves with increased experience, we at least shall take no exception to her prolificness.

George Mac Donald's works have much in common with those of Mrs. Oliphant. The subjects are very similar, although Mr. Mac Donald takes his favourite heroes and heroines from a somewhat humbler grade. He goes to the cottage and the farmhouse, rather than to the laird's mansion or the manse. In both the religious element is largely predominant, but Mr. Mac Donald is more of the metaphysician and theologian, and searches into the inner nature of his creations with a more discriminating refinement of analysis. Everyone knows that the Scotch are an eminently religious people; but the impression is that theirs is too often the selfish and narrow-minded sectarianism that shuts its eyes to the sins they are inclined to, while it is intolerantly observant of Levitical laws and ceremonies. Mr. Mac Donald admits there is some truth in that view, but he sets himself to do them justice while he does not gloss over their faults. He ridicules hypocrisy and inconsistency, and the complacent self-conceit that catches at biblical forms of speech while it can give little reason for the faith that is in it. But he shows that a good deal of hypocrisy and bigotry is really a tribute to that moral and religious tone which is so favourable to solemn thought and genuine piety. He delights in depicting the working man, who in independent communing with his Creator and himself, has shaped out for himself a more catholic creed he scarcely dares to confess to, and has brought his intelligent benevolence into embarrassing conflict with his orthodoxy. He may be apt to over-refine and idealise in his 'David Elginbrod.' But it is impossible to doubt that, even in his 'David Elginbrod,' he must have followed nature very closely; that he must have had opportunities of familiarising himself with the quaint phraseology which is made the vehicle for most original forms of thought—phraseology that often borders apparently on irreverence in its familiar handling of sacred subjects. A determined enemy to Calvinistic exclusiveness, nothing rouses him to righteous indignation like the suggestion that the Supreme Ruler of this beautiful world can be anything else than the fountain of love and mercy. Æsthetically speaking, it is fortunate for his readers that he is so earnest an advocate of muscular Christianity, that he believes firmly that man was made for the purpose of innocent enjoyment. For discussions and disquisitions that would otherwise seem dull are enlivened by

abundance of dry drollery—the gravest of mortals show frequent flashes of fun in the grey eyes under the shaggy eyebrows, and give utterance to excellent things they are more than half ashamed of—and then he has the hearty sympathy of a man who has been young himself, with the overflowing spirits and even the practical jokes of boyhood. Mr. Mac Donald, indeed, is constantly going back to his youthful days, and living his school and village life over again in the persons of his youthful heroes. So that his works are not only extremely realistic, but have a certain mannerism about them, with a slight smack of the schoolmaster. He is fond of taking the boy young, and passing over no detail of his development and education—the education, we mean, that comes of thought and self-examination rather than from parents and teachers. Throughout, his work is an analysis of living humanity, to which the interest of the plot is altogether subordinated. Mr. Mac Donald is a poet, and a good poet. His descriptions of Scotch scenery in light and darkness, snowstorm and sunshine, are often exquisite. Sometimes he breaks away from a strain of abstract speculation into fanciful eloquence as farfetched as anything in his 'Phantastes,' or he falls into a vein of sentimentalism that rather tempts one to smile than to weep. Yet he is even too honest and conscientious in representing Scotch life as he has seen and known it, and it says much for his peculiar powers that he makes his works so attractive as they are. It is true he writes for thoughtful readers. But even they may feel that he is sometimes unnecessarily didactic—that they are kept dwelling too long on matters that in themselves are by no means light or easy reading. In the boyhood and youth of a raw Scotch lad there must be much that is decidedly dull and prosaic, however striking may be the transformation scene, when the beauties of his moral nature are bursting out in full brilliancy; and a dreamy, boyish passion is but an indifferent substitute for hopeful and heart-felt love-making in the ordinary manner. He sticks closely to what we presume is his native country—north-eastern Scotland. To those who know it as well as we do, nothing can seem more minutely truthful than his descriptions, and there is scarcely a page that does not recall to us associations that are linked with pleasant memories. He sets off to the utmost the cold charms of somewhat forbidding landscapes, and does ample romantic justice to the homely but kindly people. But even to a native of these parts the dialect of the people sounds uncouth and almost coarse, and instead of imitating Scott in departing from something that resembles colloquial English

as slightly and as seldom as he conscientiously can, he has a mania for making everyone go out of their way to discourse in the very broadest Scotch. Robert Falconer and Alec Forbes have both mastered English early, and as a matter of art they should be encouraged to speak it, by way of contrast with the people about them, who all express themselves in the primitive Doric. But they seldom miss an opportunity of going back to the old vernacular. Even a highborn lady in 'Robert Fal-'coner,' who has long been resident in England, catches the infection, and does not content herself with those stray Scotticisms which used to give a pleasant piquancy to the talk of contemporaries of her birth and station. But when all has been said of them in the way of detracting criticism, Mr. Mac Donald's works must take very high rank for the most elevating qualities of fiction. They paint the noblest forms of religious and intellectual life with the fidelity of deep experience. They set up an exalted standard of excellence, and brace their readers for the battles of life by dwelling invariably on the heroic virtues of resolution, patience, self-reliance, and self-sacrifice. They encourage one under inevitable failures and disappointments, by showing that the bitters of existence may be the best of stimulants, and become positively pleasant in the after-taste.

'David Elginbrod' is unmistakably the work of a remarkable man, but it exaggerates both the faults and the beauties of the author. The fanciful element is extremely strong, even when he does not seek the excitement of his plot in the mystical and supernatural. Hugh Sutherland, the hero, is human enough; David, the stalwart old peasant-patriarch, with his almost celestial tenderness for the weaknesses of his frail fellow-creatures, his original notions of the great mysteries of the religious government of the world, and his shrewd critical insight into the hidden meaning of such mystic poets as Coleridge, is barely conceivable; but Margaret, his angel-daughter, seems to us altogether the dream of a Fra Angelico's half-inspired fancy. Heaven, as it made her, taught her her first lessons, and under the hands of her fond father she grows in grace and moral beauty. With all her natural gifts, it strikes us as extravagant that a Scotch peasant girl, who has just quitted the paternal cottage, should develop so suddenly into the refined lady in every sense of the word. The young Scotch maid not only wins Hugh Sutherland's heart and reverence, which perhaps was natural enough, but she establishes a spiritual ascendancy over the various inmates of the English household she has been received into. She not only clothes beautiful

thoughts in a rare dignity of language, but, in characteristic contrast to Mr. Mac Donald's usual practice, she forgets her Aberdeenshire patois for the purest English. We admire her, in short, as we admire the sweet creation of some fairy tale, rather than as a being of like passions with ourselves, although she is made archly womanly in the bit of wooing that winds up the volumes and settles her for life:—

'"What is the matter, dear—Hugh?" she said, rising and laying her hand on his shoulder.

'"Hoot, lassie," broke in her mother; "are ye makin' love till a man, a *gentleman*, before my very een?"

'"He did it first, mother," answered Margaret with a smile.'

As for the supernatural machinery—ghosts' walks, haunted chambers, mesmeric and spiritual influences, the quack Funkelstein, &c.—Mr. Mac Donald has discarded everything of the kind in his later books, and very wisely. It is indifferent art, as Scott proved in his 'Monastery,' unless you plunge at once over head and ears into allegory like La Motte Fouqué, to bring supernatural sensationalism to bear on the doings of the every-day world; and his shadowy revelations and visitations from the spirit-world seem strangely out of keeping with the conscientious realism of Mr. Mac Donald's reproductions of every-day life.

'David Elginbrod' is evidently the work of an original mind, we may say of an original genius. But 'Alec Forbes of 'Howglen,' while avoiding most of its blemishes, is a far more finished story. The harmonies of conception are preserved throughout; the drawing of character is never exaggerated. After reading the book, an intelligent foreigner, who knew nothing whatever of Scotland, might carry away as clear an idea of the country and the people as he could have gathered from a short sojourn among the middle classes in a rural parish and a provincial tour. Alec himself goes through much the same course of training as Hugh Sutherland or Robert Falconer. Though somewhat better born and bred than his schoolfellows, he is sent with them to the parish school, there to prepare for the neighbouring university, where he hopes to pay his way by gaining a bursary (scholarship). *Mutatis mutandis*, his is the story of many a Scotch lad; although Alec not being made prematurely thoughtful by seeing his family stinting itself to forward him in the world, is as careless as an ordinary schoolboy ought to be, and vents his spirits in frolic and mischief. Thanks, less to his better position than to those nascent qualities that stamp the leaders of men, he is acknowledged as chief among his rough and rugged companions,—a trying

position, and pretty sure to spoil any but a boy of generous nature. Nor is the parish schoolmaster the man to keep him straight. Mr. Malison is one of the best studies in the book. He is one of a class that is less common now than formerly. Like many another parochial teacher, after studying divinity and taking orders, he falls back in the meantime on the schoolmaster's desk, looking forward later to presentation to a parish. By the way, the story of how he became a 'stickit 'minister'—that is, how he broke down ignominiously in the pulpit, while trying to dispense with the use of manuscript—is told with admirable drollery. Meantime Malison is the petty tyrant of the schoolhouse, and his unlucky scholars lead miserable lives within doors, though the habit of being maltreated has become second nature with them, and they forget their sorrows when they break loose for the day. It is characteristic of the stern notions of discipline of their really affectionate parents, that the fathers do not interfere, though the mothers may be resentful. An old man brings his grandchildren to place them under Mr. Malison's charge:—

'There had come to the school about a fortnight before two unhappy-looking twin orphans, with white thin faces and bones in their clothes instead of legs and arms, committed to the mercies of Mr. Malison by their grandfather. Bent into all the angles of a grasshopper, and lean with ancient poverty, the old man tottered away with his stick in one hand, stretched far out to support his stooping frame, and carried in the other the caps of the two forsaken urchins, saying as he went in a quavering, croaking voice, "I'll just tak' them wi' me, or they'll no be fit for Sawbath within a fortnicht. They're terrible laddies to blaud (spoil) their claes." Turning with difficulty when he had reached the door, he added, "Noo, ye just give them their whaps weel, Maister Mailison, for ye ken that he that spareth the rod blaudeth the bairn."

'Thus authorised, Malison certainly did "gie them their whaps weel."'

Brutal severity of this kind would have gone far towards spoiling Alec Forbes, by exciting angry passions and a sense of injustice, had not his spirit been too high to be easily broken. As it is, it develops his manly qualities by making him the generous protector of the feeble, especially of a certain charming little Annie Anderson, who ends by marrying the champion who was the object of her childish adoration. What helps to save Alec also, besides the influence of his excellent mother, is familiar intercourse with some of the godly working men. Their excellent hearts and their narrow opinions are always dragging them in opposite directions. There is one Thomas Crann, a stonemason, and a pillar of the local dissenting chapel. He cannot deny that Alec Forbes is a vessel of wrath at

present, but he sees promise and almost assurance of a blessed future for him. Thomas never neglects the opportunity of speaking a word in season to any of his neighbours, and even the more thoughtless of them being unconsciously inoculated with the serious atmosphere they have been brought up in, have no disrelish for abstract speculation in solemn subjects. They reply to Thomas's warnings with mingled seriousness and badinage, being always pleased to make him trip in an argument or to catch him out in a contradiction. We quote the following conversation at some length as a good specimen of the talk with which they lighten their labours. It came off in the churchyard after a funeral, between Crann the mason and Macwha the wright (carpenter) :—

'"Hech! it's a weary warl," said George.

'"Ye hae no richt to say sae, George," answered Thomas; "for ye hae never met it an' foughten wi' it. Ye hae never draan the soord o' the Lord and o' Gideon. Ye hae never broken the pitcher to let the light shine owt, an' I doubt ye hae smo'red it by this time. And sae when the bridegroom comes ye'll be ill aff for a licht."

'"Hoot, man! dinna speak sic awfu' things in the verra kirkyard."

'"Better hear them in the kirkyard than at the closed door, George."

'"Weel, but," rejoined Macwha, anxious to turn the current of the conversation, which he found unpleasantly personal; "jist tell me honestly, Thamas Crann, do ye believe wi' a' your heart an' sowl that the deid man—Gude be wi' him!"

'"No prayin' for the deid i' my hearing, George! as the tree falleth, so it shall lie."

'"Weel, weel, I didna mean anything."

'"That I verily believe. Ye seldom do."

. . . . . .

'"Wad it be a glorified timmer leg he rase wi', gin he had been buried wi' a timmer leg?" asked he.

'"His ain leg wad be buried same gate."

'"Ow, ah, nae doubt. An' it wad come happin' ower the Paceefic or the Atlantic to fine its oreeginal stump—wad it no? But supposin' the man had been *wantin'* a leg—eh Thamas?"

'"George, George," said Thomas, with great solemnity, "luik ye efter your sowl, an' the Lord 'll luik efter your body, legs an' a'. Man, ye're no convertit, an' how can ye unnerstan' the things o' the speerit? Aye jeerin' an' jeerin'."

"Weel, weel, Thamas, . . . I was only takin' the leeberty o' thinkin' that when he was about it, the Almighty might as weel mak' a new body a'thegither as patch up the auld ane. Sae I'se awa hame."

'"Mind ye your immortal pairt, George." . . .

'"Gin the Lord tak's sic guid care o' the body, Thamas," retorted Macwha, with less of irreverence than appeared in his words, "maybe he winna objec' to gie a look to my puir sowl as weel, for they say it's

worth a hantle mair. I wish he wad, for he kens better nor me how to set about the job."'

Removed from such unsophisticated companionship to the university, Alec casts his village slough, though slowly. Mr. Mac Donald goes back heart and soul to his college days with their delightful memories for the hopeful and studious. His description of the primitive life in a Scotch university, with all its drawbacks and advantages, is given with equal truth and spirit. But the newly-arrived student has a fit of romantic musing on the threshold of the world which is just opening before him :—

'Alec stood at the window and peered down into the narrow street, through which, as in a channel between rocks burrowed into dwellings, ran the ceaseless torrent of traffic. He felt at first as if life had really opened its gates, and he had been transported into the midst of its drama. But in a moment the show changed, turning first into a meaningless procession; then into a chaos of conflicting atoms; reforming itself at last into an endlessly unfolding coil, no break in the continuity of which would ever reveal its hidden mechanism. For to no mere onlooker will Life any more than Fairyland open its secret. A man must become an actor before he becomes a true spectator.'

Mr. Mac Donald conjures up before us the old university-town—Old Aberdeen evidently—with the picturesque features brought out in strange contrast by the generally bleak scenery and baldly uninteresting buildings. There is the grey old college with its granite crown, its buttressed quadrangle, its colonnades, and its chapel, owing its foundation to the munificence of times when episcopal dignitaries were the liberal patrons of art. There is the venerable 'Brig of Balgounie,' spanning, as Byron says, its deep black salmon pool, below a reach of the river whose precipitous banks are densely timbered down to the water's edge. Above all, there is the dreary stretch of 'bents' and links lying along the shore of the melancholy Northern Ocean, and yet with a wild beauty of their own. There Alec, although no dreamer constitutionally, naturally delights to wander when he has fallen in love, which he does quickly enough, with a cousin of his own. But, as we have remarked already, the tender passion in Mr. Mac Donald's Scotch works is generally etherealised beyond reasonable prospect of fruition. We knew beforehand that nothing can come of this impulsive boyish attachment, and therefore, though the pangs in the boy's heart may be terrible, our own does not throb sympathetically; and we feel that the practical considerations, which Mr. Mac Donald's lovers ignore, must be paramount after all. For his lovers either set their affections on women

hopelessly above them, while they are themselves penniless and without prospects, or they begin sighing after maidens who are relatively women, before they have even got out of their jackets. Here is Alec hanging on the lips and waiting on the looks of his cousin Kate, while he is beginning his course of college studies, and leading from necessity a life of privation, that reminds one of the Breton Cloarcks of St. Pol de Léon. Clearly the pair can't marry, and they don't. Kate, for all the exaltation of her fanciful and sentimental character, is too womanly to plight herself to him, even had she no other attachment. At the same time, when we see how gracefully Mr. Mac Donald makes the girl half ardently breathe out her undefined yearnings, while honest Alec makes creditable efforts to understand her and answers prosaically wide of the mark, we feel a regret that we are not indulged with love scenes that might possibly end in happy marriages. So in 'Robert Falconer,' Robert, when a mere village boy, plunges ecstatically into a hopeless adoration of a beautiful and accomplished Miss St. John, a mature woman brought up in the ways of English refinement. Of course she only likes him; her unsuspicious praises and caresses draw him on; and what we must call his 'calf-love' becomes the absorbing sorrow of his life. It makes him consecrate himself to benevolent works and become the Providence of the helpless.

Fortunately for himself, Alec Forbes forms friendships as well as attachments. He finds a sage mentor in Mr. Cosmo Cupples, perhaps the very best character of the novel, who first makes Forbes' acquaintance by running up against him in the darkness:—

'"Whustlin'?" said the man interrogatively.

'"Ay, what for no?" answered Alec cheerily.

'"Haud yer een aff o' rainbows, or ye'll brak yer shins upo' gravestanes," replied the man.'

Poor Cupples himself had broken his shins on a gravestone, whilst fixing his rapt gaze on a rainbow. A lady of noble family had stirred all the depths in a tender and emotional nature, and then turned her back on the poor tutor when he was hopelessly bewitched. With a fine fancy and versatile intellect, he lives the life of a recluse with some chosen books magnificently bound, a pipe, and a jar of spirits for the companions of his solitude. He seems settled into a confirmed drunkard, although his dismal little den is illuminated with fitful flashes of genius. The disreputable, brilliant little man is his own worst enemy. He indulges his pet vice without restraint, but takes special care that his *protégé* Alec Forbes

shall not fall into it; and when at last his example has more power than his precepts, he braces himself up for a sublime effort, and as the reward of his virtue, he saves himself in saving Alec. Mr. Cupples' literary criticisms are pointed and original. On Sterne:—

'The clever deevil had his entrails in his breest an' his hert in his belly, an' regairdet neither God nor his ain mither. His lauchter's no like the cracklin' o' thorns under a pot, but like the nicherin' o' a deil ahint the wainscot.'

Of Shelley he says:—

'A bonny cratur' wi' mair thoihts than there was room for i' the bit heid o' him. Consequently he gaed staggerin' aboot as gin he had been tied to the tail o' an invisible balloon. Unco' licht heidet, but no muckle hairm in him by natur'.'

When in uncontrollable anxiety he makes his way on foot to Alec's house in the country, and there helps to nurse the love-stricken prodigal through a critical illness, Cupples is gradually drawn into free interchange of thought with Thomas Crann and Annie Anderson, although the austere elder and the innocent girl at first regard the elderly scapegrace with some natural repugnance:—

'"I was glad to see you at oor kirk, sir," said Thomas.

'"What for that?" returned the librarian. . . .

'"A stranger wad aye be welcomed to anybody's hoose."

'"I didna ken it was your hoose."

'"Ow na. It's no my hoose; it's the Lord's hoose. But a smile frae the servin'-lass that opens the door's something till a man that gangs to ony hoose the first time," replied Thomas, who, like many men of rough address, was instantly put upon his good behaviour by the exhibition of like roughness in another. This answer disarmed Cupples.'

The whole book is full of quaint dialogues of the kind, constantly breaking out in sparkles of rustic humour, which must inevitably be spoiled to English people by the language in which they are wrapped up. Everybody must be impressed, however, by Mr. Mac Donald's own descriptions of scenery, and by the passages often pregnant with precious moral lessons, in which he moralises on the character and sources of action of his own creations. And these general criticisms on 'Alec Forbes' adapt themselves almost equally to 'Robert Falconer,' for the works resemble each other very closely, in purpose as well as in plot. It is true that Falconer is represented as a being of much rarer mould than Alec Forbes, who merely shows noble traits in a far more ordinary nature. Falconer's history is carried farther and higher. He is chastened prematurely by that dis-

appointment of the affections we alluded to; he gradually withdraws himself from what is called the world, while living and toiling unceasingly among the needy and miserable. His own various and sad experiences have taught him sympathy with the sins and sorrows of others. And as his nature is finer and more reflective, so his religious opinions are broader and more decidedly his own than those of his prototypes in former works. Goodwill to all men is the doctrine he indefatigably labours to expound and illustrate by his actions. But so far his path lies parallel to that of Alec Forbes. He has been taught in the same way and sent to the same college. He is quite as full of boisterous fun in his juvenile days, though the boy's unusual honesty and independence is well brought out in his respectful opposition to what he feels to be the puritanical tyranny of his old Calvinistic grandmother. The fight he makes for his beloved fiddle—a Cry moany, or a Straddle Vawrious at least—Cremona or Straduarius, as an enthusiastic cobbler amateur describes it—the fiddle whose strains awaken the latent music in his soul, is admirably told. But the man in Falconer matures much more quickly than in Forbes, although, while he is putting off youthful things, and sobering down his buoyant spirits, his feelings lose little of their freshness. His Christianity is muscular as well as charitable, and the fact that he is of stalwart build and notoriously clever with his fists, goes far to facilitate his missionary labours in the rougher districts of poverty-stricken London.

The formation of his character, and the shaping of his career, are worked out with a good deal of quiet sensation. The quick and earnest boy grows up in a gloomy atmosphere. He cannot help thinking. His father has been a scapegrace, who fills the whole thought of his grim old grandmother. Her dominating idea is, that should her prodigal son be still in the flesh, he may yet be snatched like a brand from the burning; and it becomes the fixed intention of young Robert to seek out this lost parent and reclaim him. Then comes Miss St. John to inspire him with a love which soon begins to play its part in his painful education. His high character, too, involves him in heavy responsibilities, which, however, he accepts with submission, as they extend his opportunities of doing good. He is left a large fortune that he may administer it as trustee for benevolent purposes; he leads something of the life of a pious Monte Christo, or of Rudolph in the 'Mysteries of 'Paris,' acting the Providence to other people, held in consideration by roughs and criminals, and in the most confidential relations with the Metropolitan Police. Robert Falconer, in

short, is a really sublime character, and yet he is thoroughly lifelike throughout, though somewhat fanciful in his speech and most decidedly original in his opinions.

As yet we have not quoted any of George Mac Donald's pictures of scenery, as they are shown to us through the transparent medium of his peculiar mysticism, and yet deeply steeped in local colour. Falconer and a school-fellow have started on a walk to a farm, near the little town where they live:—

'They crossed a small river and entered on a region of little hills, some covered to the top with trees chiefly larch, others uncultivated, and some bearing only heather, now nursing in secret its purple flame for the outburst of the autumn. The road wound between, now swampy and worn into deep ruts, now sandy and broken with large stones. Down to its edge would come the dwarfed oak, or the mountain ash, or the silver birch, single and small, but lovely and fresh; and now green fields, fenced with walls of earth as green as themselves, or of stones overgrown with moss, would stretch away on both sides, sprinkled with busily-feeding cattle. Now they would pass through a farm-steading perfumed with the breath of cows, and the odour of burning peat—so fragrant! though not yet so grateful to the inner sense as it would be when encountered in after years and in foreign lands. For the smell of burning and the smell of earth are the deepest underlying sensuous bonds of the earth's unity, and the common brotherhood of them that dwell therein. Now the scent of the larches would steel from the hill, or the wind would waft the odour of the white clover. . . . Then they clomb a high ridge, on the top of which spread a moorland, dreary and desolate, brightened by nothing save the "canna's hoary beard" waving in the wind, and making it look even more desolate from the sympathy they felt with the forsaken grass. This crossed, they descended between young plantations of firs and rowan trees and birches, till they reached a farm-house on the side of the slope.'

Then, by way of comparison, we may sketch a city scene —in Seven Dials, in place of Aberdeenshire:—

'Here and there stood two or three brutal-looking men, and now and then a squalid woman with a starveling baby in her arms, in the light of the gin-shops. The babies were the saddest to see—nursery plants already in training for the places these men and women now held, then to fill a pauper's grave, or perhaps a perpetual cell—say rather for the awful spaces of silence, where the railway director can no longer be guilty of a worse sin than housebreaking, and his miserable brother will have no need of the shelter of which he deprived him. Now and then a flaunting woman wavered past—a *night-shade* as an old dramatist would have called her. I could hardly keep down an evil disgust that would have conquered pity, when a scanty white dress would stop beneath a lamp, and the gay, dirty bonnet turning round

reveal a painted face, from which shone little more than an animal intelligence, *not* heightened by the gin she had been drinking. . . . . The noisome vapours seemed fit for any of Swedenborg's hells. There were few sounds, but the very quiet seemed infernal. A skinned cat, possibly still alive, fell on the street before me. Under one of the gas-lamps lay something long; it was a tress of dark hair torn perhaps from some woman's head—she had beautiful hair at least. Once I heard the cry of murder.'

The one description is as true and pleasing as the other is true and painful. It is the merit of Mr. Mac Donald that he can throw himself with a perfect self-abandonment into all that he has seen or thought: that he has assimilated his own observations and experiences till he has them instinctively at command for the purposes of his art. Imagination comes to the help of memory, although occasionally it will break away out of guiding strings to run riot in the shadowy regions of dream-land.

In 'Malcolm' imagination is in the ascendant, although in the way in which actual localities are introduced there is a realism that reminds a Scotchman of De Foe. The names of towns are so transparently transposed as to be unmistakable to those who are acquainted with the north-eastern counties. Some of the noblemen's and gentlemen's seats—Huntley Lodge, Frendraught, &c.—are introduced with no disguise. Even where the titles of the noblemen are fictitious, those who are familiar with the local recollections of the last generation or two can have no difficulty in identifying such individuals as the Marquis of Lossie. But Malcolm himself is neither an Alec Forbes nor a 'Robert Falconer—nor a George Mac 'Donald—except in certain of the stronger touches that go to 'a very noble and manly nature. His upbringing has been 'different from theirs;' there is much in his mysterious story that is romantic in the extreme. Natural he may be, and we trust for the credit of human aspirations that he is decidedly possible; but although he is leading the life of a rough fisher-lad when we make his acquaintance, he is made of no ordinary clay, and has been cast in the most muscular yet delicate moulds. It is little to say of him in the common phrase, that he is one of Nature's gentlemen. For involved in a complication of most embarrassing situations; kept stedfastly by circumstances in what seems a false position; constantly brought face to face with ingeniously devised emergencies, the promptings of his head and heart come to him like infallible inspirations. His is one of those hero-natures that neither know fear, irresolution, nor selfishness. He is animated by the very

spirit of self-sacrifice; the simple dignity of his thought and bearing dwarfs men and women of the world of the highest station and no ordinary capacity. In his consciousness of strength he can control himself under the undeserved insults, which his first fiery impulse is indignantly to resent.

Decidedly more natural than Malcolm is the Lady Florimel, who in the advances she makes in her inborn caprice and coquettishness, has so much to do with forming and refining him. Mr. Mac Donald need hardly take such pains to remind us that her nature is an inferior one to his, for his, as we have said, is altogether exceptional. Lady Florimel, moreover, has been a spoiled and petted child, and her father's somewhat turbulent blood flows in her veins; in all innocence, and the consciousness of belonging to a different order of beings, she makes a plaything of the handsome and intelligent young fisherman. She is so irresistibly bewitching with it all, that from the first his strong sense makes him distrust her intoxicating influence. Gradually, however, he yields more and more to the spells and beauty of the syren. Gleams of fantastical hope will occasionally flash across his mind; and she on her side acknowledging her master in the man who is so entirely her social inferior, seems sometimes to be bridging the gulf that divides them, and giving him reasonable pretext for his foolish day-dreams. How it all ended we leave our readers to find out; for the novel being comparatively a recent one, many of them may be in ignorance of a *dénouement* we should be sorry to spoil. If Lady Florimel was half-tempted to stoop from her high estate, there was the better reason for it, that this incomparable Malcolm had established an almost equal ascendency over her father. The Marquis of Lossie was a veteran courtier and a wary man of the world, yet his respect for Malcolm was only increased when he had persuaded the fisherman to enter his service; and though he had the high courage of his long-descended race, he admired and esteemed the young man the more, when he had borne with spirited meekness the blow he dealt him on one occasion.

Best of the inferior characters is the venerable piper, who, as it comes out in the end, is only the father of Malcolm by adoption. With the fiery soul of an ancient senachie, his is a pride in no way inferior to that of the noble Marquis; and in spite of the fierce animosities of race that have grown into a monomania with time, he is as full of tenderness as of lofty chivalry. The Gaelic element in his poetically broken English is brought out in wonderful contrast with the Scottish dialect that is spoken by his neighbours. 'Malcolm,' indeed, is a rare

masterpiece of popular philological discrimination—if we may indulge in long words in defining what reads so simply natural; and the story is so excellent in its execution as far as it has gone, that we are glad its author has imitated for once the objectionable practice of the fashionable French novelists of the day, and under the form of what professes to be a complete work, published an interrupted tale which leaves us anxiously expectant of the promised sequel. In 'Malcolm,' as in the rest of Mr. Mac Donald's novels, the tone is as elevated as the ethics are sound, though the theology is decidedly more free than orthodox, and it is high praise to say of his works that it is impossible to read them without being benefited.

It is difficult to deal with a subject so comprehensive as Scotch novels within anything like reasonable compass. We had meant to say something in commendation of Mr. Gibbon, author of 'Auld Robin Gray,' &c., and are reluctantly obliged to give up the intention. But we could not reconcile it to our conscience to close our article without a reference to Mr. William Black. Fortunately, we may be very brief, for this reason, that his novels have been lately in everybody's hands. The latest of Mrs. Oliphant's, with the exception of 'Valentine: and his Brother,' date from a good many years back. It pleases Mr. Mac Donald to pitch his works on a key which is above the appreciation and intelligence of many of the devourers of fiction, and he dresses them besides in a national garb which is foreign to English ideas of fashion. But Mr. Black's writings recommend themselves to everyone, and we may say unhesitatingly that he is the most popular of the three. Nor is it any slur on him to say so. He shows himself an accomplished master of the higher branches of his art; he has the gift of powerfully affecting the sympathies, and an instinctive perception of dramatic possibilities. But at the same time he has a very serviceable knack of keeping a finger on the pulse of the public. He makes large allowance for the unsuspected intelligence and susceptibilities that lie latent in those who seem most frivolous and unimpressionable. Yet he neither condescends to write down to them, nor does he try their patience too far. He glides insensibly from mood to mood: even when his thought is grave his touch is light; he treats the theme of love at once with playfulness and tenderness; he writes of field-sports, yachting, and sea-fishing with the pen and knowledge of a devotee; while his soul is always catching fire at the beauties of nature, until his persistent adoration of them becomes almost tedious. There is no doubt as to his manner of treatment. Like Mrs. Oliphant, he seeks out the

good and beautiful, and his most sombre pictures in his wildest scenes are brought out against a background of poetical feeling. Look at his views of the Hebrides in winter storms, or of those dull brown moorlands that lay round the manse of Airlie. See how after making the king of Boroa somewhat ludicrous by the shallow Machiavellism the tiresome old gentleman affects, he makes us part with him on the friendliest terms after all, thanks to the unselfish devotion he shows his daughter.

We greatly admire the 'Princess of Thule.' As you sit of an evening in her little parlour at Boroa, you seem to listen to the howl of the storm and the grinding of the surf; you look out from the casement of a morning on the grey clouds flitting across the 'gurly lift'; and in spite of the odours of spirits and tobacco, you catch the briny odour of the sea-weed that is heaped upon the strand. We could quote description on description of storm or sunshine among the hills and on the lochs, that have affected us so strongly as to recur naturally to our memory, under the suggestion of similar circumstances. But we confess that we prefer his former novel—'A Daughter of Heth.' Away from her native Hebrides Sheila Mackenzie ceases to be natural to us, and gets into a false position. Mr. Black enlists our sympathies in her favour, which says much for his art, but he deals hard measure to her husband. Lavender may have been foolishly imprudent in thinking their marriage would ensure their happiness, but when his folly finds him out in London society, it is unfair to insinuate that he was altogether in fault throughout. We rejoice over the reconciliation at Boroa, but, if Sheila is a creature of flesh and blood, we are assured that the troubles of the couple are by no means at an end, notwithstanding the experience they have bought so dearly.

In 'A Daughter of Heth' there is little of all that, though we might take some exception to such trifles as the behaviour of 'the Whaup' when he makes his *début* in fashionable Glasgow society. Generally the book is as true to nature, and as artfully artless as Coquette herself. We are sorely disappointed by its gloomy ending, because we have come to take such a heartfelt interest in both Coquette and the Whaup; but we have always maintained that an author may exercise his own discretion as to the way he interprets destiny. And the beginning is as amusing as may be, without going at all wide of probabilities. Mr. Black not only finds pleasant sermons in stones, but he gets a great deal of broad fun out of the interior of a Scotch manse that is administered on

the severest principles of the strictest sect of Presbyterian zealots. The very austerity of the discipline is made to heighten the humour. What can be better than 'the Whaup' and his band of brothers: the battle of the garden, where they are surprised by their father, defending the wall against the stoners and slingers from the parish school, on principles of warfare they have borrowed from the pages of Josephus? Or that ponderous volume of Josephus, the only quasi-secular work tolerated by the minister as light reading of a Sabbath evening, round which the youthful students gather with such eagerness, the folio having been ingeniously hollowed out for the accommodation of a couple of white mice? Or 'the Whaup' holding the good boy of the family by the heels, dependent from a bridge with his head over the water, compelling him to compromise his character and conscience by uttering language that seemed to him to be portentously blasphemous?

'The Whaup' himself—by the way Mr. Black, who surely ought to know, asserts that the word is Scotch for the green plover, whereas we have always heard it applied to the curlew—changes wonderfully, yet not unnaturally, in course of the story. The frolicsome, spirited, chivalrous, insubordinate lad settles down into the loving, resolute, chivalrous man. But it is Coquette herself who is the masterpiece, as she ought to be. It was an admirable idea, dropping an innocent, sunny-natured French girl into the dim, religious interior of a Scotch manse. The little she has been taught of the pious duties incumbent on her, appears most heathenish and horrible to these sworn enemies of the Scarlet Woman. Her young cousins shrink from her at first in superstitious repulsion. The ancient servants regard her and her gay manners and her bright ways with holy horror. Her venerable uncle believes she has everything to learn, while treating her with fatherly tenderness; and as for 'the Whaup,' he feels for long as if he were being lured onwards into the snares of a Circe. Then how Coquette steals insensibly on them all, one after another. Her nature is as bright and loving as her wayward manners are winning; and even when love, innocence, and ill-regulated principles together, bring her close upon the brink of sin, she loses nothing of the reader's regard, of the affection of the minister, or the love of his eldest son. We have brought ourselves to feel such an interest in her, that though, as we said, we are willing to concede an author every licence in that respect, yet we can hardly forgive Mr. Black for clouding her bright existence, and taking her from her husband's arms to lay her in an untimely grave.

Looking at it distinctly as a Scotch novel, 'A Daughter of 'Heth' takes a very high place. Mr. Black deals chiefly with such national idiosyncrasies as lie on the surface, and does not profess, like Mr. Mac Donald, to lay bare the intricate metaphysical machinery of the worthies who figure in his pages. But to say nothing of 'the Whaup,' the very personification of a Scotch lad of the middle classes, and of the best sort; the Minister, the Schoolmaster, old Anderson, the Minister's man, and 'Leesiebess' his wife, as Coquette calls her, are all individualities who live in our memories. The chapters are not overcrowded with people or incidents, and the book gains accordingly. We have no intention of closing our article by drawing comparisons. 'Placing' authors always reminds us of the rough and ready practice of guide books, who rank pictures executed in the most different styles according to absolute degrees of merit, and decide off-hand between Domenichino's 'St. Jerome' and Paul Potter's 'Bull.' But at least we may have said enough to show that at this moment we have three living Scotch novelists, each of whom has done more to perpetuate the best traditions of their art than any writer who has appeared since the death of the author of 'Waverley.'

ART. III.—1. *General Report by Captain Tyler in regard to the Share and Loan Capital, the Traffic in Passengers and Goods, and the Working Expenditure, and Net Profits from Railway Working of the Railway Companies of the United Kingdom, for the year* 1873*: Idem for the year* 1874. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty.

2. *Du Régime des Travaux Publics en Angleterre.* Par Ch. de FRANQUEVILLE, maître des requêtes au Conseil d'État, secrétaire de la Commission Centrale des chemins de fer au Ministère des Travaux Publics. Paris: 1875.

3. *Annuaire Officiel des Chemins de Fer.* Paris: 1873.

No event recorded in history has so profoundly affected the relations borne by man to the planet which he inhabits as the discovery which is associated with the name of Watt. Dynastic changes, substitutions of one form of government for another, conquests by the sword, and revulsions in religious opinion, have swept over the world from time to time. But when the storm has passed, man, as to his physicial condition, has remained much what he was before. The exigencies of climate,

and the capabilities of the soil, have imposed limits that appeared impossible to pass. Regarding each country, as characterised by climate and soil, by itself, the burden of toil needful for its cultivation has been as severe in the latest, as in the earliest, times. Human life has been hemmed in by narrow bounds of space and time. The absolute nature of this restriction has been taken for granted by all ancient philosophy. The gallop of a horse measured the extreme velocity with which man could pass from place to place. The slow rate at which alone bodies of great weight could be moved by mechanical means, was regarded as an unavoidable necessity. The daily result of the labour of the individual, or of the community, was limited by the capabilities of human and of animal activity. It was no more thought possible for a nation to perform a greater amount of work, within a given time, than was competent to it by reason of the muscular force of its sons, aided to some extent by that of their beasts of burden, than it was to make both seedtime and harvest constant throughout the year.

It is true that, to a very limited extent, the powers of nature had been appealed to in aid of that of man. But they were her visible, palpable powers alone; and their employment was either strictly local, or subject to influences which, in his ignorance of their cause, man could only regard as capricious. The power developed by the fall of water from a higher to a lower level had been applied to relieve man, or, more strictly speaking, woman, from her ancient service of the grinding of bread corn. But the water-mill was a factor entirely dependent on the physical features of the country, narrowly tied to locality, and liable to failure in times of drought. The vanes of the windmill might be spread on any slight elevation of the soil. But days of calm are often succeeded by stormy gales; and during each of such seasons the miller has to wait for a prosperous wind. To the same mysterious power of the wind, as to the laws of which no Maury had enlightened our ancestors, the adventurous sailor entrusted the safety of his cruise. But the time of the completion of his voyage, should he escape the dangers of the storm, was quaintly and devoutly expressed, in the *formulæ* of the old charter parties, to be beyond human disposal or calculation. 'And so,' they ran, 'may God send 'the good ship to her desired port in safety.'

The invention of Watt, for the first time, gave to the service of man a natural agent or force, generated by his own art, and entirely subjected to his control. Of the ultimate results of his successful attempt to utilise the expan-

sive force of steam that great inventor could have had but a faint prevision. It took a century of inventors to arrive at the ultimate scientific expression of the law that underlay the empirical discoveries of Watt. While steam still remains the most convenient known medium for the conduction of heat, we have learned that it is to heat itself that we must look for the true motive power of inorganic mechanism. That heat is a mode of motion, is an ultimate generalisation of the highest order. It is a maxim from which it follows that the amount of work which may be effected by machinery is not to be limited even by the exhaustion of all the coalfields of the globe. The amount of inorganic force which may be set in motion by the human will and intelligence, for the service of mankind, is, if not mathematically infinite, practically without a bound.

We have not any thought of entering, within our present limits, on a history of the application of inorganic force. Still less can we give a glance at its probable future. We must limit our inquiries to one branch of the subject, that of the application of thermal power to locomotion. Of the various applications of power to this object, we confine ourselves to land transit; and in this, to that special kind of land transit which is effected on our English railways. It is not our aim to attempt, on the one hand, an imaginative or academic treatment of the wonderful revolution in travelling which our eyes have witnessed, and in which our hands have not been idle. Neither do we desire, on the other hand, to burden our readers with pages of statistical information, which those who desire it may obtain elsewhere. It is our wish to inquire, for a few minutes, into the character of the revolution which has been effected by the introduction of the locomotive into England; and to endeavour to discover the cause of the arrest of the construction of railways, at a time when their influence on the welfare of the people is becoming every year more conspicuous. In order to do this we must ascertain, as closely as possible, a fact which has never yet been distinctly and accurately presented to the European public, namely, the average cost of the conveyance on our railways of a ton weight of train for a given distance, and at a given speed.

It must, however, be borne in mind that it is impossible to speak truly of the advantages secured to England by her railways, apart from a tacit recognition of the other duties performed by the steam engine. No other agency could have extracted annually from the bowels of the earth the hundred and twenty millions of tons of coals which feed the furnaces of

our forges and factories, which illumine our houses and streets by night, which warm our habitations, and which supply fuel to our ocean steamers, as well as to our railway locomotives. No other agency could whirl those millions of spindles, and drive those thousands of looms, the mere tendance on which now occupies nearly a million of artisans. No other known power could have enabled our iron workers to roll the rails of which we have laid so many thousands of miles, or to give motion to the powerful and accurate machines which are needful for the construction of the locomotive itself. Our railways not only give a powerful stimulus to industry, and form an indispensable element of national welfare, but they also constitute a department of mechanical science which is intimately connected with every other branch of industry. While the actual state of our manufacturing and commercial activity would have been impossible without our railways, our railways could never have existed but for our manufacturing and commercial activity.

There is, however, one important particular in which the advantage offered to mankind by the application of thermal force to locomotive transport differs from the advantages derived from the establishment of stationary factories. Multiplication of work is the result of mechanical invention. Speed, indeed, is one of the elements of this multiplication; but speed in this instance has chiefly an economic value. A machine driven at a given speed will turn out, other things being alike, twice as much work as a similar machine driven at half the speed. Thus in many instances, especially in printing machines, speed is an object of primary importance.

In the conveyance of passengers, however, the effect of speed assumes another aspect. We have to look not only at the mechanical work done by the locomotive, but at the manual and intellectual work for which time is gained for the traveller by its speed. The rapidity of inland travel is now from four to five times as great as that which the utmost appliances at the command of wealth could secure to our grandfathers. To the poorer classes the gain is more than double that which has been afforded to the former occupants of the travelling carriage, the postchaise, and the fast coach. The effect of this gain in time is an equivalent lengthening of the term of human life; an added time that is, for the most part, actively employed. No doubt much more time is now occupied by individuals in travelling than was formerly the case. But each journey has its definite object, of business or of pleasure. Work, which before needed twice or thrice the

length of an ordinary lifetime, and therefore the services of two or three individuals, to execute, can now be performed by one man. This advantage is especially enjoyed by the most skilful. The great surgeon can give the service of his eye and hand to save valuable life, at a moment's call and at fifty or a hundred miles' distance, and yet return to his wonted scene of duty so rapidly that none of his patients need materially suffer by delay. The statesman can settle, by an hour's conversation, matters that might have taken months of diplomatic correspondence only to embroil, almost before his absence from his office is remarked by his subordinates. Similar cases are of almost daily occurrence. The gain thus secured to mankind by this addition to the utilisable period of the life of its chief and most costly workers, it is not easy to calculate.

The speed which could be maintained in travelling in England in the year 1830 depended mainly on the previous adoption of three mechanical inventions; namely, the shoeing of horses, the application of steel springs to carriages, and the formation of roads of a homogeneous surface. The date of the first of these great discoveries is prehistoric. The term iron-footed, indeed, we have not found applied to the horse earlier than by Nonnius,* in the fifth century of our era. But the expression 'brazen-footed' occurs in two places in the 'Iliad,'† and intimates the fact that horses were shod with bronze at a time when iron was unknown, or at least when it was extremely precious. The term 'brazen-stamping horses' also occurs in the 'Knights' of Aristophanes.‡ The introduction of springs, the construction of which has been much modified during the present, dates during the eighteenth, century. Carriages are to be seen in the South Kensington Museum, not older than 1730 or 1740 in their build, in which a sedan-like body is suspended from wooden bearers by leather straps. As to the roadway, its excellence in this country is due to Mr. MacAdam. The *breccia* roads of Italy are said to be of old date. They are certainly of indisputable excellence. But the *Via Appia*, from Rome to Puteoli, was paved with large squares of lava or of limestone. The streets of Pompeii were paved with blocks of lava, as are those of Naples at the present day. The Roman roads in the provinces were built of boulders, or large pebbles, wedged between a line of squared stones firmly set on either side, and a centre line of the same kind by way of key. In some of the provincial roads of Eng-

* Nonn. D. 29, 206. † Il. viii. 41; xiii. 23.
‡ Ar. Eq. 552.

land in which the traffic was heaviest, as for example on that from Manchester to Sheffield, a track was pitched with small granite blocks, such as are still used in some of the streets of London. But throughout the country in general, before the introduction of the MacAdam system, the roads were rough tracks, spread with large pebbles, and intersected with deep ruts. In the year 1830, from seven and a half to eight miles an hour was a fair stage-coach speed. Ten and a half and eleven and a half miles per hour were attained by the 'Quicksilver' mails to Devonshire; and the Shrewsbury coaches, the 'Hirondelle' and 'Hibernia,' travelled over a portion of their route at the considerable speed of sixteen miles an hour, including the time necessary for changing horses.

The speed of railway transit, in its turn, is mainly due to three mechanical improvements. Of these, the first is the combination of the edge rail with the flanged wheel, and the length and solidity given to the rails. In the early tramways, cast-iron L-shaped plates were employed to support narrow iron wheels. The plates were only one yard in length, bedded on stout blocks; and more or less shock was given to the wheels on passing over every joint. The second discovery was that of the adhesion between a smooth wheel and a smooth rail—a fact which was unsuspected by the earliest inventors, although it amounts to from three-tenths to three-eighths of the weight incumbent on the wheels. The third element of speed was the use of the blast—a method of procuring draught through the furnace which had been patented by Nicholson in 1806, and which proved the very soul of the locomotive engine. In making some repairs and alterations in the 'Rocket,' the successful competitor for the prize offered in 1829 by the Liverpool and Manchester Railway Company for the best locomotive, Mr. Stephenson tried the expedient of turning the waste steam from the cylinders, which on the first trial was allowed to escape directly into the air, into the chimney of the locomotive. The rapid rush of air, drawn through the furnace by the vacuum caused by the steam, proved to be a means of generating heat with speed proportionate to that of the revolution of the wheels. The limitation of speed, from the time of this discovery, became a question not of a mechanical, but of an economical nature. The velocity of seventy miles per hour, which is equal to that of a swift on the wing, was obtained by Mr. Brunel on portions of the Great Western line. Our actual speeds are far within the limit of our mechanical power. The run from London to Edinburgh is accomplished, by the most rapid trains, in 9½ hours, or at the rate of 40 miles an hour.

The 117 miles from London to Bristol are averaged in 156 minutes, or at the rate of a mile in a minute and a third. The most rapid travelling in France is tabulated by M. de Franqueville as occurring on the 141 miles from Paris to Havre, and is at the rate of 30 miles an hour; while on the 536 miles from Paris to Marseilles, the run occupies 16½ hours for the fastest trains, and 29½ hours for the slow trains.*

The elbow-room given to the working population of England, by increased velocity of transport, is one of the main causes of the immense increase of our national prosperity following the introduction of the railway system. No one doubts the effect produced by increased facility of internal communication on industry. But it may prove interesting to attempt an estimate of the gain, which, though only roughly approximate, is none the less instructive, and even startling.

Captain Tyler reports the number of individual passenger journeys on the railways of the United Kingdom in 1873 to have been 455,320,188. An addition to this figure has to be made to account for the journeys of season-ticket holders, which will bring up the aggregate to some 553 millions of passenger journeys. The average length of journey is not given by Captain Tyler. But from a comparison of the passenger receipts with the average rate of fares we are led to estimate this average length at from nine to ten miles. The great bulk of railway passengers now travel by third-class carriages, and thus represent the waggon and cart, and the pedestrian, travellers of the days of coaching; while the first and second-class passengers may be compared with those who formerly made use of private carriages, postchaises, and fast coaches. We shall be far within the mark in assuming that each of these individual journeys has been performed in one-fourth of the time that would have been possible in the absence of railways. Of course the mere number of journeys, irrespective of their rapidity, would have been inconsistent with our industrial condition half a century ago. The increase of speed is one of the elements which have rendered possible the actual number of journeys now taken, with which, as a fact, we have to deal.

If we allow, then, that in each passenger journey taken on our railways in the past year, forty minutes' less time has been occupied than would have been consumed in the performance of such journey by the old methods, the aggregate of time thus calculated is somewhat more than 1,500,000 years, allowing a

* Du Régime des Travaux Publics, tome ii. p. 424.

working year to consist of 300 days of eight hours a piece. The total number of persons occupied in professions, industry, and commerce in England is returned, in the census of 1871, as 6,637,331 persons. The returns from passenger traffic in England are something more than 85 per cent. of the total passenger income from the railways of the United Kingdom. This gives a relative aggregate of 1,275,000 years for the gain of England alone, which is equivalent to an addition of rather more than one-fifth to the working time of each industrial individual. Thus as far as the time actually occupied in travelling is an indication of the useful occupation of the productive classes in England, one-fifth has been added to the economic power of our population by the use of railways for passenger traffic; a fact which may very well allow a very wide margin for travelling merely for luxury or for amusement.

We may compare the result thus obtained with indications furnished from another source. One immediate result of the opening of any trunk line of railway has been the stoppage of the long coaching traffic on the parallel lines of road. We are able to form some idea of the proportion of road traffic thus extinguished, or rather transferred, by the return of the tolls. The toll income of the turnpike trusts has the advantage of measuring the proportionate traffic with great exactitude; and it further indicates, at all events approximately, the cost of maintenance and repairs. The proportion between the maintenance of way and the other items of the cost of highway traffic is not a point as to which much definite information is accessible. But it is well known to mechanics that a considerable analogy exists in the distribution of stress, and thus in the distribution of cost, under different systems, adopted for the performance of similar duties. The proportion of the cost of maintenance of way to that of the other elements of railway expenditure is almost exactly one-fifth. Five times the amount of the tolls, therefore, may give an approximate idea of the sums annually laid out in travelling over any given district. The coincidence between the figures thus obtained and those which have been adopted, as we shall presently see, by a French writer, is such as to show that the estimate is not very wide of the mark.

In the twenty years from 1837 to 1857 the tolls of the turnpike roads of England and Wales* fell off by 40 per cent.; that is to say, from 1,509,985*l.* to 889,992*l.* Five times the

* See Fourth Annual Report of Local Government Board, 1875, p. 241.

amount of this decrease is equal to 3,100,000*l.*, which thus approximately represents the loss of traffic by road. As to another item of nearly, if not quite equal importance, namely, the traffic by canal, inland navigation and coasting, we are without adequate data for comparison. But the railway passenger traffic of the year 1857 amounted, in round numbers, to 18 millions sterling.* The total traffic by rail and road was thus equal to a sum of 22⅓ millions sterling, against 4½ millions sterling in 1837. The goods traffic of 1857 earned very nearly an equal amount to the passenger traffic, the proportions being 51 per cent. for the former, and 49 per cent. for the latter. While the bulk of the heavy transport, for long distances, was water-borne, the live stock made use of the roads alone; and the subsequent diversion of their longer journeys to the rail tended to reduce the toll income. The income from carriage of live stock, however, is under 2½ per cent. on the gross traffic of 1873. The mineral traffic amounts to 24 per cent., and this may be at once set off against water carriage before railways were made. There remains a general merchandise traffic, now equal to the amount of 30 per cent. of the aggregate amount expended on transport, as to the former carriage of which the distribution between land and water is uncertain. But the figures already cited show that the internal traffic of the country must have tripled, to say the least, in twenty years. And that great increase of activity was accompanied by the economy of time, of which we have spoken, as to passengers, and by a proportionate economy of cost, as to goods.

A French writer, whom we are about to introduce to our readers, has given an estimate of the circulation of passenger and merchandise traffic before the establishment of railways in England, as to which it is to be regretted that he has not indicated the data assumed.† As to passenger traffic, his estimate, amounting to 7,250,000*l.* per annum, so closely coincides with that which we have previously given, from original research, as to make it worth while to quote his estimates of the canal and the road traffic. The former amounts to 6,333,333*l.*, the latter to 3,072,000*l.* The numbers estimated are 30 millions of travellers for a mean distance of 11·4 miles; 20 millions of merchandise, transported by canal for a mean distance of 20 miles, and 3 millions of tons of merchandise transported by road for the same mean distance.

---

* 17,935,634*l.*

† Du Régime des Travaux Publics, tome ii. p. 285.

A return to an Address of the House of Commons, dated July 22, 1869, gives particulars as to the capital, revenue, and other particulars of seventy-four canal and navigation companies. The return, however, is very incomplete, some of the most important companies, such as the Aire and Calder Navigation Company, having declined to furnish information on various points. As far as the tonnage is given, it is a little over 23 millions of tons, yielding a revenue of about 800,000*l.* Nearly one-fourth of this revenue is drawn by the Birmingham Canal, from its course of 169 miles.

The coasting traffic, which to a certain extent competes with inland transport, averaged about 11½ millions of tons from 1869 to 1871. The amount of freight is not stated. Attempts are said to have been made by more than one railway company to cripple the coasting trade by obtaining command of the ports. There can be no doubt that the low cost at which the Newcastle and Durham coal can be delivered by sea in the Thames is the one great safeguard to the public which has kept down the railway freight of coal over the whole network of our lines.

The natural advantage derived by the more rapid transport of minerals stands on a very different base from that derivable from the transport of passengers. Time is gained, it is true, in both cases. But the time occupied by the former is matter of cost alone. That occupied by the latter, in addition to this, has a creative and productive value. To transport a given tonnage of merchandise from Manchester to London at the speed of twenty miles an hour requires, other things being equal, only half the number of waggons and engines that would be required to do the work at the speed of ten miles an hour. It is a simple question of economy which method will be the cheapest. With certain exceptions, such as the carriage of fish and of live stock, the questions of speed and of cost are so interdependent, that it is quite possible that the economic limit of the former may be below the actual average rate.

So long, indeed, as the facilities offered by railways for general traffic are far in advance of the amount of traffic actually brought upon them, the question does not assume much urgency. When a line is open, and unemployed, there is a great inducement to hurry over its metals as much merchandise as the company can collect in order to carry. But this point has long been passed on many of our most important lines. Two tracks of way are no longer enough, in many instances, to convey both passenger and merchandise traffic.

Additional lines are being laid down every year. The question, therefore, now assumes the somewhat more precise form, Is it advantageous to construct railways, on the existing system, for merchandise or for mineral traffic alone? It already taxes the capabilities of the original double lines to convey the passenger and parcel traffic, without any interruption from the transport of heavy goods. We cannot cite a more competent witness as to this than the President of the Institution of Civil Engineers. In his opening speech in January, Mr. G. R. Stephenson called attention to the fact that increased accommodation for the heavy traffic of our railways was becoming indispensable.

The total receipts from the working of the railways of the United Kingdom for the year 1873 amounted to 55,675,421*l.* The cost incurred in such working was 30,060,112*l.*, showing a proportion of 54 per cent. working expenses, and a net earning of 46 per cent. on the gross receipts. Of this income the sum of 23,853,892*l.*, or a little over 43 per cent., was derived from passenger traffic. Of the remaining 57 per cent. rather more than 3 per cent. is earned by the carriage of live stock, 24 per cent. by that of minerals, and the remaining 31 per cent. by that of general merchandise. 'But it must 'be remembered,' to use the words of Captain Tyler, 'in 'regard to these and other figures that . . whilst the receipts 'of goods and passenger trains are supposed to be kept sepa- 'rately, no attempt is made to separate the expenses of goods 'and passenger trains from one another.' We may go a step beyond this admission. The working details furnished to the Board of Trade are so arranged as to throw almost insuperable difficulties in the way of any independent attempt to shed light on this vital question.

With regard, indeed, to the cost at which the general merchandise is conveyed, the details are so numerous, and the rates, varying from ½*d.* to 8*d.* per ton per mile, are so varied, that it would be idle to attempt an analysis of this portion of the traffic without materials which are not as yet forthcoming for the calculation. But a comparison may be instituted, and pursued with some success, into the relative cost of the mineral and the passenger traffic. We shall be surprised if the result of this comparison is not held to demonstrate the absolute necessity, in the interest of the proprietors of railways, of the establishment of a mode of keeping accounts which shall no longer allow these important elements of the national wealth to be kept so entirely in the dark.

The number of passenger journeys during 1874 is returned

at 455,320,188. To this has to be added an allowance for the journeys of 314,579 season-ticket holders. The average length of a passenger journey, in the absence of which information the statement of the number of journeys tells little, is not furnished. Neither is any amount of passenger ton-mileage, as distinguished from goods ton-mileage, given. Neither is there any information as to the proportion between the tare, or dead weight, of carriages, and the net weight, or paying-load, of either passengers or goods, alluded to in the report. The bare statement that, in 1874, 96,749,953 miles were run by passenger trains, and 100,025,939 miles by goods and mineral trains on the railways of the United Kingdom, is unmeaning, unless it were coupled with a statement of the average weight of a train of each description. When neither mean weights nor mean prices are stated, the publicity given to the amounts is to a great extent illusory.

Allowing fifteen passengers to weigh a ton, which is the estimate usually employed in inquiries as to traffic, the railways of the United Kingdom conveyed, in the year 1873, 37,000,000 tons of passengers for the return of nearly twenty-four millions sterling. By the carriage of 112,618,698 tons of minerals they have earned only 12,605,462*l.* That is to say, while for every ton of passengers carried, the companies have received nearly 13*s.*; for every ton of minerals carried, they have only received 2*s.* 3*d.* And yet, as we shall find reason to conclude, the ton of minerals has been carried at least three times the distance of the ton of passengers.

It is then essential to inquire whether there exists, either in the actual mode of conducting locomotive traffic, or in the mechanical laws by which the cost of that traffic is regulated, any reason why it should cost eighteen or twenty times as much to convey a ton of passengers over a given distance of railway as it does to convey a ton of minerals for the same distance. Unless this should prove to be the case, and indeed unless not only the first but also the latter supposition should prove to be correct, it will be evident that we have good reason for demanding something more effectual than at present exists in the way of railway audit.

The two elements which preponderate in determining the relative net earnings of the passenger and the mineral traffic, are, first the proportion of non-paying to paying load per ton in each case; and secondly, the speed of transit. There are minor elements to which we shall also have to refer, of which the question of the relative wear and tear of permanent way by the movement of engines and vehicles of different weight is

perhaps the most important. But the first and most urgent consideration is that of the proportion of earning and non-earning weight carried; or, in ordinary mercantile language, of the tare to the net load.

The gross work done in the conveyance of passengers is not easy to ascertain from the imperfect statistics of the General Report. This obscurity, however, is not to be laid to the charge of the reporter. The returns to be made by the railway companies are prescribed by the 31 and 32 Victoria, cap. 119, known as the 'Regulation of Railways Act;' and it is thus at the door of the Legislature that the imperfect state of the returns, both from a commercial and from a scientific point of view, must be directly laid. If the ton-mileage of the trains had been tabulated, as in the French railway accounts, instead of the train-mileage, which is an almost useless detail, it would be easy to arrive at definite and valuable information on this subject. It is, indeed, possible to form, from the weight and capacity of the various carriages, from the proportionate number of the three classes of passengers, and from the maximum rate of fares charged for each, an outside estimate of the earning capacity of a passenger train. It is, as we shall see, a very high capacity. But it has to be corrected, in practice, by two distinct elements of reduction. One is the lowering of fares which is made by means of return tickets, season tickets, and diminutions of charge made for the purpose of encouraging traffic; the other is the number of empty seats in a passenger train. The latter element of disturbance varies extremely. Mr. R. F. Fairlie tabulates the average number of seats occupied in a carriage at 10½ to 38 seats offered,* giving a useful employment of only between 27 and 28 per cent. of the carriage accommodation. The grounds of this estimate are not given. On the Chemin de Fer de l'Ouest, however, the relation of seats occupied to seats provided is returned at 28 per cent. on the old network, and 19 per cent. on the new. No annual returns of this nature are made on the English railways. It must be remarked that if it be the rule on our railways to run so large a proportion of empty carriages, it only proves that the superintendents of traffic exercise a very different degree of vigilance from that with which the coach-masters and horse-masters of our former road-traffic were accustomed to watch the daily workings of their vehicles. With the knowledge derived from long experience, and the ready facility for giving notice of any unusual demand afforded

* Battle of the Gauges. Table at p. 144.

by the electric telegraph, there can be no excuse for an habitual running of three-parts-empty trains. If such neglect actually occur, to the great loss of the shareholders, it forms another indication that the value of the railway property of the country has been greatly depreciated by the entrusting of the control of the traffic to officers independent of the engineer-in-chief of each line. Station-masters are naturally anxious to have, on all occasions, plenty of room and no trouble. The effect of this free-handed conduct on dividend is a matter that has become only too evident; although it requires the careful calculations of the engineer to bring the cause into full daylight.

'The early first-class carriages,' Mr. Colburn states, 'weighed 3¼ tons; to hold six passengers in each compartment, or eighteen in all.' We may correct this statement by the remark that the earliest pattern of mail carriage on the London and Birmingham Line only seated twelve passengers; four in each compartment, or eight in two centre compartments and four in two coupés. 'Railway carriages have since been increased in weight to 5½ tons and 5¾ tons.' The capacity has been increased from 462 feet to 1,000 feet. With carriages of this class the seats provided may be taken at eighteen for the first-class, thirty-two for the second, and often at forty for the third. These weights and capacities would give net loads respectively of 17, 27, and 31 per cent. when the carriages were full.

On the Metropolitan Railway, which is an example of a passenger line *par excellence*, the first-class* carriages were originally constructed to seat twenty-four passengers; each carriage weighing 7 tons 2 cwt. A second-class carriage, on the same line, with a dead weight of 7 tons 4 cwt., seated forty persons. On the North London Line† the economy of dead weight is more considerable. A first-class carriage, weighing 7 tons 15 cwt., will seat thirty-six passengers; a second-class, weighing 7 tons 18½ cwt., will seat fifty passengers. This would give respectively 18 and 26 per cent. of paying, to 82 and 74 per cent. of dead, load in the former case, and 21 and 30 per cent. of net weight, to 79 and 70 per cent. of tare, in the latter, when the seats are all filled. The crowding of the vehicles, especially at certain hours, is well known to the frequenters of the lines in question.

The proportionate number of the different classes of passengers is a point as to which positive information can be derived

* Locomotive Engineering, p. 305. † Ibid. p. 300.

from the Board of Trade Returns. The relative percentages of first, second, and third-class passengers, in 1873, were nine, fifteen, and twenty-six. If the carriages were filled, the relative proportion of the weight of passengers to that of carriages would be 29 to 71. If only half full, the net, or paying, weight would be 16¾ to 83¼ tare. Some addition to the tare is due to the use, in many cases, of break-vans; but against that must be set the income from parcels and light merchandise carried by passenger trains.

The relative proportions of different classes of passengers above given, at the original fares of 3*d.* 2*d.* and 1*d.* respectively, give a mean passenger-fare of 1·33 penny per mile, or twenty pence per passenger-ton-mile net weight. Various reductions are made, as we have said, by different companies, on the maximum legal fares, of which the details are not readily accessible. If, however, we allow an average reduction of one-third of the maximum legal fares over all the passenger traffic, we can hardly be thought to under-estimate the reduction actually effected. This would bring down the average fare per passenger-mile to ·89 pence, and the average return per passenger-ton, net, to 13·3 pence. M. de Franqueville gives the higher estimate of 1·23 pence per passenger-mile,* which is equivalent to 18·57 pence per passenger-ton-mile; but we think that he does not make sufficient allowance for the practical reduction of the maximum fares. At all events our error, if any, is on the safe side, as the less the actual reduction the more conclusive does our argument become.

On the supposition that only half the seats in the trains are filled by passengers, it results that the earning per ton-mile gross of passenger traffic is 2·227 pence. This is allowing for a reduction of one-third on legal fare, and for a management sufficiently lax to allow the running of twice the number of carriages absolutely necessary for the traffic. That this estimate is not unduly favourable to passenger traffic may be seen by reference to unexceptionable authorities. In a report made, in August 1838, to the directors of the Great Western Railway, Mr. Brunel gives comparative weights of the Great Western and London and North-Western first-class carriages.† Reduced to a percentage, the figures here given show that the latter, when full, carried 23 per cent. of net, to 77 of dead weight; the former 25 net, to 75 tare. Seven years later,‡

* Régime des Travaux Publics en Angleterre, tome ii. p. 441.

† Life of Isambard Kingdom Brunel, p. 530. ‡ Ibid. p. 120.

when the weight of the Great Western carriages had been increased from 5 tons 14 cwt., for four-wheeled, and 6 tons 11 cwt., for six-wheeled, to 7 tons 16 cwt., the tare was reduced to 76 per cent. for first, and to 62 per cent for second-class carriages, when full. These were the broad-gauge carriages as modified by the experience of the Great Western rapid rate of travelling; and the reduction of useless weight in proportion to paying weight explains the low rate of working expenses maintained at that time on the line. On the Metropolitan Railway, we have shown that, according to data supplied by Mr. Zerah Colburn,* the net load of the first-class carriages was 18 per cent., and that of the second 26 per cent. On the North London line, with the newest and heaviest carriages the net loads were respectively 21 and 30 per cent. of the gross. Our allowance of 16·75 per cent. is thus very far within the actual capacity of lines of well-developed traffic. If we state the amount of tare, or non-paying weight that goes to the transport of each passenger, averaging 150 lbs., in pounds avoirdupois, on the above lines, the result is as follows. In the London and Birmingham first-class coach of 1838, 481 lbs.; Great Western, 1838, 450 lbs.; Metropolitan, 1875 (when the carriages were about double, in weight and in contents, of the figures already cited from Mr. Colburn), first-class, 600 lbs.; second-class, 400 lbs.; North London, 1871, first-class, 519 lbs., second-class, 382 lbs.; Great Western, 1845, first-class, 545 lbs., second-class, 232 lbs. The tare of a train of twelve carriages on the North London Line, when full, is given by Mr. Colburn at 80·3 per cent., the net weight being 19·3 per cent.†

We will not assume the responsibility of stating that the railway companies of the United Kingdom incur a definitive pecuniary loss on the actual working of their mineral traffic. On the face of such information as is furnished by the Board of Trade, eked out by such supplementary details as we have been able to collect, it certainly appears that such is not far from being the case. It lies with those authorities to disprove the inference, if possible, by the publication of those details in the absence of which no railway proprietor can tell what is being done with his property. The relative cost of mineral, merchandise, and passenger traffic ought to be distinguished as clearly as the respective incomes from each class of business now are. For the imaginary unit of the 'train-mile' should be substituted the intelligible mechanical unit of the ton-mile. The relative amount of tare and net weight, or the proportion

* Locomotive Engineering, p. 305. † Ibid. p. 284.

between weight of trains and weight of freight, should be recorded as carefully as the train mileage is now said to be returned. If it be said that the accounts of the companies are not kept in such a mode as to render these returns attainable, the reply is that, in that case, the returns are inefficiently kept. No great carrier, contractor, or man of business, working for himself, would allow the very sources of his profit to remain matters of doubt. We more than question whether, if the general control of our railways had been entrusted to the care of the men who made them, such as Mr. Stephenson and Mr. Brunel, any hesitation would have been now possible on points of such vital interest. Economy of power, and thus economy of cost, is the first object of the engineer. He is therefore ever on the look-out for statistical facts that may verify or control his calculations, and would be unlikely to work on for thirty or forty years in ignorance of important details of cost.

But even supposing that any elements have eluded our investigation; that such elements tended all to modify the result in the same direction; and, yet again, that that direction was in favour of the heavy as against the light traffic of our railways; the shifting of even one or two millions of pounds sterling from one scale into the other would have but little effect as to our general position. If instead of causing a loss, the mineral traffic caused a small net return on the working expenses, it does not follow that it is advantageous to the companies. The increase of capital which has been incurred in order to carry on the heavy traffic, has also to be taken into account. We have to consider, not only the net earnings, but the capital over which these earnings have to be distributed by way of dividend.

We have regarded the railway system of England, in the year 1876, as in a state of transition. We can look back to a period when our railways paid some ten per cent. to the shareholders. The enormous development of speculation which the perception of this fact occasioned, in 1845, led to the hasty construction of many lines that were at all events premature. But it was the expectation of those best versed in the subject that traffic would increase with time; and that, with increase of traffic, we might fairly expect a return to our old rate of profit. Traffic has increased, even beyond our anticipations. How is it that the net return, which in 1858 was 3·75 per cent. on the capital, was no more than 4·14 on the capital in 1874?

We believe that the reply to this question is to be sought

in the analysis of the traffic carried on by the companies, rather than by looking at its gross amount. The average receipt per open mile of railway in England has increased by one-fourth since 1858. As the expenses incurred in earning that receipt are partly constant and partly variable, we might have anticipated an addition of considerably more than 25 per cent. to the rate of dividend, instead of the actual 10 per cent. But when we see how this increase of income, which is from 3,006*l.* to 4,142*l.* per mile, has been made up, we find that the mineral traffic has more than tripled, while the passenger traffic has only doubled. This is the outcome of Tables I. and II. in Captain Tyler's Report, and is based on receipts. As to work actually performed, it will be found, on examining Table No. VII. of the same Report, that the mineral tonnage has quadrupled, while the number of passengers has only tripled. In the absence of the ton-mile return, it is impossible to say whether this discrepancy arises from the lowering of the rates of charge, or from other causes. But in any case it is clear that what we regard as the costly, or non-paying, traffic has increased in a much more rapid proportion than the passenger traffic; and we thus have a definite explanation of the want of elasticity in the rate of dividend.*

We do not attempt now to determine how far the average condition of the railways of the United Kingdom has advanced towards the time when it will become necessary either to abandon a portion of the heavy traffic, or to double the lines of way. That such is the prospect before us no competent witness will, we imagine, deny. Our object is not recrimination, but reconsideration. It is not whether the traffic of 1875 has been conducted on the best principles or no that concerns us. We look to the dividends to be earned during the remainder of the century. Sooner or later the practical question, Will it pay to lay down separate lines of railway for mineral traffic? must be solved. As far as the information before us goes, the proprietors of railway property will enjoy a more lucrative trade if they allow water-carriage fair play. We have to adduce a few facts in support of that opinion.

The comparative mileage of mineral and passenger traffic, on the railways of the United Kingdom, may be estimated, on the data referred to in these pages, at 9,000 and 2,500 millions of ton-miles gross respectively. We have allowed, as we shall

---

* Receipts from minerals . 1858 £4,046,061; 1873, £12,605,462; Rep. p. 14.
Receipts from passengers „ £11,697,904; „ £23,853,892; ibid.
Tonnage of minerals . „ 25,654,620; „ 112,618,698; ibid., p. 15.
Passenger journeys . „ 139,141,137; „ 455,320,188; ibid.

show, for the difference of cost between slow and fast traffic, a percentage equivalent to the additional cost incurred by trebling the speed. It is probable that this is considerably in excess of the real difference. But, on the other hand, the time spent in shunting, and in waiting in sidings for the passage of fast trains, has to be taken into account. If, therefore, we still use, as an approximation, the proportion of 3 to 1, we find that the lines are occupied by the mineral traffic for ten hours, for every hour that they are occupied by passenger traffic. Financially considered, therefore, the fixed annual charges of the railways ought to be debited to the mineral traffic in a far larger proportion than to the passenger traffic. It is possible, of course, to divide the coaching, from the mineral traffic, expenses. But in the absence of accounts we can only point out broad and unmistakable facts. As far as the capacity of our lines for fast traffic is concerned, it is clear that it would be increased in something like a tenfold ratio by the simple expedient of ceasing to carry minerals at a slow speed. Or, in other words, the possible net earnings of a passenger line would be, on this score alone, tenfold those of a mineral line.

Something of the same disproportion exists as to the rolling stock. Out of 379,899 vehicles on the railways of the United Kingdom in 1874, only 35,127 were attached to passenger trains. A very similar proportion is found to prevail on the Chemin de Fer du Nord. The passenger carriages are more costly than the goods trucks. But the passenger carriages are always running; while the goods trucks, under the most favourable conditions, are less than half their time in motion; and the mineral trucks perhaps not one-sixth of their time.

If it be the case, then, that the mineral traffic gives a net return per ton equal to the highest figure that the most sanguine manager can suggest, it is no less true that the capital required in order to conduct it is so large, in proportion to that required for the light traffic, that the ultimate financial result is disastrous. M. De Franqueville gives figures which make the average cost of our canals less than 4,000*l.* per mile. The capital of the Birmingham Canal, with its magnificent works, does not exceed 7,000*l.* per mile. When we contrast this with the 37,000*l.* per mile of our railways, and estimate how much of this large sum must fairly be charged to the mineral traffic, we can understand how it is that the Aire and Calder Navigation Company can make a profit out of a charge for towage of ·125 of a penny per ton-mile, while the Midland Railway Company must incur serious loss by a charge for carriage of three times that amount.

The relative cost of conducting the fast and slow traffic of railways is a subject on which information is by no means readily accessible. The Annual Report of the Board of Trade throws no light whatever on the question; owing to its omission to state those elements of work performed which are needful for an analysis of the real cost of working. The general idea of educated men is, probably, that the increase of cost bears some close relation to that of speed. Thus, when we find that, on the great French lines, the conveyance of a ton of passengers earns for the company fourteen or fifteen times as much as the conveyance of a ton of goods for an equal distance, the common inference may well be that the cost of conveyance is proportionately different. Again, it is an accepted rule that the resistance of the atmosphere to the passage of a train is proportionate to the square of the velocity of the train. In ocean-going steamers, as we learn from Mr. Brassey's recent pamphlet,* an increase of speed from 11 to 12½ knots per hour, in the cases of the 'Achilles,' the 'Bellerophon,' the 'Hercules,' and the 'Monarch,' involved an additional expenditure of fuel to the extent of 47½ per cent. By the French naval engineers, the resistance at sea is calculated by multiplying the maximum immersed cross section of the vessel by the cube of the velocity. The subject, therefore, is one that demands analysis.

The proportionate cost of the working of any line of railway is only very roughly represented by a statement of the percentage of cost. For the purposes of dividend such a statement may perhaps be adequate. But in order to know how honestly, or how ably, that dividend has been earned, something more is requisite.

Railway costs, in fact, are of two entirely different orders. One group of items of expenditure is fixed; and is only indirectly affected by variations (within certain limits) of the amount of traffic. Another group is a direct function of the traffic. Thus in the railway lines from Paris to Lyons and the Mediterranean separate accounts are kept for the old and the new network. The traffic on the old network is three times as heavy as that on the new; the figures for the year 1872 giving a receipt of 4,308*l.* per mile in the former system, against 937*l.* per mile on the latter. This is a considerably greater difference than that between the average earnings of the English and the Irish railways. It results from this difference of traffic, that, while for material and traction alone,

* Unarmoured Ships, p. 8.

the mean cost of a train running for one kilomètre on the new network was only one *per mille* higher than that of a corresponding train on the old, the total mean cost of the former was fifteen per cent. higher than that of the latter; but the gross earning of the latter was only 40 per cent. of that of the former. Thus the net profit of a train-mile on the new lines was less than a third of that on the old; and the percentages of working expenses were respectively as 40 and as 77 per cent.

In the same way that we have to distinguish between what we may call the line, or fixed, expenses, and the train, or variable, expenses, we must also distinguish between those variable expenses which increase with increased velocity of trains, and those which do not so increase. The expenses which increase are confined to a portion of the cost of traction and of maintenance. More combustibles are consumed per mile at a higher than at a lower speed. Greater wear and tear, both in rolling material and in permanent way, is caused by increased speed. But these sources of increased cost are susceptible of definite analysis. We shall not weary our readers by carrying this analysis further than will suffice to illustrate the one point we have now in view, namely, the relative profit of passenger and of mineral traffic.

The additional cost in tractive power due to an increase of velocity is measured by the consumption of fuel. This item, according to an analysis made by Mr. Brunel in 1848, was $\frac{100}{244}$ of the total locomotive cost.* The locomotive cost, according to Captain Tyler's Report for 1874, is 25 per cent. of the total cost per open mile.† The fuel thus forms 10·4 per cent. of the total cost. On the Chemin de Fer de l'Ouest, the accounts of which give more elaborately instructive details than probably those of any other line, the cost of '*combustibles*' comes to 11·5 per cent. of the entire expenses of traction on the '*ancien réseau*.' On the Great Western Railway, for the half-year ending July 31, 1875, the cost of coal and coke amounted to 7 per cent. of the total working expenditure. On the Metropolitan Railway it is about 8 per cent. Either determination is close enough for our purpose.

The resistances to the motion of a train consist of three elements. Of these the first is due to the running friction of the engine and vehicles. This is the same at all speeds. The second is due to gravity, as represented by the gradients of the line; and this is also irrespective of speed. The third is

* Life of I. K. Brunel, p. 169.

† General Report, p. 8.

due to atmospheric and some other resistances, and increases as the square of the velocity. The total resistance to a train, on an incline of one in 350, at fifty miles an hour, all elements being taken into account, is exactly double that at fifteen miles an hour.* Thus, by more than trebling the speed of a train we only add from 7 to 11·5 per cent. to the cost of running a train-mile.

With regard to wear and tear we must remember that it is not velocity, *per se*, that has to be regarded, but shock; or action partly of the nature of impact. The weight of the machinery has to be considered, as well as the rapidity of its motion. A goods engine, drawing a train of 400 tons gross weight (which is the mean weight of a goods train on the Lyons line) will exert a more destructive force on the complex system of line and rolling stock than does a passenger engine, with its mean draught of less than 90 tons gross weight, even if the latter runs three times as fast. For our present purpose, therefore, we need not further inquire into the question of wear and tear.

With regard to all other running expenses, they are either unaffected by, or positively decrease with, increase of speed. Thus, on the Chemin de Fer de l'Ouest, the mean annual distance travelled by a passenger carriage is returned as more than double that travelled by a goods waggon. The possible earnings by the former, therefore, within a given time, are fifteen-fold those of the latter; as the ton of passengers earns fifteen times as much as that of goods, and both the distance run and the tare are doubled. On our English lines the difference in the daily mileage of passenger and goods, or, at all events, mineral, vehicles, must be much more disproportionate. The return of the empty trucks alone would raise the ratio to four to one against the mineral trucks; and there can be little doubt that six to one would be nearer the mark. If the Board of Trade had taken a hint from any one of the French railway companies as to the degree of information which the annual accounts ought to supply, we should not be left to approximate induction on these important questions.

It is thus, we hold, undeniable, that if we allow 10 per cent. on the average cost of the conveyance of a ton of gross load, that is to say, of vehicles and their contents, for a mile, as the increased cost of a passenger, or swift, compared with a goods, or slow, train, we shall be on the outside of any possible difference. Further light, however, is to be obtained from the analysis of the working of the French railways.

* Locomotive Engineering, p. 291. See Table.

We are indebted to M. de Franqueville for the reproduction of a report on the system of public works in England, addressed to the Minister of Public Works. We are not acquainted with any book in the English language which gives so full, fair, and lucid an account of this important portion of the national wealth. Comprehensive and systematic in its design, and written in the clear and limpid style to which the French language so readily lends its phraseology, especially on scientific subjects, the essay is a valuable contribution to the engineering literature of Europe. The unaccountable ignorance which French writers, highly cultivated in other respects, so habitually display of other tongues than their own, is betrayed, indeed, when M. de Franqueville ventures to give as technical English words, such creations of his fancy as 'higways,' 'carteways,' and 'churchways.' It is extraordinary that neither author nor publisher should have requested some English man of letters to cast an eye over the proof sheets of the work, so as to avoid blots of this nature. It is also to be regretted that the authorities on whom M. de Franqueville relies are not so distinctly quoted as to admit of the verification of many of his statements. As far as we have tested the work, it could only gain in authority by such citations; but professional men, in this country, are not justified in accepting results without full knowledge of the source from which they are derived. But the chief defect of the book is its failure to give any account of the great works of fen drainage and reclamation which have added so much to the cultivable area of our Eastern Counties; and in the execution of which the Rennies and other English engineers have earned so proud a title to the gratitude of their countrymen. In justice to his own reputation, M. de Franqueville should not rest till he has prepared a supplemental volume on this very important part of the public works of the United Kingdom.

The accounts of the Chemin de Fer de l'Ouest are published in the 'Annuaire Officiel' in such minute detail that but a single element is wanting in order to enable us to arrive at an analysis of the exact cost per ton-mile of gross weight. This element, which is the mean weight of the different descriptions of vehicles, we supply (from the calculations of Mr. Fairlie)* at 5·6 tons for the passenger, and 5·1 tons for the goods vehicle. On this basis we find that the cost of carrying a ton of gross weight for a kilomètre of distance, all expenses except the Government taxes included, was 1·561 centimes, in 1872.

* Railways or no Railways, p. 43.

The result of a distribution of cost, which allows 10 per cent. for increased speed of the passenger trains, shows that the traffic *à grande vitesse* earned 78 per cent. profit, while the traffic *à petite vitesse* earned 35 per cent. profit. These ratios are independent of certain fixed charges, which do not form part of the working expenditure, strictly so called. This rate of profit is calculated on the receipts. If we calculate the proportion in relation to the expenditure, the passenger net profit is 3·54 times the expenditure; the merchandise net profit is ·54 times the expenditure; the former being thus seven times as profitable as the latter.

Although the Chemin de Fer de l'Ouest has been selected as affording the fullest detail of working expenditure, it must not be regarded as an exceptional line. The average cost per kilometric ton on five of the principal French lines approaches very closely to that which we have taken above. On the Nord, which has the command of a supply of fuel from the Belgian coal-fields, this cost is, as might be expected, the lowest. On this line the price for the conveyance of coals is 3·59 centimes per net kilometric ton. The ordinary tare of the merchandise traffic on this line is 59 per cent. to 41 per cent. net load. The heavy traffic down from Paris is only 46 per cent. of the heavy traffic up to Paris. As the coal trucks must return empty, there can be no reason for rating the tare of the coal trains at less than that of the average heavy traffic. On this calculation the Chemin de Fer du Nord makes a net profit of one-tenth of a centime per kilometric ton on the gross load of its mineral trains, being the equivalent of ·035*d.* per ton per mile of mineral; a result not inconsistent with our previous estimate of the real value of our own mineral traffic.

M. de Franqueville estimates the mean goods tariff on the railways of the United Kingdom at 21 per cent. higher than that of the French lines. He states that the proportion of working cost to gross revenue, which in 1864 was at the same rate of 47 per cent. in France and in England, has remained almost stationary in the former country,* while in the latter it has risen to 56 per cent. In 1872 the mean cost of carrying a ton of gross weight for a kilomètre of distance, on five principal French lines, was 1·63 centimes. To this price, in order to arrive at a comparison with the cost of a ton-mile gross in England, we must add first the 21 per cent. due to the higher rates in the latter country, and then the 18 per cent. due to the different rates of expenditure to income. We

* Du Régime des Travaux Publics en Angleterre, tome ii. p. 416.

thus arrive at a price of ·36 of a penny per ton-mile gross, for the heavy traffic; and ·39 of a penny for the passenger traffic. The charge of the Midland Railway for the carriage of coal (in colliery waggons) for 181 miles, is 10*s.* 3*d.*; which is at the rate of ·68 of a penny per ton-mile net, or ·292 of a penny per ton-mile gross, including return of empty waggons. This gives a net loss of seven-hundredths of a penny per ton-mile, to say nothing of the effect of this heavy traffic on the life of the rails.

We arrive by synthesis at a result very close to that attained by the most exact analysis for which we have data. In the year 1844 Mr. Brunel made a careful investigation of the relative cost of locomotive and stationary power,* with the result that the cost of the Great Western engines was four times that of the best Cornish stationary engines, per horse power. The total cost of the former was estimated at ·0182 of a penny, coke being at 21*s.* per ton. We must double this estimate to allow for the rise of prices since 1844. The rate of speed seriously affects any estimate based on the consumption of fuel; and no published data exist for arriving at the average velocity of railway trains, or at the average of the gradients over which they run. At a speed of between twenty-two and twenty-three miles per hour, on a level line, the resistance to the motion of a train amounts, according to the data supplied by Mr. Colburn,† to a figure equal to 2·64 ordinary units of horse power. This gives a total cost, taking locomotive expenditure as one-fourth of total expenditure, of ·386 of a penny per ton-mile gross at the stated velocity; which is within about 5 per cent. of the result arrived at by analysis, from the experience of the French lines. There is thus good reason for concluding that the price calculated is not very wide of the mark.

If we assume, then, that the railway traffic of the United Kingdom, in the year 1873, was carried on under conditions similar to those which we have found to prevail on the Chemin de Fer de l'Ouest, we shall arrive at the following results:—

The gross passenger revenue of 23·754 millions sterling, carried on at a profit of 78 per cent., earned a net profit of 18·528 millions, by an expenditure of 5·226 millions.

The gross merchandise revenue of 19·216 millions, carried on at a profit of 35 per cent., earned a profit of 6·725 millions, by an expenditure of 12·491 millions.

---

* Life of I. K. Brunel, p. 166.

† Locomotive Engineering, p. 290.

In order to make up the total net profit of the year, which amounted to 25·615 millions sterling, there must have been, on the above calculation, a net profit of 362,000*l.* earned by the expenditure of 12·240 millions on the mineral traffic; being at the rate of less than 3 per cent. on the expenditure on the same. Allowance has been made in the above calculation for 10 per cent. additional passenger cost on account of higher speed. Although these figures are only approximate, it will not be possible very materially to alter their relative value, as they are checked by the rate of dividend. They are such as to leave but little doubt that the mineral traffic is carried on at the expense of the net profit of the lines.

An attempt has been made to show that one great cause of railway extravagance in working, the excessive amount of tare, may be avoided by a return to the 36 or 30-inch gauge of the tramways which have been superseded by railways. After mature consideration we are unable to adopt this view. Founded on theory, or at best on special cases of experiment, it is in direct opposition to the experience acquired during fifty years of actual practice. The railway system of to-day is not a creation, but a growth. Nor is it a growth of wild or spontaneous nature. Its earliest stages were directed and stimulated by the keen, though honourable, rivalry of two men, of whom it is not too much to say that they have not left their like behind them. Engineers, and the sons of engineers, Robert Stephenson and Isambard Brunel each united the practical with the scientific knowledge of his profession in a manner almost peculiar to himself. The first had more mechanical experience, and thus most closely adhered to the old colliery system of locomotion. The second had the more fertile imagination, schooled by a higher class of professional education, and thus produced the greatest novelties. To the introduction of the broad gauge by Brunel we owe, there can be no doubt, the speedy railway travelling. While the cost and loss of time occasioned by change of vehicles, especially for goods, has enforced the adoption of a single gauge throughout Great Britain, there may yet be some reasons to hold that the engineer of the Great Western was the man who most wisely provided for the traffic of the future. Indeed the only thing which leaves this matter in doubt is the fact that it is difficult to ascertain with certitude how much of the superior economy with which the Great Western line has always been worked is due to the unrivalled excellence of its gradients, and how much to the anxiety with which Mr. Brunel endeavoured to limit to the utmost the useless load, both in engine and in

train. It is to experiments carried on by Mr. Gooch, under the direction of Mr. Brunel, that we owe most of what we know of the relative resistance of trains at different velocities and on different gradients; and the demonstration of the disadvantage at which a locomotive engine works as compared to a stationary engine, when duly fitted for its duty. The rivalry that arose between the broad and narrow gauge systems was such as to ensure that perfect fair play would be given to any practical proposal to reduce the tare weight of trains by the use of light engines or carriages.

The whole experience of railway working, however, has tended in the opposite direction. Nor is this the case as regards public traffic alone. When the great lines of railway were in course of construction, the first contractors who undertook them were men who had gained their experience on canals. They had, in many cases, plant in hand with which they set to work in the first instance—small waggons, each holding about three-quarters of a cubic yard, running on light rails, and as handy as wheel-barrows, both to fill and to empty. But the cost of hauling and repairing these little waggons was so far in excess of that of larger and stronger vehicles, that in a very short time the old canal plant was cast aside, and all the great contractors adopted, as the most economical means of executing their work, large waggons, holding at least two and a half cubic yards apiece, with wrought-iron wheels, and running on the 56½ inch gauge. Thus apart from any theory, and often when only horse power was used, the experience of all our great railway contractors is conclusive as to the fact that it proved to be cheaper to work on a 56½ inch gauge than on a 36 inch gauge, even when the change involved the sacrifice of existing plant.

The whole working plant of the English railways has been gradually made stouter and heavier. 'It was found that the 'old carriages suffered the most in cases of collision, and it 'became essential, with the increase of speed and length of 'trains, to add very much to the size, strength, and weight of 'the carriages.'* We have mentioned the gradual advance in the weight of the passenger carriages; and shown that this increase of weight has been accompanied by a decrease of tare. The first-class, the composite, and the second and third-class carriages now used by the Metropolitan Railway Company, weigh respectively 15, 14·75, and 14·25 tons, and seat 48, 64, and 80 passengers.

* Locomotive Engineering, p. 300.

So again with regard to the gradual development of the locomotive engine. The 'Rocket,' which won the prize in the Liverpool and Manchester competition of 1829, weighed 4 tons 5 cwt., and its tender 3 tons 4 cwt.* In 1834 the 'Atlas,' a six-wheeled engine on the same railway, weighed 11·4 tons in working order.† The rails originally laid down weighed 35 pounds to the yard; but it was found that these were not strong enough to bear even a 9 ton engine, and it became requisite to lay down new rails weighing 66 lb. per yard.‡ Seven ton engines were reckoned heavy in 1830; and so were 15 ton engines in 1840; 25 ton engines in 1850; and 35 ton engines in 1860; yet there are goods engines now at work on the Continent that weigh, exclusive of tender, 45 tons.§ Mr. W. Adams' passenger tank locomotive engine for the North London Railway, weighs 43 tons 12 cwt., in working order, with a weight of 14 tons 5 cwt. on the driving wheels.‖ Mr. Meyer's twelve-wheeled engine, exhibited at Vienna in 1862, weighed 60 tons; giving 10 tons to each pair of wheels,¶ and its tractive force was estimated at 22,000 lbs., equal to the draught of 2,300 tons, exclusive of engine, on a level; 340 tons on an incline of 1 in 40; or 155 tons on one of 1 in 17. The effect of this engine, at the speed of 880 feet per minute, corresponds to 587 horse power.

It cannot be denied that the special features of each line of railway, notably the character of the gradients, demand special modifications of the locomotive. At the same time it is evident that there must be a normal proportion of engine, load, speed, and permanent way, which is usually the most advantageous, all things considered. The machinery of a railway is complex. No alteration can be wisely made in any part without observation of the effects in other parts of the system. Thus the increase of weight on the driving wheels tells on the cost and on the maintenance of the way—the general increase of stability and of plant augments the capital on which dividend has to be earned. We have as yet no formula, however empirical, sketched out for guidance or for verification. It may very possibly be the case that we have gone too far in the pursuit of stability, coupled with velocity. But it is certain that no one who takes a dispassionate view of the history of the railway system can imagine that any great advantage is to be derived from a return to the long-abandoned gauge of the early tram-

* Locomotive Engineering, p. 27.
† Ibid. p. 35.
‡ Ibid. p. 38.
§ Ibid. p. 103.
‖ Ibid. p. 283.
¶ Ibid. p. 91.

ways. One great cause of loss, the difference in the balance of goods sent in opposite directions, would be absolutely unaffected by any change in the size of the waggons. Nor is there any ground for the assumption that a train of small carriages, or small waggons, would, as a matter of course, be habitually more loaded up to its full capacity than a train of larger vehicles. As matter of calculation, in comparing weights and capacities, the 84 inch plant designed by Mr. Brunel provided for a greater proportionate net weight than any other description of vehicle on our ordinary railways. As matter of experience, the working cost of this plant was less, as a percentage of receipts, than on any other English line conveying approximately equal quantities of passenger and of goods traffic. We cannot therefore see that the advocates of a 36 inch gauge, except under special circumstances, have as yet made out even a *primâ facie* case for serious consideration.

Our hopes of increased profit for the proprietors of railways point in an altogether different direction. They refer, in the first place, to the publication of annual reports in a more businesslike form. The French returns may be imitated with much advantage; and if the accountants and auditors of our railways will only take the same pains to ascertain what part of their business pays best, and what part pays least or not at all, we shall have gained a first step of primary importance.

Secondly, and as a consequence of the first step, the attention of the traffic managers should be steadily bent towards the reduction of tare. The fact that the running of empty vehicles is the main quicksand that absorbs profit should be brought fully home to the managers of the traffic; and their attention should be scrupulously directed to the avoidance of this source of expense in every possible manner.

Thirdly, comes the question of the true economy of mineral and other bulky traffic. It is almost a truism to say that artificial methods of forcing traffic on to a line of railway are contrary to true economy. The public, at all events, will be the ultimate loser, and so, in most cases, will be the grasping traffic manager. Now there can be no contradiction to the statement that the whole policy of the railway boards towards the canals has been based on the principle of rendering fair competition for such traffic as was water-borne before the construction of railways impossible. Had the railway been essentially a cheaper and better medium for mineral traffic, the canals would have been let alone. The public would soon have found out the truth, and the traffic would have followed its best natural channel, whichever it were. It is only necessary to observe what

are the facts of the case, to see that railway directors were instinctively aware that the canals, if let alone, would successfully compete for a large share of traffic. Out of 4,135 miles of inland navigation in the United Kingdom, 1,716 miles have been actually purchased by railway companies. In other cases a certain annual payment has been made to canal companies, on the condition that certain tariffs should be adopted. In yet other cases the railway companies have impeded the operation of canals by reducing their own charges, generally, to a minimum, but at the same time raising them to a maximum on any points where by so doing they can check great lines of water communication.* For highly instructive details on this score we refer to the work of M. de Franqueville.

If we count the cost at which the railway companies have forced upon their lines the amount of mineral traffic for which they now receive some 12½ millions sterling per annum gross income, we shall find good reason for the opinion that the country would have been in a more prosperous state, or at all events that railway proprietors would have been far more amply remunerated than is now the case, if the Legislature had insisted on the performance of the conditions originally prescribed in order to prevent monopoly. In the first place, the purchase of 1,716 miles of canal cannot have cost less than six millions sterling. The guarantees and rents paid when the lines of canal have not been actually purchased are not easy to be ascertained. The Leeds Canal alone is said by M. de Franqueville to receive nearly 40,000*l.* per annum from the North-Western and Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Companies, by way of bribe to keep up its rates. For the destruction or command of the canal traffic, it is probable that the net revenue of the railway companies, including interest on actual expenditure, is diminished by more than half a million per annum.

The second item for consideration is the interference with the regularity and safety of the passenger traffic that is caused by the requirements for the accommodation of the slow heavy traffic. The amount paid by the railway companies, in the year 1874, as compensation for personal injury and damage to goods, amounted to the sum of 596,216*l.* We shall thus be under the mark in rating the average annual damages paid in consequence of what are called accidents at half a million sterling. This figure, however, by no means represents the actual loss incurred by the companies, as it takes no heed of the damages caused to their own plant, and even to their own

* Du Régime des Travaux Publics, tome ii. p. 294.

works, by collisions. A large proportion of these disasters occur from the interference of the slow with the rapid traffic; and if the whole inconvenience thus occasioned is taken into account, we shall find that, in addition to a lamentable loss of human life, a cost of another half million per annum must be attributed to the choking of the passenger lines by a heavy mineral traffic.

Thirdly comes the fact, as to which we have already given some detail, of the large increase of capital, and consequent diminution of rateable dividend, required by the plant and fixed accommodation for the mineral traffic. If we suppose the mineral traffic of 1874 to have earned a nominal profit of 2½ per cent. on actual working charges, we still find that by removing the corresponding items from the two sides of the balance-sheet, we should reduce the proportion of working expenses to gross revenue to rather less than 44 per cent., instead of the actual rate of 55·6 per cent. And if we then consider over how much smaller a capital the increased proportionate net profit would in that case have been divided, we shall see that the high dividends enjoyed by the ordinary stock-holders of the French lines would have been very largely exceeded by those of the United Kingdom, if the heavy traffic had been left to water carriage.

How superior in earning power a passenger line may prove, as compared with one conveying a mixed traffic, may be seen by comparing the results of the working of the Metropolitan Railway with the average figures given by Captain Tyler. The cost of constructing this subterranean line has exceeded the prodigious price of 650,000*l.* per mile. Many circumstances tend to make the cost of working higher than on other lines, and the cost per train mile is rather more than 10 per cent. higher than the average. If the working expenses bore the same proportion of 56 per cent. to gross income as the average, for 1874, on the lines of the United Kingdom, it would require a traffic of 59,000*l.* per mile to pay 4 per cent. on the capital. The traffic for the last half year was only at the rate of a little over 18,000*l.* per mile per annum; and yet 4 per cent. per annum was divided on the ordinary stock.

The reason of this apparent anomaly is to be found in the fact that the Metropolitan is almost exclusively a passenger line. It carried, last half-year, only 5 per cent. of mineral and merchandise traffic. On this, if we assume the same cost per train-mile for all trains, it lost upwards of 1,200*l.* But the high profit of the passenger traffic, which we make to be 65 per cent. of the gross revenue, is such as to overcome the

great disadvantages mentioned, and to render the Metropolitan Railway a property of steadily increasing value.

It must be admitted that no time should be lost in arriving at a definite and practical solution of the great question above raised. The affair is urgent. For the first time since the accounts of the annual movement of the railways of the United Kingdom have been published, an increase in the gross revenue, to the amount of 1¼ millions, has been accompanied by a decrease in the net revenue, to the amount of 363,000*l.* That decreased net earning has to be divided over a capital larger, by the sum of 21½ millions sterling, than that of the preceding year. The cause of this unsatisfactory change is the increase in the working expenses to the ratio of 56 per cent., while the capital account is being steadily swollen. Thus the percentage of net receipts to total share and loan capital has fallen from 4·51 in 1872, to 4·14 in 1874. If this rate of relative decrease continue, by the year 1908 the railways of the United Kingdom will not be able to pay a single farthing by way of dividend or of interest.

It is not to legislation that we can look for a check to this downward movement; at all events in the actual state of obscurity in which the relative profit and loss of the three great divisions of traffic is involved. The wisdom of Parliament, in all that concerns the railways of the United Kingdom, has been conspicuously negative. Under parliamentary sanction private individuals have invested 610 millions sterling in the construction of 16,500 miles of railway. No provision has been made for the extension of the benefits of the railway system to any part of the country in need of such benefit. Where companies think it will pay them to run new lines, Parliament usually grants them the power. Not only so, but it grants them the power and the property absolutely. Thus, if ever the time arrives in which it should become evident that the Administration can no longer abdicate one of the great functions of government, the maintenance and supervision of the highways of the country, the State will only be able to acquire the control of the existing railways by doubling the national debt.

In France the State has already expended nearly 48 millions sterling in the partial construction of the railways of the country. It is further liable to an annual payment by way of guaranteed interest, which amounted in 1872 to 11,157,000*l.* Against this it receives from the companies, by way of taxes, imposts, and economies, the sum of six millions and a half sterling per annum. Allowing interest and a sinking fund

for the money expended, the actual annual charge to the State, which diminishes each year, is about eight millions sterling. But at the expiration of the existing concessions, the entire network of the French railways, which had cost 296,000,000*l.* at the end of 1872, will have become public property. Nor is this all. In the concessions granted to the great companies these associations have not been allowed to execute merely such lines as were at once plainly profitable. A second and third series of lines have been designed, and are in course of execution, with the object of serving the country rather than the railway proprietors alone. Out of 16,296 kilomètres already constructed in France, 10,969 kilomètres do not as yet carry a traffic sufficient to pay for the cost of working and the interest of capital. 1,296 kilomètres do not receive enough to cover the mere working expenses. Thus, while the net receipts of the entire system are equal to 4·98 per cent. on the total capital, and while the proportion of shares and loan is such as to allow a dividend of 10* per cent. to the former, due provision has been made for the extension of the greatest benefit of modern civilisation to those parts of France into which the mere desire of lucrative investment would not have led the companies to penetrate for an indefinite period of time.

The mode in which the railway companies of the United Kingdom have been allowed to ruin the canal property is another mark of the indifference of Parliament to an important feature of public policy. It would have been as justifiable, on the score of public welfare, to allow the railway companies to buy up the turnpike bonds, and to charge what tolls they pleased on the turnpike roads, as it was to wink at the purchase and stoppage of the canals. The danger of allowing such a change of mastership is admitted by the clauses inserted in several Acts of Parliament regulating the maximum tolls—clauses which have been allowed to remain a dead letter. The Board of Trade declared that it had neither advice nor assistance to offer to complainants in the matter.† Mr. Farrer, the Secretary to the Board of Trade, expressed his opinion, in 1872, that the actual state of canal property, which was held by the railway companies just so far as to enable them to destroy the traffic, was the worst possible, as regarded the public interest. It is now too late to attempt to remedy the

* Really 10·74 per cent. 'Du Régime des Travaux Publics,' tome ii. p. 416.

† Du Régime des Travaux Publics, tome ii. p. 305.

evil. Nothing but the conviction on the part of the railway companies that they are financially wrong in forcing the slow heavy traffic on to the metals, will render possible the rehabilitation of the canal system, however fully all other persons may be convinced of the national importance of our internal navigation.

Finally, by prescribing to the railway companies forms of annual returns which would enable an independent inquirer at once to ascertain the profit or loss at which each of the three great branches of transport—those of passengers, goods, and minerals—is actually carried on, the Legislature would, at all events, cease to throw formidable obstacles in the way of ascertaining that important fact. Neither the officers of the companies, nor those of the Board of Trade, can be blamed for keeping to formulæ prescribed by Parliament. Had the companies not thus been shielded, the demands of the shareholders for independent audit might have procured for them this information. As it is, they are in total ignorance of the upshot of the whole policy of their directors as to the absorption of the proper traffic of the canals.

The time is fully ripe for the elucidation of this great national question. Of the decline of railway profits we have spoken. In the opening speech of the January session of the Institution of Civil Engineers, the President, as we have said, expressed his conviction that considerable addition to the carrying capabilities of railways would shortly become imperative. This is, in fact, an intimation, from competent authority, that the duplication of the main trunk lines is in contemplation. If the shareholders agree to the proposition without being in full possession of accurate knowledge as to the economic conditions of the various kinds of traffic, they will have themselves to thank for the result.

On the other hand, revived attention is being turned to canals. In Germany inland navigation is becoming active. In Holland a great maritime canal is to form a portion of the works for reclaming the basin of the Zuyder-Zee. In Manchester a proposal is afoot for the conversion of the river Irwell into a maritime canal. The piercing of the Isthmus of Suez is a work that may hereafter have much influence in directing attention to water-borne communication. The question of steam towage, which has received comparatively little notice for the last forty years, is again coming to the fore. On the Elbe canals, a chain is laid at the bottom of the channel, and the tug propels itself, and the barges which it tows, by griping this chain. On the Aire and Calder Navigation, steam power is

now employed for towage; the charge being 10½*d.*, per mile for a 100 ton barge for the 32 miles downward to Goole, and 1*s.* 2*d.* per mile for the same towage upward, giving a mean cost of ·125 penny per ton per mile. This rate of charge is only about 10 per cent. higher than that adopted in 1857; so that the Company have a practical experience of nearly twenty years of the use of a tariff with which it is evident that no land transport can fairly and honestly compete.

The question of relative speed by land and water conveyance is one on which we have not space now to enter. We learn from Mr. G. R. Stephenson's speech that a reduction of speed for mineral trains is in contemplation, in the event of the duplication of the trunk lines. It must be borne in mind with regard to this, that a reduction of the actual speed to that of 5 miles an hour will not bring down the price of conveying a ton-mile gross to less than ·33 of a penny, according to the data which we have cited. But the reduction of speed from 15 to 5 miles per hour would require a threefold increase of the plant employed in the traffic; so that the loss would enormously overbalance the gain. The accurate accordance of results drawn from the two distinct sources of French experience and English experiment, entitle us to consider our estimate of the cost per ton-mile as *primâ facie* established, and only liable to question on the production of those accounts which we seek. On the other hand, the cost of water carriage varies nearly as the cube of the velocity. The means of obtaining increase of speed on canals, apart from the economic question, mainly depends on two *desiderata*, namely, the obtaining a fulcrum from the earth direct, and not from the water, and the protection of the banks. As to the former, a patent was taken out some years ago in this country for a mode of canal traction in which the tug carried its own chain; the length of which, lying on the bottom under the vessel, was ample to give the hold on the ground required. The expense of the latter precaution would soon be amply covered by the returns of a moderate traffic. One great source of expense, the want of balance between the heavy traffic towards and away from the Metropolis, is alike in all modes of transport. Apart from this, the great cause of loss, the disproportionate amount of tare to net weight, is greater by land than by water; and the price per ton that must be allotted to provide and maintain lighters is but small in proportion to the cost and repairs of waggons for an equal load.

It is our earnest hope that one fruit of an investigation undertaken with no other view than that of affording a contri-

bution to the knowledge possessed by the public on a highly important and little understood subject, may be such an indisputable demonstration of the actual cost of railway transport as shall leave no pretext for any further unfair competition with inland navigation. If the railway companies will first ascertain, and then prove to their shareholders, what rates of profit are remunerative, and will then charge such rates, and no others, to the public, the difficulty will solve itself. Public economy demands that the traffic of the country should flow in its natural course, whether that course be by land or by water. All artificial competition with the requirements of true economy must, sooner or later, occasion loss, or even disaster. We believe that the railway proprietary, and therefore the public, have suffered, and are likely to suffer yet more heavily, from a mistaken policy, based on unacquaintance with controlling facts. And we cheerfully submit, not only our arguments, but the data upon which they are based, to the verdict of scientific opinion, when fully and exactly informed as to the truth.

ART. IV.—*A Life of the Earl of Mayo, Fourth Viceroy of India.* By W. W. HUNTER, B.A., LL.D., of Her Majesty's Bengal Civil Service. 2 vols. 8vo. 1875.

To many it will appear that the time had hardly arrived for the publication of a Life of the lamented Earl of Mayo. But four years have elapsed since he was cut off in the prime of life by a violent death which, however investing his memory with a halo of mystery and profound regret, is but a bare justification for a book of this description. For, if intended to be useful hereafter, a biography should be able to deal with men and things in a spirit of free criticism. The subject of the memoir should be made known to us by his own private letters and confidential despatches, by his opinions as recorded by himself, whether with regard to occult influence on passing events, to the instruments at his disposal, the men with whom he acted, or the opponents who crossed him. At this early date to write thus freely, or to trust the public with confidential matters, was clearly out of the question. It may perhaps be said with reason on the other hand, that the career of an Indian Viceroy, his position and his avocations, are such as to render his biographer to a certain degree independent of the intimate chronicles on which we lean for an interest in the recollections of men who have passed away from public life in

England. Reasoning in this sense, it may be admitted that, notwithstanding the great difficulties incidental to his task, Mr. Hunter has given us a memoir which is read with interest, and affords much useful information. It is somewhat provoking to be told at a most interesting point that such and such despatches cannot be communicated to the public for many years, and on other occasions to have the names of men and provinces so entirely hidden as to rob the composition of definite meaning. On the whole, however, the picture presented to us of the late Lord Mayo is a fair and a noble one, and worthy of the much lamented original.

It is in the character of an Indian Administrator that we propose to consider the subject of Mr. Hunter's memoir. The Parliamentary career which led to his appointment in India had been useful. The performance of duty in the Irish Secretariat was laborious and well adapted to the difficult time, dark with conspiracy and disaffection, in which he administered the first government of the Duke of Abercorn in Ireland. As Lord Mayo himself said, his long training in Parliamentary business, his practice in the official duties of a Chief Secretary of a difficult government, and his two years' experience of the Cabinet had been the most excellent preparation for the great appointment placed at his disposal by Mr. Disraeli. The government of Ireland presents a wide range of various duties. It includes the distribution of military forces; the application of the resident magistracy and the constabulary to the preservation of the peace in a large sense, as distinguished from the ordinary police duty of London or other great cities; the management of different parties; the discussion of questions of education and public works; the relations of trade with England and other countries; the interests and the practice of agriculture; the consideration of the tenure of land, of the Church as an active and a consulting body, of the different persuasions and ecclesiastical rivalries; and finally the preparation of the Bills and the management in Parliament of the interests thus briefly touched on. What is divided in England among many departments, in Ireland comes primarily under the review of the Chief Secretary. He thus acquires, if he be so inclined, the habit of many-sidedness. In that sphere Lord Mayo learnt practically how far more important is the prevention of disorder and political crime than subsequent repression; that a retaliatory policy serves but to perpetuate evil passions and active hatred; that authority must be far-seeing, incessantly vigilant; but that it must ever be careful to decide with judicial calmness, with a leaning if possible to the mis-

guided victims of a disloyal agitation, with clemency to the fallen, with a determination to redress grievances which may have been a justification of crime in the popular mind. In that office, too, and in Parliament, Lord Mayo learnt the importance of carrying the community with him, of inviting the co-operation of the latter when new burdens were to be imposed on it, of securing the assistance and the counsel of those most competent to afford aid and advice, and how to avail himself of the strength afforded by a wise publicity and the enlistment of popular confidence. This was surely an excellent school for his future career.

If, however, Lord Mayo gained much from the apprenticeship of Parliament and of office, he was subjected to strange personal annoyances, which could hardly fail to operate unfavourably on the subsequent career of any man less happily constituted than he was. Having been nominated by an expiring Ministry, the party which almost immediately afterwards assumed the Government was unanimous in the assault on him and the appointment. A storm of abuse was directed against both, and the distant public of India, which could gather its information alone from the English press, was almost stunned by the reiterated assertions of the unfitness of the nominee, and the danger consequently to be apprehended. It is no slight thing thus to impress a vast population regarding the capacity and ability of the public servant who for many years to come stands towards it in the relation of Queen, Lords, and Commons to the public of Great Britain. The personal trial to which Lord Mayo was thus exposed was indeed severe. His official training had been excellent. He had been chosen by those most competent to form an opinion of his merits. He was condemned by an excited public opinion. The new Cabinet deliberated as to whether the appointment should be upheld before he was sworn into his office.

Such were the advantages and the disadvantages with which Lord Mayo proceeded to India in 1869, and with great modesty but without fear as to the results aspired to a place in the roll of Indian statesmen and governors, not unworthy to be matched with the reputations of those who had travelled the same path before him.

The consideration of the responsibilities of a modern Viceroy, as compared with the demands of other times, may be an excuse for adverting to a custom which has prevailed in the conduct of the 'Edinburgh Review.' From time to time sketches of the careers of the distinguished men who have contributed most eminently to the building up or to the main-

tenance of the edifice of the Indian Empire in the great office of Governor-General have been afforded in these pages. The master hand of Lord Macaulay traced in indelible characters the lines on which moved Clive and Warren Hastings, the immense services they rendered, the manner in which those services were encountered at home; the strongly marked, the potent and energetic individuality of the men, the conditions under which they acted, the forces which were brought to bear upon them. In these days of more scientific government, when the art of administering India according to her ethnical conditions and circumstances is reconciled with a system based on the influence of British opinion, on the most careful legislation, on the abandonment of privileges of race, on the equality of the rulers and the subjects before the law, and the general spread of education, it is difficult to conceive the state of things existing so lately as during the last century. We can hardly imagine to ourselves how this country was indebted to the personal efforts of a few men for the foundation of a vast empire, which, if considered with relation to the European politics of their time, as well as with regard to their Indian environment, are more marvellous than the exploits of Cortez and Pizarro. The audacity of their military exploits was at least equalled in ability by their civil courage, the boldness of their diplomacy, and the subtle ingenuity which asserted absolute dominion while it preserved ancient manners and forms implying subjection to the effete representatives of the old central power. The reality was seized with unerring sagacity and firmness. The too offensive glare of a new and alien rule was shaded under discreet fictions.

In more recent years, a pen not unworthy to be classed with that of Lord Macaulay has enabled us to judge with truthful accuracy of the careers of the two great men who, after the Marquis of Wellesley, stand out in the highest relief in the history of India. On the Marquis of Dalhousie devolved the task of completing the territorial conditions of British India, of extending the dominion of England as the ruler and suzerain of the vast peninsula to its natural boundaries, of declaring that neither aggression on our frontier, nor shameful native misrule, should pass without the crucial remedy of reducing the offending kingdoms under the power whose frontier had been outraged, or whose patience was at length exhausted by the never-ceasing spectacle of barbarism and cruelty. How gallantly this task was performed, how the Marquis of Dalhousie rose to the height of the duties imposed on him without vacillation or faltering, how to his great political and military

successes he added the largest administrative results of civil character, is within the recollection of middle-aged men. But it is part of the history of the forty years regarding which we have been told, on no slight authority, the curiosity of the younger generation is halting and feeble.

And then we come to Earl Canning, who, almost without exception among English statesmen, presents the grandest picture of unswerving firmness, courage, and magnanimity in the midst of the most appalling dangers; who, without losing hope and strong resolve, saw the fabric of an empire fading away from his vision like an iceberg in the Gulf Stream; who at the same time had to confront a native rebellion, the panic-fear and disaffection of his countrymen, and the opinion at home which was the reverberation of the latter. He met the rebellion and he put it down. He met the panic-fear and he triumphed over it. When blood and punishment and cruelty were preached, he stepped forward as a grand and magnanimous ruler, as the representative of British humanity and civilisation, and with mild but absolute accent proclaimed, 'This shall not be,' and it was not. The greatness of the man who could so speak and so act, at such a time as the crisis of the mutiny and rebellion in India in 1857, is not to be measured by the ordinary deeds of war and peace, however grand in execution the former, however wise and beneficent the latter may be.

Here then, again, we have two magnificent specimens of British individuality, two men who, equally with Clive and Warren Hastings, have contributed to the building and maintenance of the edifice, but against whose memory no stone shall be thrown in the future on account of deeds bringing a reproach to the national conscience. Lord Dalhousie completed India according to certain conditions of necessity at a time of political transition, of change from the old to the new, from the ancient to the modern in form as well as in sentiment, his just and correct estimate of which has long been acknowledged.

The controversy which raged round his policy, and for some years subsequently, has been forgotten. The justification of that policy is seen and understood in India. He waged great wars. He added kingdoms and provinces to the dominions of the Queen. Old fictions, which had been so useful in the early days we have referred to, were swept away. The old device of governing India according to Indian ideas—that is to say, with respectful deference to the prejudices of barbarous native princes, to hideous superstitions, to the laws of the im-

perfect civilisation of Hindooism and the recent Mussulman dominion—was to disappear.

To all this Lord Dalhousie afforded something more than the commencement. The machine of government, of administration, was apparently moving with accelerated speed. The pressure of organic reform was making itself vitally felt. Against the novel impression, the new sensation, the undefined dread of something not understood, and, it may be added, the demolition of the last vestige of Mahometan power, came popular reaction, of which the military mutiny was the first expression, urban disaffection and provincial rebellion the second. Earl Canning, having reduced the national reaction, replaced the empire on a solid and durable basis, the character of the man and the form of the government he directed having singularly aided in the great work of re-establishment to which his energies were henceforth to be devoted, when his vigorous prosecution of the war had finally extinguished the last embers of active rebellion and disloyalty.

And since then such a peace has endured in India as was never known in that country before. If we except petty frontier disturbances with savage and contemptible tribes, that peace has been profound and absolute since 1859; and there is reason to believe that every day adds to its solidity and to its apparently lasting quality. Such, then, is the great result of Earl Canning's work, following as it did on that of the Marquis of Dalhousie, which in many and highly important respects was the preparation for it. The two administrations should ever be viewed and considered together. An old system finally passed away under the auspices of the one. The new system was finally installed by his successor. To use a military figure, it may be said that the former brought the early campaigns of a war to a brilliant conclusion, and believed in the termination of the contest accordingly. The latter suffered the practical result of the miscalculation, but, having girded his loins, accomplished that which he believed to have been effected when he first assumed office.

It was remarked that during the latter years of Lord Canning's rule India lapsed into a state of repose which presented almost an appearance of lethargy. The re-establishment of the finances; the reform of the military system; the inauguration of the new relations with England consequent on the disappearance of the old fictions of the so-called double government of the East India Company and the Crown; the tightening of the bonds between India and Great Britain through the new laws and institutions, and by means of im-

proved communications of steam, post, and telegraph; put a heavy strain on the several departments of the administration. The Council of the Governor-General assumed more and more the form of a Cabinet as understood in this country, the Governor-General or Viceroy being relieved accordingly, and the business of government being divided among the respective members of the Council. The Viceroy retains the general superintendence of all the departments, but the current work is performed departmentally according to the necessities of the vast and comprehensive machine into which the Government of India has been developed.

In consequence of these arrangements, while the Viceroy retains his independence and absoluteness as the responsible head of the Government, and causes his will to be felt in Council on all important matters, he is not now too much overwhelmed with the details of business, or exposed to trials on this account beyond the powers of a man of regular application. It was necessary to say a word on this point, as the improvement in the transaction of business which has been alluded to has a great constitutional importance if it be duly considered, besides mainly tending to the facilitation of the labours of the one man, the Viceroy, on whom before the public lies the whole weight of administration, the whole responsibility of government.

It is evident that in so vast a concern, the number of minor governments or administrations under the Government of India being now not less than twelve, the references from the former must be very considerable, the orders of the latter must be large and comprehensive, that the Federal relation under the Supreme Authority, the questions of national defence, the expression of law, the development of resources according to the conditions, wants, and capabilities of each separate administration afford ample work for the Cabinet or Council the members of which direct the several departments of the Central Government. Under such altered circumstances, the facts of which are the immediate consequences of the expansion of the duties and obligations of authority with relation to the subject masses, it would seem to follow that in future the single figure of the Viceroy will not stand forth in the high relief of former days. However real and potential his authority, his individuality will perhaps not appear before the public in the distinct and clearly cut form which may be proper to a period of administration characterised by simplicity and directness, but is liable to be merged or shaded amid the abstractions and joint responsibility result-

ing from a Government which has come to be constituted as we now see it in India. For although a Cabinet under the guidance and direction of the absolute Viceroy, the Council comprises several members, the appointment of whom is independent of nomination or patronage on the part of the Viceroy. Formerly this independence was confined to the Commander-in-Chief. But of late years the change has been made of nominating from England legal and financial members, and very recently another for Public Works has been added, while the local members who owe their places to the Viceroy remain as in old times.

Other agencies are tending in a like direction, which may generally be referred to the latter years of Earl Canning's Government. Foremost among these is the change in the form of the relations of the Government of India with the controlling authority at home. What may be called a fiction of power was swept away when the East India Company disappeared as a co-operating agent in the administration and patronage of India. It is true that from the time of Mr. Pitt the Supreme Control has rested in the hands of the Minister of the Crown. But it is also true that the double arrangement of the Company and of the Board of Control, with an involved system of correspondence, was the means of slackening the bonds between Parliament and the Governor-General. The Court of Directors was at times a kind of buffer between the two. It is incontestible that the disappearance of the Company as it took place in 1858, the apparent as well as the real assertion of the Crown in Indian concerns, have caused the relations between the Government of India and the Secretary of State to be more immediate and direct than they used to be between the former and the Board of Control. The responsibility of the office in England has then so far been extended. What has thus been gained to it may appear to some observers to be a loss to the ruler in India, a deduction from the authority of the Viceroy, a substitution of the means of executive action in the hands of the Secretary of State for the functions of supervision, of control, and the occasional exercise of *veto*. It would seem therefore, at first sight, that a change of form has to a certain extent developed a process of centralisation in favour of the Minister at home, who now-a-days is not seldom styled the actual ruler of India by popular writers, a corresponding diminution of provincial independence and autocratic initiative being felt in the position of the Viceroy. To such an apparent state of things other considerations bring their contribution. The improved means of communication have now so closely

united East and West, that for purposes of discussion and advice the effects of distance have, so to speak, been obliterated.

It is, of course, most important that while the power of the Minister at home is thus expanded there should be no diminution of the local authority, influence, and absoluteness of the Viceroy within the limits of India in his dealings with the several governments subject to him; and this we find to be the case. The modern Viceroy is more powerful and absolute than the old Governor-General. In truth, in former days before an improved post-office, roads, railways, and telegraphs had progressively done their work as now shown in their results, political and administrative, to the modern Anglo-Indian, there was far greater looseness in the attachments binding together the several parts of the Indian system than we now see. The subordination to the central authority, on the part of the minor governments whether of Madras and Bombay, of the lieutenant-governorships, of the administrations under chief commissioners, is now thorough and complete. This was not always so. At one time the Governor-General, as Governor of Bengal and with reference to Bombay and Madras, was the *primus inter pares*. Now, subject to the distant Secretary of State, he is the real autocrat of all the Indies, assisted by such councils and constitutional means as have been from time to time built up under the authority of Parliament and of Indian experience. We may therefore believe there is no reason for the fear to which Lord Lawrence gave expression towards the close of his administration in the following words, and that the hope he expressed will ever be borne in mind as a matter of prime necessity by English Ministers:—

'I hope to hand over to my successor this great office with its authority and prestige unimpaired. I further hope that an undiminished influence may always pertain to those who come after me. I do not say that the authority of my office has as yet been in any real degree weakened. I trust that it is still endowed with potential vigour. But I have observed at times a tendency to subject it to processes which might induce weakness and decay. And though I fully acknowledge the loyal support afforded by so many of the authorities in India, yet I cannot overlook the fact that even in some official quarters there is growing up a desire to be virtually independent of the Queen's representative in this country. Now I believe that there is as strong a necessity as there ever was, as strong a necessity as there could possibly be, for an absolute central authority in India, to which all other authorities in that country must absolutely defer. Such authority can only be possessed by the Governor-General in Council; and in extreme emergency such authority must be understood to really centre in the Governor-General himself as the ultimate arbiter of affairs.' *

* Minute by Sir John Lawrence, dated March 23, 1868.

In the period we are about to consider, one of peace and internal development, we shall see that the wide field of Indian statesmanship never fails to present points of the greatest interest; that constant demands are made on the discretion and the power for decision on the part of the responsible ruler; that from day to day his capacity and firmness are taxed in proportion to the vast range of his executive action.

The characters of the men who fill the great office of Supreme Government in India are thus matters of immense national importance. Although the bright dramatic colour of former days may be wanting, we still look for effects which shall draw attention to the strength we love to trace in those invested with governing power over the dependencies of Great Britain.

That which is prescribed by prudence and the necessity of seeking guidance from local knowledge and experience cannot fail to afford the rule for action, speaking in general terms as affecting the functions of government in India, and therefore of him who, as Lord Lawrence says, must be the supreme local arbiter in the Empire. The power exercised in England cannot but continue to be generally one of control, although the burden of the controlling authority may be heavier than it used to be. The initiation and the practical direction of measures remain, as far as possible, in the hands of the Indian Government. Responsibility in respect of policy, administration, and finance being on no account to be weakened or diminished in the latter, it follows that there is a field as ample as ever for that assertion of individuality, of what we call character, in the man who occupies the largest position of delegated authority as known not only in Great Britain, but in any other system of government presented by ancient or modern experience. And of this we have seen the illustration in the career of Lord Mayo and the government of his immediate predecessor—the statesman so bold in action, so wise and cautious in council, and still happily preserved to us.

Lord Mayo himself would have been the first to admit the advantages he derived from the fact of his succession to such a practised administrator as Lord Lawrence. It was the especial merit of the government of the latter, and of the system he pursued, that all the departments worked at full power under his orders. His old experience in the subordinate places of administration, and subsequently in the position of Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, enabled him to lay his hand instinctively, as it were, on the causes of shortcoming and failure on the one side, on the means of departmental improvement, of stimulating exertion on the other. His rule

was, in this sense, a stern and an exacting one, but it was eminently successful. It bore in appearance and in its results the features of energy and of the almost restless supervision which had distinguished the establishment of British authority by Lord Lawrence in the Punjab, and had proved their vital importance in the application of the military and civil resources of his province to the redemption of Northern India from ruin in the crisis of 1857. In the survey therefore of the career of Lord Mayo, we must ever bear in mind the work so effectually performed by him who, worn grey but not worn out in the service of India, finally returned from the scene of his labours in the East on the arrival of the former, early in 1869. It is necessary to advert to the policy pursued by Lord Lawrence if we would understand that of his successor, and how in some things the latter developed and amplified what he found, while in others he pursued a more independent course.

While, as according to the arrangement already sketched, the great departments of the Government are distributed among the several members of the Council, it has become customary for the Viceroy to retain the Foreign Department in his own hands. This department, or Foreign Office, treats of the really foreign relations with independent States, such as Afghanistan, Central Asia, Muscat, Zanzibar, Ava, Nepal, and of the so-called political relations with States either half or wholly mediatised, to which on occasions positive injunctions are given, in which discipline is enforced as we have lately seen in the case of the Guikwar, States from which the liberty to make war and to maintain large armies has been cut off. Thus, being his own minister for foreign and political affairs, the Viceroy initiates in person the policy to be pursued, and in his progresses to the courts of Indian princes, or when he receives them at his own durbar, brings his personal influence to bear. On such occasions Lord Lawrence was recognised as one who knew a native court as well as the prince himself. He was listened to as one having authority in all such matters. When speaking to the princes and the people in their own tongue, his tones, half warning and half familiar, carried conviction to the minds of his auditors, while they were reminded of the presence of the old Indian civilian, the unassuming, unpretentious, but very absolute master of the district over which he rules. Lord Mayo, on the other hand, must have struck the fancy of the princes assembled at his durbar as a magnificent representative of the majesty of England. His handsome, indeed splendid presence; his happy, genial, but very dignified manner; the Irish ease and *abandon* which seemed

never to leave him even when almost overwhelmed with labour or in the midst of tiresome ceremonial, served to mark him out as the ideal of an Imperial Envoy from the far Western hemisphere, who should carry the message of peace and goodwill from the Queen of England to the millions of the Indian people, to the countries in alliance, to the provinces and the states acknowledging subjection in some form or other, and bowing to a superior civilisation.

Lord Lawrence's foreign* administration has been well described by Mr. Tallboys Wheeler in his Summary of Affairs in the Foreign Department from 1864 to 1869. In the introduction to that work he draws attention to the feature which deserves especial notice,—

'the grave importance of the events which have transpired beyond the north-western frontier of India. The domestic wars which have prevailed in Afghanistan between the sons of Dost Mahomed, and the extraordinary revolutions which have taken place in Western China are likely to occupy a prominent place in Oriental history. Meantime, the advance of Russia from the Jaxartes towards the Oxus, and the apparent absorption of Khiva, Bokhara, and Khokand in the Russian Empire, threw a European interest round the whole range of territory from the Caspian to the Himalayas.' . . . 'The policy which has been pursued was appropriate to the course of events and in accordance with the dignity of the British Government. No means have been spared to obtain the fullest information respecting the current history of Asiatic revolutions. No opportunity has been lost of cultivating friendly relations with Foreign Powers, so long as these relations did not tend to draw a British force beyond the frontier. But no mischievous activity has been displayed. The British Government has not embroiled itself in the domestic quarrels of its Afghan neighbours, neither has it indulged in unworthy suspicions of the good faith of its Russian and Persian allies, nor felt a premature alarm at active operations from which it is still separated by a vast barrier of desert and mountain.'

In truth with great decision and far-seeing wisdom, Lord Lawrence gave the different parties to the civil war in Afghanistan to understand that he declined to assist either one or the other to the detriment of the other. His policy was

* The foreign administration of Lord Lawrence as Viceroy of India was fully treated in No. 255 of the 'Edinburgh Review' in January 1867, and indeed we have published a series of articles on these subjects: the earlier were written by Mr. Wyllie, and have now been republished in his collected Essays, the later were written by Mr. Le Poer Wynn. These able and accomplished men both filled successively the important office of Assistant Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, and both of them have unhappily been cut off in early manhood.

the absolute and practical contradiction of that of interference as seen thirty years previously in the affairs and country of Cabul under the guidance of Lord Auckland. As the latter ended in failure and disappointment, its inexpediency on grounds of financial liability and of unwise territorial extension having been unanswerably shown in practice, and by what has since taken place in India, so the abstention from Afghan concerns until at length the star of Sher Ali Khan rose fairly in the ascendant, was crowned with great diplomatic success. The fitting moment having arrived when the Viceroy could assume that, unassisted except by his own resources, Sher Ali Khan was about to seat himself on his throne, Lord Lawrence stepped forward with aid in money, and with encouragement in the hope of stopping future disorder and bloodshed.

Amid the transactions following on this decision and change of the policy which had characterised the previous three or four years, Lord Mayo succeeded to the government of India. On him therefore devolved the completion of the treaty and the settlement of the details on which should rest for the future our relations with the ruler of Cabul, and, so far as the latter is concerned, with the country and rulers beyond the Oxus, including the White Czar.

Lord Mayo, greatly to his credit, took up the policy and the negotiations in the spirit in which they had been conceived. To use Mr. Hunter's words, 'He rigidly and successfully enforced the policy which Sir John Lawrence, in the year ending 1868, had marked; a policy which (according to one school of thinkers) was the legitimate development of the principles laid down by Sir John Lawrence in the Peshawur treaty of 1855, and consistently maintained by him when Viceroy, from 1864 to 1869.'

But the manner in which Lord Mayo gave effect to that policy, the careful labour with which the details were mastered and reduced to practice, the urbane courtesy displayed towards the Ameer as the guest of the Viceroy and of British India, the extraordinary moderation of the terms used towards the Ameer—in short, the perfect skill with which the visit of the Ameer and the negotiations were managed, were all Lord Mayo's own. Having been received with due pomp and ceremony by the Viceroy at Ambala, Sher Ali Khan, although he failed to obtain but a little portion of what he asked for, went away nevertheless a contented man. He fully appreciated what was done for him, and the great kindness of the voice addressing him. The wellgrounded hopes of the most friendly relations between the two governments as expressed by the

Viceroy have not as yet been disappointed. The results of all this were very recently described at length in these pages.* It was shown that our counsel, or influence, or pressure, was now sufficient to cause the Ameer of Afghanistan to move in the direction we may desire as regards his western neighbour Persia, and Bokhara in the north, and for the preservation of the peace beyond his frontier. We are informed by Sir John Strachey, who was Lord Mayo's colleague in council during the whole term of his government, 'that the friendly 'meeting at Ambala came at the right time to remove the 'mistrust which had prevented British influence from being 'effectually exercised in Afghanistan; to bring home to the 'Ameer's mind the conviction that the British Government 'had no desire to extend its dominions.' †

It has been generally considered in India that till the arrival of Lord Mayo, something like a Chinese policy of exclusiveness found most favour in the mind of Government. This policy was the traditional one of the East India Company. Prompted originally by motives of monopoly in questions of trade, it was fostered by the desire to exclude foreign influence from the native States and population of Hindostan. The fear of being led into trouble by the maltreatment or murder of distant British agents had also a great influence in the deliberations of the Council of the Governor-General. Towards the close of Lord Lawrence's term of office a change in this matter with regard to Central Asia and Russia began to make itself apparent. Lord Lawrence himself is perhaps inclined to what in many quarters was regarded as the safer policy of the olden times. He very strongly deprecated the employment of British agents in positions and at distances where we were powerless to protect them except at the risk and cost of hazardous expeditions. But it was felt that the time had arrived when an understanding with Russia had become a necessity, if only as an antidote to the polemical bickering of the press in England, India, and Russia with reference to the continuous advance of the last in Central Asia, and the possibility or probability of British ambitious designs on Afghanistan and the countries lying between Persia and the Indus. These countries have no financial value, and their political importance under existing circumstances is much overrated;

* See 'England and Russia in the East,' 'Edinburgh Review,' July 1875.

† A minute by Sir John Strachey, late acting Governor-General, and now Lieutenant-Governor North-West Provinces of India.

but, as is well known, a certain school of politicians in India and in England is ever engaged in exciting public opinion with reference to their military and territorial conditions and on the necessity of occupying them as a check to Russia. To such schemes Lord Lawrence and the Earl of Mayo were steadily opposed. At length, then, it was recognised by Lord Clarendon, during the Indian rule of the former, that we should fall into a policy of conciliation, and if possible of co-operation with Russia, instead of persevering in a system of exclusiveness which was suited neither to the age we live in, nor to the expansion of the Indian Empire, nor to the requirements of the Foreign Office. This change, inaugurated before his arrival, was precisely to Lord Mayo's taste. It fitted exactly with the large and liberal view he took of the world's concerns. His fancy warmed as he contemplated the means of execution. He set himself to the task accordingly. Success attended his efforts, a success the full effects of which we have seen since his lamented death.

We learn from the same eminent and responsible authority, Sir John Strachey, that it was the cardinal principle of Lord Mayo's policy to teach our neighbours and the feudatory or subject provinces that they have nothing to fear from us. 'He desired to establish with all our frontier States intimate 'relations of friendship; to make them feel that though we are 'all-powerful we have no desire to encroach on their autho-'rity, but on the contrary, that our earnest desire is to sup-'port their power and maintain their nationality.' He believed that in this manner could we best erect bulwarks for the empire, that strength would eventually and naturally be evoked from goodfeeling and reliance on good faith, while he absolutely distrusted the effect of mere displays of force and measures of retaliation.

Thus in dealing with frontier tribes he considered that our policy should bear a police character rather than carry with it the conditions and large scope of war. It is true he ruled when a long succession of frontier campaigns on the North-west had produced their effect, and when contact with British officers and British efforts at civilisation were beginning to humanise those dwelling nearest to our boundaries. The savagery of the old Sikh rule in its relations with the Border is now forgotten. Nothing, therefore, could be more admirable than the quick sense with which Lord Mayo appreciated the whole modern Border situation, or than the instructions he issued in consequence; the principles lying at the bottom of them being in truth the same as those according to which he

had negotiated with the Ameer of Cabul, and which regulated all his proceedings with the subject princes of India.

On occasion he could order war to be made. When declared to be necessary, as in the case of the Looshais, measures were taken absolutely to ensure success; to make the miserable enemy understand that so great was our power, that of all things the worst thing for them to do was to take up a hostile position. But a policy of mere retaliation was in his opinion deserving only of disapproval and condemnation as being unworthy of a civilised power. He was satisfied that measures of such a kind fail in practice just as they are wrong in principle. He believed that indiscriminate punishment often aggravates the evils sought to be removed; that raids executed merely for the purpose of chastisement, and without some ulterior object of settlement of a quarrel and the establishment of a better footing of organisation if not indeed of friendly relations, are but the seeds of future mischief; in short, that they perpetuate the blood-feud the traces of which it is our first duty to obliterate. He felt very strongly the effect on all foreign Courts from St. Petersburg to Ava, from Pekin to Zanzibar, of every shot fired in anger beyond our frontier; the exaggeration lent by distance and evil report to such facts, the mischief to our fair name, the handle afforded for misrepresentation. Hence he trusted to what he called a policy of vigilant, constant, and never-ceasing defence in all those parts of our frontier which are by their position liable to be attacked by foreign tribes—in other words, of the most active and vigilant police in a large sense, but without irritation or mere retaliatory punishment. His military officers in charge of the districts were held responsible for the prudent exercise of their powers, for rendering themselves thoroughly accessible to the people, for acquiring a salutary personal influence over their sympathies and affections. It was for them to encourage and protect trade, to influence the tribes favourably, whether on the north-western frontier bordering on Afghanistan and Sinde, or the south-eastern frontier which is full of British planters' interests, to make them feel an interest in the maintenance of peace and good order. Such, then, was the policy of the Earl of Mayo. To break down jealousy and suspicion beyond our border among those exercising rule and authority; to enforce order and induce friendly feeling among those who hitherto had been thought amenable to punishment only, or with whom relations of amity had been but little attempted or thought of amidst the border barbarism with which our frontier officers have had to cope as our dominion has been extended to the great mountain ranges. His bearing towards the feudatory chiefs of India was akin to this policy. Firm in

exacting the duty he was bound to require, he was liberal of friendly demonstration. He freely invited them to co-operate with the British Government in those schemes of improvement the execution and application of which in modifying the habits of thought of the people throughout the Empire, are breaking up caste and superstition, and are affording an impetus to practical education far transcending the learning of the schools. His words to the assembled chiefs of Rajpootana in such a sense were very noble. We may quote a few sentences:—

'Be assured that we ask you to do all this for no other but your own benefit. If we wished you to remain weak we should say, "be "poor and ignorant and disorderly." It is because we wish you to be strong that we desire to see you well instructed and well governed.' . . . 'Hourly is this great Empire brought nearer and nearer to the throne of our Queen. The steam-vessel and the railroad enable England year by year to enfold India in a closer embrace. But the coils she seeks to entwine around her are not iron fetters, but the golden chains of affection and of peace. The times of conquest are past; the age of improvement has begun.'

While thus addressing the great feudatory chiefs of Rajpootana, Lord Mayo did indeed describe the great change which has come over the aims of the Anglo-Indian statesman, as compared with the times alluded to in the early pages of this paper. He must still direct his attention to the maintenance of supremacy. As we have just seen, the foreign diplomacy may require all his ingenuity, and the exercise of a firm will; * the correspondence, the diplomatic *tentacula*, of Lord Mayo extended even to St. Petersburg in one direction, to Ava, to Pekin, to Teheran, to Muscat, to Zanzibar in others. But the problems thus presented for solution, however interesting and engrossing, are by no means the only difficulties to be encountered; are perhaps not those demanding the greatest firmness of purpose, as shown in the application of important decisions in the face of popular opposition, and at the risk of widely-spread discontent. Lord Mayo's force of character was about to be tried in this direction very shortly after his triumphant interview with the Ameer of Cabul, and before the close of the first year of his administration.

* 'I would give much,' writes one of Lord Mayo's most trusted officers, 'to have been able to send you our correspondence with St. Petersburg and elsewhere, which show Lord Mayo's strong personal will, and his continued efforts in trying to develop a real policy. But we cannot for years make the smallest use, directly or indirectly, of such papers.'

The ordinary English reader is at times perplexed by the outcries regarding Indian finance. Comparisons are hastily drawn between India and England. It is assumed that the distant financier must be in the wrong when deficits are declared, when income fails in equilibrium with expenditure. The true facts of India and of British dominion in India escape notice. What are those facts? They may be briefly stated. We have very recently emerged from the æra of conquest and subjugation. The effort has been made, and not unsuccessfully, to compass in India the progressive work of a century, at least of what has taken many centuries in the civilised countries of Europe, in the last twenty-five years. Thus from day to day do new questions arise presenting the greatest complexity. Civilisation asserts her pretensions. The State declares itself responsible for the effects of famine on the one hand, and for such evils as flow from a deficient education of the masses on the other. The great change then coming over the views of those charged with the direction of affairs in India began to make itself seen and felt towards the close of Lord Dalhousie's reign. As yet, however, it was but the beginning. It was subsequent to the rebellion of 1857 that the blaze of European light was turned directly on the East; that the first participation in what could be got from modern discovery, thought, and enterprise was declared to be the heritage and the right of British India which Englishmen were bound to afford her, and which she was bound to accept, even though unwillingly, because of her inexperience and ignorance, of her blind adherence to the forms and superstitions belonging to the past. It was not sufficient that there should be an evolution of law which might take the place of personal government, however just the intentions of the latter, however mitigated the sense of self-assertion in the ruling race. It was not enough to consider security from physical ills, to provide for the amelioration of the lot of the population almost infinite in number, in their fields and in their huts. But it became the ambition of the English people, and of the governing class representing them in the East, to impregnate the Indian world with the moral and practical wisdom of Europe, to give it all the material means resulting from the application of the latter, to become the spiritual leaven of the vast community which had been gathered under their dominion. The immense estate was to be developed, its resources were to be expanded, the education of the masses was to be cared for, the alleviation of pauperism, of great physical calamity, was to be attended to according to the most approved modern principles and fashions. The accomplishment of such great and magnifi-

cent aims comes, after all, to be a question of cost.* On Earl Canning had devolved the task of finding ways and means for the rebellion and war, and to restore the finances when peace again made it possible. He was also overtaken by the flood of modern improvement. The British estate of modern India was rapidly becoming mortgaged on account of that improvement. The national resources were pledged. New plans of taxation were devised. Financial system was introduced by Mr. Wilson, although he did not live to mature his designs or to give them the solidity, the want of which has ever been felt since his early and lamented death.

Vacillation and frequent change of practice cannot but be fatal to financial success, and of this an instance has been seen in the management of the Indian exchequer. Lord Lawrence, when he arrived in Calcutta in 1864, found Lord Canning's income-tax. Impressed with the condition of the Indian finances, he desired to retain the impost as a permanent arrangement, such as it has become among ourselves. In this he was thwarted and outvoted by his Council, as we believe, wrongly.

The Viceroy's appreciation of the ultimate demands on the exchequer, of the certain growth of those demands, of the duties which would be incumbent on himself, and of the uncertainty affecting certain branches of revenue, was more just than that of his responsible advisers, including his financial member

---

* The following note may be useful for the appreciation of the internal growth of India. The large increment of revenue, if considered with the corresponding increase of expenditure, affords a fair measure of the new class of duties thrown on the modern Governor of India :—

	£
Thus, in 1856–57 the revenue stood at . . .	33,019,636
„ 1870–71 „ „ . . .	51,413,633
„ 1856–57 the ordinary expenditure was .	34,198,101
„ 1870–71 „ „ „ „ .	49,930,695
Add for public works extraordinary . . .	1,167,810
	51,098,505

The details show that the charge for the public debt had risen in the ratio of 2 to 1, this being chiefly due to the Mutiny; of education as 3 to 1, of medical arrangements as 3 to 1, of law and justice, of 5 to 3. It is further shown that while the post-office a little more than covers its expenses, telegraphs and railways work at a loss. The general rise of wages and of the cost of the necessaries of life has affected every department of the State.

of Council, to which he very reluctantly yielded. The income-tax disappeared early in 1865. It was soon felt that a substitute must be found in its place. A new impost was accordingly laid on trades and industry which was called a license-tax. It was held for a few years that an equilibrium had been accomplished between income and expenditure, indeed that the former was in a more favourable position. That this satisfactory condition had been established, depended on adherence to a policy based on the recognition of the truth, that it was impossible to effect the great public works demanded by official, physical, and social necessities in India out of income. According to that policy, a distinction was drawn between works extraordinary which were to be charged to capital, in other words, to be defrayed out of funds raised by loan, and the ordinary expenditure which was fairly chargeable to income, the surplus from the latter being applicable in alleviation of the future loans. This policy was fully approved by the controlling authority. It ultimately included railways, irrigation works on a large scale, and the rebuilding of the barracks throughout India for the British regiments, in accordance with orders from home, and a strong expression of public opinion in England and in India. This latter undertaking was to be effected in five years,* and to cost ten millions. We believe

* This great work is a very bright feature in the public works' administration of Lord Lawrence. Sanitary Commissioners had sat in England and in India. It was proved beyond a doubt that our European soldiers were exposed to sickness and death in the climate of the plains of India, much of which might be saved if their barracks were improved. The plans matured in India in consequence were criticised and approved in the office of the Secretary of State. The work having been once put in hand was pushed by Lord Lawrence with his accustomed energy. About five millions of money were spent in the several projects before he resigned office. The practical result on the health of the troops in India has been most satisfactory, as shown by the following table taken from the 'Army Medical Report' of 1873:—

Ratio per 1,000 *of mean Strength.*

	1873		1863–72	
	Admitted to Hospital	Died	Admitted to Hospital	Died
Bengal	1,334·9	16·04	1,549·6	27·12
Madras	1,251·7	19·90	1,730·7	23·07
Bombay	1,312	13·02	1,433·0	19·88

there is little doubt that the subsequent uncertainty and disorder of the Indian finances would have been avoided had the principles thus described been logically acted up to. But this was not to be. In the treatment of all these matters a want of fixedness of purpose made itself apparent. Following the analogy of what had been done in England regarding the construction of the coast fortifications, the Secretary of State, after 'much perpending,' had said that the rebuilding of the permanent barracks should be a 'public work extraordinary,' that is to say, should be paid for with borrowed money. Lord Lawrence did not quite act in this sense. He held that it was undoubtedly a serious evil to be compelled to incur debt even for such purposes. In short, the distinction to be observed between what was possible with reference to available income from ordinary resources, and the demands imposed on him by extraordinary expenditure, that expenditure being meant to compress into a very few years, what but for circumstances beyond control might fairly have been spread over a quarter of a century, did not perhaps strike him so forcibly as it did some other members of his Government. Hence, according to our appreciation of all the facts of the time, an apparent extravagance and illegitimate incurring of debt, when in truth the national resources were most properly applied; when, so far as was permitted by an æra of great* progress and development, a very rigid economy was practised. In short, the difference was one of account and system. It resolved itself into this kind of question: Shall loans be raised in advance for the prosecution of works to come, as we see in the case of great industrial private constructions? or, taking advantage of a treasury system, shall these works be effected by

---

	£
* Between these two years 1862–63 and 1870–71 in all India there were spent on the construction of new military buildings and works	9,392,645
During the same period the expenditure on new works classed as civil buildings amounted to . . .	5,347,215
For communications and roads, &c. &c., other than railways.	6,944,172
Miscellaneous public improvements affecting Harbours, &c.	1,628,992

(*Sir Richard Temple's Comparisons of Revenues and Charges, &c. &c.*)

The details of this expenditure are highly interesting and illustrative of what is advanced in the text. They apply to the whole of the vast area of the three Presidencies of India.

subtracting from the ordinary income what is generally wanted for other purposes, loans being called for only when the balances in the treasury have been thus reduced inconveniently low? It is clear that the latter method could not fail to leave the exchequer in apparent deficit, while the other arrangement would avoid the semblance of financial failure. On the other hand, by many very excellent authorities this second alternative, which thus leads to apparent deficit, is considered to be the safest as tending to prudence and caution, the deficit being in truth nominal rather than real with regard to the remunerative work done. Such, we understand, to have been the motives and the reasoning guiding Lord Lawrence, his policy having been supported by his system of taxation, which amounted indeed to a very moderate reimposition of income-tax under another name.

For such reasons was it that during his first year of office Lord Mayo found the finances of India in an unsatisfactory state. According to Sir John Strachey, when he assumed the Government, there had been heavy deficits for the two previous years, as shown by the completed accounts. The years 1868–9 closed with a deficit on the ordinary account of no less than 2,800,000*l.*, or, if the extraordinary account be included, of 4,100,000*l.* After the brief explanation afforded above, it will be understood that under the first head was in all probability included most of what should have been comprised under the second, if a policy deliberately framed had been strictly carried out.

It is due to Lord Lawrence as well as to the Earl of Mayo to say that the latter thoroughly accepted and acted on the principles adopted by his predecessor. It was true that a considerable portion of the 'ordinary' deficits of the previous year was nominal; that the oscillations of policy regarding the barracks had caused a charge on ordinary revenue which was originally intended to come from loans; that heavy advances had been made for the Abyssinian War; that deposits had been repaid largely in excess of receipts. All this might be, and undoubtedly was so; but Lord Mayo felt that it was not for him to deal with excuses for the deficit, but to deal with the deficit itself. He considered it to be his duty to restore the cash balances which had been inconveniently if not perilously reduced, to provide for a real equilibrium, to extinguish deficits. All the character and courage of the man came forth on the occasion. As Lord Lawrence before him, he preferred to face unpopularity, to engage in disagreeable conflict with excited and disaffected public opinion, rather than swerve from what he believed to be his duty in this great matter.

The income-tax and the salt duties were raised in the middle of the financial year. Large reductions of expenditure were ordered. Public works which could be stopped without positive loss were arrested. The military outlay on each account was subjected to a stern review. Yet while carrying such measures and personally attending to their execution, it may perhaps be said there never was a statesman to whom the imposition of burdens on the people was more odious. This arose not only from the native kindliness of his disposition—he believed that the prosperity of a nation depends on a rigid economy. That economy extends to the consideration of the popular resources, which as far as possible should be left to fructify in a free and natural manner. Only such demands should be made on behalf of the Treasury as may serve to liberate trade and industry and maintain Imperial solvency. He had clearly been a careful observer of the principles and administration of the late Sir Robert Peel.

As when the income-tax was imposed by the great English statesman, it was with a view to future substantial improvement which should many times compensate for the immediate burden; so Lord Mayo contemplated the ultimate results of his taxes and his reduced expenditure. Here are his own words:—

'We are engaged in great interests, and dealing with enormous sums—we are engaged in an attempt which may be summed up in two or three words. We have to change the fiscal condition of the country in such a way as to give, at the earliest possible moment, a financial advantage of upwards of three millions of money. I am now speaking, not only the opinion of the Government of India, but also that of the Secretary of State, when I say that it is decided that—looking to the many fluctuating items in the resources of the country, to the risks to which we are liable, and the magnitude of the interests involved—unless such a result is obtained, it cannot be said that Indian finance stands on a sound and substantial basis. Although if this great reduction of expenditure may be in a few cases somewhat to injure individual interests, or, what is far more important, to postpone for a short period works of usefulness in which we are all deeply interested, yet by making these sacrifices now, we shall lay up for ourselves a great store of safety and welfare for hereafter; for unless such a course is taken, we cannot hope to carry on with success, and finish within any reasonable time, great works of improvement which are so necessary to the life, the comfort, the health, and the safety of the people, and to the speedy completion of which the honour and the credit of this Government are so irrevocably pledged.'*

* Lord Mayo's Income-tax Speech, November 19, 1869.

The measures here alluded to improved the finances of 1869–70 by more than 1,700,000*l.*, and with the help of certain windfalls credited in the accounts of that year deficit was avoided. The surplus in the *ordinary* accounts of the three years of his government amounted to 4,300,000*l.*, and even including the extraordinary expenditure for the irrigation works and railways, the outgoings have exceeded the income of the State by less than 150,000*l.* This great result having, as we are told by Sir John Strachey, 'been obtained without any serious 'permanent addition to the burdens of the people,' is perhaps the most memorable instance of success, following on firmness in the enforcement of thrift and attention to details of expenditure in a large and complicated administration, to be found in the annals of any government with which we are acquainted. But what must have been the difficulty and the labour of enforcing the due economy, of ensuring the co-operation as well as the mere obedience of the subordinate governments, of executing the required reform, in the reduction of it to a system which should afford a quality of permanence, of obtaining assent to important details on the part of the controlling authority?

In the first place, let us turn to the manner in which Lord Mayo had to assert himself on account of the last consideration.

During the three years of Lord Mayo's government he managed to effect reductions in military expenditure amounting to more than half a million annually. This was by no means equal to the reductions he thought possible and recommended as advisable, but it was all he was able to effect in the face of adverse circumstances and controlling authority. It may seem strange to those little conversant with our Eastern arrangements to learn that there are in India three entirely separate military establishments—the Bengal, the Madras, and the Bombay armies, which are protected and ruled by their respective departmental authorities, and severally represented by members of the Council of the Secretary of State, who have been transplanted from the different presidencies. Accordingly, if the Government of India propose a large economical plan for military economy, involving reduction of portions of the rival native armies, the establishments are likely to be defended by their local authorities in India, and, we must believe, indirectly and directly too by their representatives in the London Council.

Thus it happens that a well-considered scheme may be sent home by a Viceroy in answer to a peremptory summons from

the Secretary of State in the cause of economy. But it does not follow that acquiescence or even a display of faint approbation will be afforded in return to the efforts of the Viceroy and his Council. The resources of the separate military establishments, whether in India or Downing Street, may be found to be too potent for the Viceroy. He thus might encounter official rebuff when he required support in the face of professional urgency, and the unpopularity accruing to a most ungrateful task. To the best of our recollection, something like this was believed to have occurred in answer to the carefully matured designs of the Government of India. The *ego* of the Duke of Argyll in a despatch calling for economy is said to have differed from the *ego* which acknowledged the economical designs of the Indian Viceroy. It has been suggested to us that the one *ego* may have asked for economy in the Financial Department of the India Office, but that the Viceroy was snubbed by the other *ego* in the Military one. However this may be, the larger reductions were not permitted. They would have chiefly fallen on the Madras army, that force being in excess of what was wanted by the Presidency of Madras, and composed, as regards the classes from which it is recruited, of the weakest elements known in India for military purposes. These facts are not hidden from the public; a late Governor of Madras had admitted, long before Lord Mayo's proposals went home, that the army of the presidency was more numerous than was necessary.

It may be mentioned in passing that Lord Mayo's military advisers—Lord Sandhurst and the late Sir Henry Durand—both urged the vital importance on economical and military grounds of abolishing separate military departments and establishments, with all their extravagance and jealousies, the same being an anachronism in these days of railroads and telegraphs, while for political and military reasons they held that the local character of the Native Forces should be maintained, like the police of the several presidencies. This reform must come sooner or later. Till it does, economy combined with efficiency is an impossibility in the Indian military establishments.

Certain reforms, having like ends in view, in the Artillery Brigades stationed in India, which had long been pressed on the Government by the Commander-in-Chief in India, and were fully adopted by Lord Mayo, were also carried after a time, by which a considerable money saving was effected, while the power of the Artillery for immediate action was increased. In this matter the friction to be overcoom was

not that of rival presidencies, but of War Office and of India Office.

It is thus seen that on occasions a Viceroy must meet his controlling authority with courteous but firm assertion of what is right, and that in the end the right prospers and the Viceroy succeeds. Such was Lord Mayo's action, and such his reward. While, however, thus enforcing economy, and laying down in practice, so far as he was allowed, that every shilling spent in unnecessary military outlay was sinful waste of national resources, he was careful to pay attention to, and to supply the means of, physical and moral amelioration for the troops, and in conjunction with his military advisers to look anxiously to every required improvement in armament, equipment, and quarters. The whole army was during his time supplied with rifled arms. New factories were established for this purpose. He pressed for the introduction of heavier field guns, and for the total disappearance of smooth bores from our batteries in India.

It was not, however, in adding to taxes and by reduction of establishments, military or other, and the stoppage of works which might wait without overwhelming inconvenience, that Lord Mayo's financial and administrative policy was chiefly distinguished, much as he immediately effected by the former, and true as it is that his decision* in these matters afforded the basis on which Indian finance was in future to rest with reference to equilibrium of income and expenditure. His chief merit was perhaps to be found in the firmness with which he asserted sound principles in the application of the national resources to national development.

The interest taken by Lord Mayo in agricultural improvement was a prominent feature of his administration. He was,

* 'Taking the expenditure within the control of Government, namely, the cost of Civil Administration, Law and Justice, Public Works, the Army and the Marine Service, I find that the average annual expenditure for the years 1867–68 to 1869–70 was 31,833,512*l.*; for the three years 1870–71 to 1872–73, 29,748,527*l.*; and for the two years 1873–74 and 1874–75, 29,331,193*l.* The average annual expenditure upon these services during the last two years is, therefore, less by 2,500,000 than it was six years ago. These figures show that while on the one hand the revenue steadily increases, although not at a very high rate, on the other the expenditure has been carefully supervised by the Government. I can say this without scruple, because the result is mainly due to the attention which was paid to the control of expenditure while Lord Mayo was Viceroy.' (Extract from Speech by Lord Northbrook, August 5, 1875.)

perhaps, the first Governor-General who gave his mind to the practical direction of official intelligence and the popular will in the way of agricultural reform. He believed that if the physical well-being of the people be secured, advance of education, of self-government, of loyalty to the ruling power, will not be far distant. He was 'the first to give utterance to the 'truth that in a country nine-tenths of whose population 'depend for their livelihood upon the land, the foundations of 'national progress must rest upon a healthy agricultural 'development.'* He was convinced that in India agriculture and commerce move hand in hand. Such considerations led him to suggest the formation of a new department of 'Revenue, Agriculture, and Commerce,' which has now been organised.

We have been familiarised of late years in this country with the importance of irrigation in India. Famine, which almost yearly recurs in some part or other of that wide area, can only be met by the certainty of production resulting from irrigation in tropical climates,† and the improvement of means of communication. With respect to the former, it may be said Lord Mayo had little more to do, as regards design and execution of great schemes of irrigating canalisation, than to follow what had been determined on by his predecessors, and more especially by Lord Lawrence. But where he shone was in laying down the financial principles on which these schemes should be executed. Thus he considered that within a limited period these works, involving an outlay of some twenty millions of money, could be made to repay the capital expenditure. He believed that bound as we are to provide against recurring famine, we are at least equally bound to ensure the repayment of capital expenditure on such account. Reasoning in this manner, he desired to apply to India in the consideration of this question what obtains in England with reference to works of local utility; viz.,

'to charge on a certain district the repayment of capital, interest, and the cost of maintenance, because it is held that the construction of such works confers extensive advantages upon the whole neighbour-

* Sir John Strachey.

† Between 1862–63 and 1870–71 the total outlay on new irrigation works has amounted to 5,173,744*l.* In the Bengal Presidency, in four of the great canal systems, the number of acres irrigated has risen from 872,865 at the former date to 1,710,734 at the latter.

(General Explanations, &c. &c., by the Hon. Sir Richard Temple, in a Comparison of Revenues and Charges for the years 1856–57 and 1870–71.)

hood.' . . . 'When we see that the cost of the ordinary administration of this country is such that it can hardly be defrayed out of ordinary revenue, and when we look to the increased cost of that administration which improvement must necessarily bring, I say that it must be plain that it is impossible to add indefinitely in regard to reproductive works without dangerously crippling our power.'

Such was his reasoning and why he determined that the land which benefits by them should bear the main burden for the capital and interest expended on irrigation works. The soundness of the principle is undeniable. An attempt has been made to give effect to it in legislation. But Lord Mayo could only accept as a compromise so much as was acceded to by the controlling power of the Secretary of State. Our space is limited. We must therefore forego the temptation to give in detail the excellent design put forward by Lord Mayo for the application of his principles.

Equal in importance to the immense question of land irrigation in India stands the matter of railway extension. In the consideration of the latter the principles laid down and the action pursued by the Viceroy were akin to what he had suggested and done with respect to the other subject. Railway extension was to be resolutely pursued, but on the understanding that economy of execution was to be enforced in a manner as yet not conceived in India or in England as possible of general application. He laid down as a maxim, railway extension we must have, but it must be on the sole condition of future construction of lines according to scales and rates of cost which are suitable to a poor country of which the resources are as yet but half developed. Already just before his departure Lord Lawrence had put his signature to an important railway minute, the result of which was the determination on the part of the India Office and of Lord Mayo to abandon the so-called guarantee system under which the great trunk lines of Indian railways had been constructed. The system which had been inaugurated by Lord Dalhousie had done its work well but expensively. The reasons for adhering to it were no longer valid. Lord Lawrence's scheme contemplated the construction of many new lines, the entire area of India having been comprehensively considered. An expenditure of seventy-five millions, to be spread over twenty years, was suggested. It was assumed that about 300 miles of railway might be annually constructed on a standard of outlay of 12,000*l.* a mile, or a capital expenditure of about 3¾ millions sterling per annum, without too great a strain on the resources of India, provided that there was due resistance 'to additional capital outlay

'without creating clear additional paying power in return.' To Lord Mayo himself belongs the credit of insisting on a more economical construction of the large system of lines which had been proposed by Lord Lawrence, the introduction of the narrow or metre gauge, of thus reducing the charge to 5,000*l.* a mile; the policy of direct construction by the State instead of through the medium of a company having been adopted.* He declared positively that we must either have cheap railways or none at all. The expediency of having recourse to a narrow gauge had been faintly shadowed out by Lord Lawrence, but the struggle of enforcing this economy, and of carrying reforms apparently antagonistic to the interests of powerful companies of which the headquarters were in London, and not without Parliamentary influence, of shutting them out from a profitable field, fell to Lord Mayo. He was equal to the occasion. The practical knowledge and experience of the subject which he displayed were as marked as his determination to enforce his views was resolute, and his action was prudent and conciliatory. The application of the policy of railway extension was at the same time pushed in the States under native rule by a liberal diplomacy. Co-operation from the princes of India for the general improvement and for advancement of commerce throughout the peninsula was secured. A crown was thus put on the efforts and the work of the Viceroy in his great designs for ensuring the food, for relieving the taxation, and for improving the moral existence of the community at large, whether under British or native rule, by his thorough searching but economical systems of agricultural and irrigational development, and of intelligent railway extension.

It remains to notice an arrangement which has an important financial bearing, while its political character was of a kind to excite much discussion and feeling in India generally, but more especially in the governing class. That which through a misnomer has been called the Decentralisation of Finance may be thus briefly described. Till recently it had been the custom of the subordinate governments to estimate for their local or domestic wants, such as police, jails, education, registration, medical, printing and Civil Public Works, and to draw on the Supreme Government simply for as much as they could obtain from it. It was a constant struggle between the two autho-

* In 1856–57 the capital expenditure of the guaranteed railways was 18,404,236*l.* In 1870–71 the guaranteed capital had risen to 91,102,810*l.*, the loss to the State in the payment of interest being not less than 1,834,811*l.*

rities. An insubordinate, a captious, or an exacting inferior was likely to prosper better in enforcing demands than one of milder pretensions. Economy on the part of the superior became extremely difficult, if not impossible. Grants were adjusted by a series of compromises. Expenditure constantly grew in consequence. A wholesome check as supposed to exist in the immediate control was practically shown to be non-existent.

It was at length determined by Lord Mayo to throw the responsibility of finding ways and means and of expenditure within certain well-defined limits on the spending minor governments, certain funds and resources being assigned to them for the purpose, with the liberty to propose further local taxation for the consideration of the Supreme Government if they found it necessary. This subject had been much discussed in previous years. It had been rejected before Lord Mayo's time because of the unwillingness to part with the immediate control and power of *veto* on every kind of expenditure, however insignificant. The financial department was not willing to part with power, with direct superintendence of the most trivial character. It had been in vain to argue that the control had failed, that the *veto* had proved impotent, that the arms of the financial department were turned against itself. Till Lord Mayo scanned the problem which was to be solved, the truth escaped the supreme authority in India that the minor governments were too important, the areas they administered too large, their wants too numerous and varied to admit of their affairs being treated in the direct fashion proper for magistracies and collectorates. He was the first to apply the principle of seeking the co-operation of the minor governments in the application of the finances and the responsibility of raising taxes for local purposes, instead of compelling, or rather attempting to compel them, to move in certain grooves, and in matters of domestic concern to be ever thinking of a superior will. The policy which thus commended itself to him has proved admirably successful. The economy he so ardently desired has followed as he expected on the appeal to proper motives of action. But that which was hardly looked for with like confidence has also followed. So far from there being a tendency to increased taxation for local purposes in the several governments and provinces, the very contrary is seen. Thrift is practised because the obligation of finding resources additional to the assignments is thrown on the spending power. No more need be said, except that the complete success, as unanimously testified by the several authorities interested, is a rare testimony

to the sagacity and the decision with which the project of the reform was entertained, as the complement to the series of financial and administrative arrangements which with his diplomacy have put a distinctive character on the Viceroyalty of Lord Mayo. The application of administrative reform with a view to financial relief; the execution of a policy which should have the effect of promoting an interest in general economy, in providing highly-placed and important local authorities with motives for sparing instead of drawing on the public purse, of causing them to feel the responsibility before the people for their collections and their outlay; the determination to force the expenditure for purposes of reproduction and development in various ways, to move within limits marked out alone by a strict necessity and surrounded by the conditions of early reimbursement, designate Lord Mayo as perhaps the first Indian Ruler who has brought to India large and systematic ideas of finance, who was able to apply his principles in a truly scientific as distinguished from a merely empirical sense. It is easy to say, Be economical. Live within your means. But in the concerns of a vast empire to do this involves the most difficult problems. The question is How? Lord Mayo distinctly showed in theory and practice the means and the end. His successor reaped the results. Deficits had disappeared. Lord Northbrook has had wherewithal to meet the Bengal Famine. He has abolished the income-tax, a very doubtful operation,* which had already been reduced in Lord Mayo's last year. Of this income-tax he disapproved in its existing shape. That he considered should be altered; but, as declared by him a few days before his death,

* With Sir John Strachey we believe that this trenchant dealing with the income-tax, the second change of the kind in the course of eight years, was injudicious. It revived uncertainty, and just at the time that the income-tax had been reduced to points at which it pressed neither on classes nor individuals, and that it had come to be tolerated as in England through force of habit, the Government of India divested itself of the only means at its disposal for reaching the incomes of classes which, being possessed of great wealth, entirely evade contribution to the expenses of the State. Thus is further relief of the customs rendered very difficult, whether as regards foreign trade or the duties on salt which operate as a poll-tax on the native population of India. But it is the uncertainty and change of system of which we complain. Just as we saw unwillingly the reimposition of the income-tax in India in 1868, so do we view its subsequent abolition in 1873, and for the same reason, that in neither year were the reasons sufficiently strong to justify an important and vital change in the financial system.

there were other fiscal reforms affecting the salt duties, and touching the interests and the feelings of the masses infinite in number, which should be considered before the income-tax was done away with; that tax which is only felt by the highly prosperous classes, British and Native, but is more particularly resented in India by the official section of the former.

But in this we see Lord Mayo and his policy at once. It was for India, for the community, the people at large, that he thought and spoke and laboured. Thus he writes:—

'I believe we have not done our duty to the people of this land. Millions have been spent on the conquering race, which might have been spent in enriching and in elevating the children of the soil. We have done much, but we can do a great deal more. It is, however, impossible, unless we spend less on the "*interests*" and more on the people.'

And again on another occasion:—

'The welfare of the people of India is our primary object. If we are not here for their good, we ought not to be here at all.'

His policy with regard to education was based on the same popular principle. While recognising the necessity of encouragement to the highest standards, he demanded the widest possible diffusion of education among the masses. Like his predecessor, he found that much had been accomplished towards the former object, but that, especially in Bengal, the development of the lowest class of education had been neglected, and that in its instruction and the encouragement of a vernacular literature lay a prime duty of the British Government. With similar object he took the Mohammedan population under his protection, which, for want of education according to their proper conditions, was sinking rapidly in the scale of the classes composing the great Indian community, and was generally viewed with distrust and suspicion.

We are compelled to stop, and to abstain from further detail in allusion to the characteristics of Lord Mayo's administration, and to the principles by which his conduct was guided. Enough has been said to show how cordially he worked on the lines traced by the great men who had preceded him in his office, and more especially by Lord Lawrence, and with what effect he put the stamp of originality on his own work in the development of the policy thus handed over to him under the several heads of administration. It was remarked before he relinquished his office in Ireland that he appeared in some measure to be reaching a point of difference with his party in the consideration of Irish questions; that he was inclining to

what is known under the name of 'Liberalism.' We can well believe it. If, as we understand Liberalism, it means to recognise Progress as the condition demanded for human institutions; if it means respect and love for man in his weakest and feeblest form as well as in his strength and prosperity; if it means a want of sympathy with class interests, but an ardent, a consuming desire to promote the happiness and the comfort of the greatest number; if it means respect for political justice, and equity towards foreign powers and allies, and in the treatment of feudatories; if it means the deliberate preference of the common advantage to private motives; then it must be confessed that, as shown by his Indian career, Lord Mayo belonged to Liberalism in the best and widest sense.

The motto of '*Par le peuple et pour le peuple*' may be all-powerful in many European countries, and more especially in our own. But Lord Mayo well knew that in India, in the presence of the strong, conquering British race, amid the systems of commerce and law, of education and religion, installed with whatever goodwill and purity of design by an alien government, the people is wellnigh powerless to make itself heard; and that in providing for its protection and welfare, for shielding its weakness, for its advancement in civilisation, the head of the State and the rule he sanctions must do in India what is done for themselves by stronger races in other climes.

To this end, then, were all his energies directed. For this purpose were applied his far-reaching experience of men and things, his vigilant supervision, his incessant activity of personal movement, his engrossing labours in the cabinet. On this account was especially illustrated that force of individual character and vigorous self-assertion which, if little suspected by the public before his nomination to the Viceroyalty of India, was not slow to attract to him the gaze of the empire thus committed to his charge, and distinguished him among his countrymen as one sagacious in council, decisive in action, and a successful ruler of men.

ART. V.—1. *History of Merchant Shipping and Ancient Commerce.* By W. S. LINDSAY. Four Volumes. London: 1874–75.

2. *The Black Book of the Admiralty.* Edited by Sir TRAVERS TWISS, Q.C., D.C.L. Vols. I.–III. 8vo. London: 1871–74.

3. *Storia della Marina Pontificia nel medio evo dal* 728 *al* 1499. Per il P. ALBERTO GUGLIELMOTTI, dell' Ordine dei Predicatori, Theologo Casanatense. 2 vols. small 8vo. Firenze: 1871.

IT might fairly be supposed that to a people whose wealth and power are peculiarly derived from the sea, the history of navigation would have a very marked interest, and that works treating of the origin or development of naval energy and maritime enterprise would be eagerly sought after. That this is not altogether the case is very evident from the rapidity with which recent books on these subjects, and on naval history and biography, have found their way into the trade list of 'remainders,' to be sold for anything they will fetch, sometimes for prices little above their value as waste paper. And yet no one whose studies have led him to examine carefully into this class of literature can wonder at it; for sailors are, in the natural course of things, men of action, and their writings are too often in a style which few care to read; whilst on the other hand, the difficulties and technicalities which stand in the way of an outsider, render it almost impossible for such a one to write honestly and faithfully on a subject with which he is not familiar. It is thus that several of our best known naval works are either clumsy records, destitute alike of literary skill and critical judgment, or are the productions of facile pens in the hands of professed bookmakers: we may say, in all sincerity, that these last might employ their time in a more useful manner; that their books are distasteful alike to the seaman and the student, and speedily fall into disrepute even with that general public whom a flowing style may, for a short time, have beguiled.

It is, therefore, with pleasure that we have received the volumes which stand first on the list at the head of this article. Mr. Lindsay is a seaman, and has a practical knowledge of his subject; he writes in a pleasant workmanlike style, easy to read and to understand; he has given us a narrative which has been welcomed, which will, we trust, continue to be welcomed, by the reading public, and which, so far as it

adheres to the title, as a history of merchant shipping and commerce, is of very real merit. Unfortunately, it frequently wanders far away from these limits into the domain of naval archæology in general, a subject of which the author does not seem to have an equal grasp, and which, in fact, he has treated rather as giving scope for ingenuity and imagination than for historical research. He has thus, in the discussion of important questions, overlooked or neglected the early records or modern commentaries which would have led him clear of many difficulties and stumbling-blocks. He has taken no notice of such recognised authorities as Marino Sanuto, Pantero Pantera, Bartolomeo Crescentio, or even Sir William Monson;* although he refers occasionally to the 'Archéologie Navale' of M. Jal, his acquaintance with it would seem to be very superficial; he quotes the Chronicle of the Sire de Joinville from the slipshod and inaccurate translation published in Bohn's series, when the able and scholarly edition of M. de Wailly was surely within reach; he discusses at second hand, from an incorrect notice in the 'Monthly Magazine,' the memoirs of a French Protestant, which was republished in Paris a few years ago; and he has altogether ignored the new and beautiful edition of Marco Polo by Colonel Yule. When this is the case with works so easily accessible, the rest may be almost anticipated. There is not a trace of his having searched the rare or unpublished treasures stored up in the great libraries of this or other countries, nor of his even knowing that there is an enormous accumulation of archæological wealth in the Venetian Archives. We conceive, then, that in this part of his work Mr. Lindsay has fallen short of his intention; and if we dwell more persistently on what is, strictly speaking, only a lengthy digression, it is in the wish to augment rather than to criticise a very interesting addition to our naval literature.

The second work on our list is of a very different class. It is the official publication of the contents of a manuscript volume known as the 'Black Book of the Admiralty,' which disappeared mysteriously more than fifty years ago, and has been quite lately found in a box of waste paper stowed away in a cellar; its recovery being due principally to the attention

* 'Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis,' cujus Auctor Marinus Sanutus dictus Torsellus, in Bongars, 'Gesta Dei per Francos,' vol. ii. fo. Hannoviæ, 1611; 'L'Armata Navale,' del Capitan Pantero Pantera, 4to. in Roma, 1614; 'Nautica Mediterranea' di Bartolomeo Crescentio Romano, 4to. Roma, 1607; 'Naval Tracts,' by Sir William Monson, in Churchill's 'Collection of Voyages,' vol. iii.

which had been drawn to it by the publication of its contents in the first of these volumes. The Black Book is not, as its name might seem to imply, a record of offences or offenders; it is simply a collection of our old laws relating to maritime affairs, drawn up more especially for the guidance of the officers of the Admiralty Courts, and has been now, for the first time, printed from a collation of different copies, including one most beautiful MS., written, it would seem, early in the fifteenth century, for the use of Sir Thomas Beaufort, Lord High Admiral in the reign of Henry V.; the writing of the Black Book itself is considered to date from the reign of Edward IV. Of the editor's part of the work it is almost superfluous to speak. The name of Sir Travers Twiss is sufficient guarantee for its excellence. The critical commentaries which precede the statutes and judgments contained in the three volumes are just what they ought to be—short, clear, and very much to the point; and the introduction of mediæval English translations of the mediæval French originals strikes us as extremely felicitous. The third volume contains the greater part of 'The Consulate of the Sea,' now first translated into English under the title of 'The Customs of the Sea;' the contrast between it and the hitherto classical French edition by Boucher, printed in 1808, is a delightful proof of the very great advance which has been made during the present century in critical archæology.

The title of the third work which we have named above may excite some surprise; for the idea of Pontifical Rome having either a navy or a naval history will be new to many of our readers. The fact is that in the dark and disturbed ages, the prestige of Rome still constituted her a sort of rallying-point for the friends of order, and her moral influence, far excelling her material strength, enabled her to collect the ships of the segregated petty Italian states under one flag, for the defence of the coast against barbarian, Byzantine, or infidel invaders. The work of Father Guglielmotti, therefore, whilst dwelling on and perhaps exaggerating the importance of the Roman authority, must rather be considered as a general sketch of the growth of the naval power of Italy, independent of the more particular development of the might of Genoa and Venice. The book itself is an enlarged edition of an essay published nearly twenty years ago, and brings the subject down to the sixteenth century, when it merges into the history of the celebrated league which triumphed at Lepanto, already related by the author as grouping round his central figure of Marc-Antonio Colonna.

It has been very generally assumed by writers on naval history that between ancient and modern times there is a distinct gap, a breach of continuity: it has been forgotten that the Byzantine Empire, in wealth and power and civilisation, flourished for many hundred years after the fall of the Empire of the West; and that the naval art, both for commerce and for war, was carried on at Constantinople, irrespective of the western inroad of the Germanic tribes. The nautical traditions and usages of the Mediterranean were preserved and handed down in unbroken sequence from the earliest ages, and laws relative to shipping and commerce have come to us in direct descent from the ancient Greeks and Phœnicians. Different as they now are, it is a difference of development, not of origin, and they may be traced back through gradual changes to their classic home in the Island of Rhodes, in which place they seem to have been first collected and codified. In this form the Rhodian Law embodied rules regarding copartnership, charter-parties, and bills of lading; it fixed the pay of masters and seamen by shares in the profits of the voyage, a usage still adopted in whaling ships; it decreed certain penalties for carelessness or negligence on the part of the officers or men, whereby the vessel or her cargo was damaged, and regulated the law of flotsom and jetsom, salvage, bottomry and demurrage. This complete body of maritime and commercial law was accepted by the Romans as such, and continued in force till the downfall of the Western Empire. It still lived in the East, and with the rise of new kingdoms and states in Italy, France and Spain, reappeared as traditional usage, till it was finally reduced to writing in various codes, the best known of which bears the name of 'The Laws of Oleron.'

Considerable doubt has been entertained as to the immediate origin of these laws, which are very certainly the basis of modern maritime law in the West and North of Europe. In a memorandum of 12 Edward III., it is stated that these 'laws and statutes were by the Lord Richard, formerly King 'of England, on his return from the Holy Land, corrected, in-'terpreted and declared, and were published in the Island of 'Oleron, and were named in the French tongue la ley Olyroun' (Black Book, vol. i. p. lvii.); but it is well established that King Richard I. did not visit the Island of Oleron on his way home from the Holy Land. Sir Travers Twiss maintains, we believe correctly, that the disputed expression may imply merely that King Richard I., 'upon his return to England, 'sanctioned those judgments which had been previously pub-'lished at Oleron.' The question then naturally arises as to

the possible connexion between maritime law and a petty island such as Oleron, which, it has been asserted, had no commerce or maritime importance. It was therefore argued by Cleirac* that however insignificant the island might be, it was a favourite retreat of the Dowager Queen Eleanor, who gave many and unusual privileges to the inhabitants; it would thus seem probable enough that the laws and usages—which have in all ages had a peculiar and definite force in nautical matters—being codified for the guidance of the merchants and seamen of Aquitaine, were in the first instance published by Eleanor at Oleron, either during the life of her first husband, Louis VII. of France, or later, during the absence of Richard, and confirmed by him after his return, under their then recognised and accustomed title.

This theory has met with very general acceptance; but Sir Travers Twiss points out that whatever may be the possibility of Queen Eleanor having originated these laws, it is and must be purely a hypothesis, utterly unsupported by evidence; and that, as a matter of fact, 'the Island of Oleron furnished an 'important contingent to the great fleet which was sent forth 'in the second year of the reign of King Richard for the relief 'of the Holy Land, and that, amongst the five commanders of 'that fleet, was William de Forz of Oleron, whom the king 'constituted one of the Justiciaries of his Navy' (Black Book, vol. i. p. lxx.). That the Island of Oleron continued an important place in maritime jurisdiction is clearly established by the Coutumier of Oleron, now first published as an appendix to the Black Book (vol. ii. p. 254). This record of customs and usages, which the editor attributes to the earliest years of the fourteenth century, shows that 'the Law 'Maritime was habitually administered in the Mayor's Court 'at Oleron, not merely in suits between foreigners and burgesses 'but in causes where both the parties of the suit were foreigners. 'The circumstance that Breton mariners and merchants had 'frequent recourse to the Mayor's Court at Oleron for the settlement of their disputes in maritime matters in the fourteenth 'century, raises a presumption that the court at that time was 'in considerable repute as a Court of Maritime Law, and there 'are documents belonging to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries which refer to Oleron under circumstances which 'warrant us in supposing that it was at that period a port much 'frequented by foreign shipping' (vol. ii. pp. liv. lv.). How it came about that this little island, now principally noted as a

* 'Us et Coustumes de la Mer;' Bourdeaux, 1661.

rabbit-warren, happened to be the early home of maritime law, is a point of some interest to the local antiquary, but has no particular bearing on naval archæology.

The origin of the Laws themselves is a much more important question, which Cleirac has answered by deriving them from the Barcelona Code known as 'The Consulate of the 'Sea,' which has been assigned by French writers to an almost fabulous epoch, and more distinctly by M. Boucher to the year 900 or thereabouts. The arguments by which he supports this claim to an extreme antiquity appear to us quite insufficient. One of these is the absence of all mention of the compass, from which he infers that at the time the Consulate was first drawn up, the compass did not exist; but the compass, he maintains, was in use at the time of the first Crusade, and therefore the Consulate was drawn up at a still earlier date. If, however, the compass was known at all at the time of the first Crusade, it most certainly was not in common use in the Mediterranean; and in any case it is scarcely logical to argue that because the compass, which may possibly have been known as early as the year 1100, is not mentioned, the Consulate must therefore have been written in the year 900. Sir Travers Twiss, with much greater reason, would refer it to about the year 1340; and this not on merely negative grounds, but from the very positive proof that a royal charter of 1336 is quoted in the 36th Chapter (Black Book, vol. ii. p. lxii.); a proof which may be taken as setting definitely at rest the oft-mooted question whether the Laws of Oleron were derived from the Consulate or not.

That the two spring from a common source is however at once apparent; and this common source is either the Decisions of Trani, or, as is not improbable, some other code of equal antiquity and of the same origin. The Decisions of Trani, printed at Fermo in 1507, claim to date from 1063, a claim which the editor of the Black Book thinks is well established (vol. ii. p. xliv.). He considers them the most ancient extant source of Maritime Law, and shows that the 'Consolato del 'Mare,' printed at Venice in 1549, and which Father Guglielmotti refers to the early part of the eleventh century, is merely a translation from the Catalan (vol. iii. p. xxxi.).

In all these codes the main sense of the law is the same, and is clearly derived from the original Jus Rhodium. There are, however, many points in which they differ from it, and there is one in which the difference becomes a distinction; it is, that 'the mariner under the modern system is a free man. The 'slave no longer figures as a chattel, which may be thrown

'overboard to lighten the ship. The crews are free men' (Black Book, vol. ii. p. xlv.). They agree amongst themselves, and they differ from the ancient law in this, that the master of a ship may not strike a mariner, and that the mariner may defend himself if the master persist in striking him (Black Book, vol. i. p. 105; vol. iii. p. 229).

This distinctive modification of Maritime Law was obviously the effect of the new nationalities which had come into the countries bordering on the Mediterranean. The free German could not be beaten, and the employment of slaves on board was for centuries unknown. A confused chronology and a too vivid imagination have led Mr. Lindsay into a serious error on this point. He speaks of slaves as forming a large part of the Venetian crews in the middle of the thirteenth century; in describing the pomp with which the Venetian fleet got under way, he says: 'The oars were simultaneously thrown upwards, 'the sails set, and the vessel, under full press of canvas, pro-'ceeded on her voyage. Hundreds of gay gondolas covered 'the placid waters. The galley-slaves with their hideous 'misery formed a saddening contrast to the haughty bearing 'of the Doge and the splendour of his court' (vol. i. p. 200). The desire to produce a picturesque effect has tempted the author beyond the limits of historical evidence; for the galley-oars were secured by grummets to thole-pins, so that they could not be tossed; and, in the thirteenth century, the galley-slave was a monster yet unborn; it may be positively affirmed that a galley-slave, as we understand the name, was unknown at Venice at that time, and for 200 years later. On this point we are not left to poetic fancy; we have explicit and clear information from Marino Sanuto, who writing in 1320 of the past century, says that the oarsmen, 180 in number, were all paid, their wages varying from 4 to 6 soldi a month. These *soldi grossorum*, or *soldi dei grossi*, are estimated by Colonel Yule as intrinsically equal to 5 shillings sterling; and though it may be difficult to fix their current equivalent, still, as establishing a relative value, the pay of the master was 15 soldi, of the carpenter 7½, and of the cook 4. Their rations consisted of biscuit, beans, salt meat, cheese and wine, with leave to buy extras at the canteen on board; and they were paid savings whenever it was necessary to put them on short allowance (Mar. San. p. 57). But of the galley-slaves we have a very different account 300 years later; they were not paid, their labour was compulsory, they were forced, *sforzati*, from which the more familiar French *forçats*; and their scale of diet was thirty ounces of biscuit daily, with water; in winter, soup every

other day; and during the season, every day when in port, but never at sea, because—says Pantero Pantera—it might make them heavy and dull when they were wanted to work, and because it was difficult to cook; and this luxurious soup which was to render them dull, fat and stupid, was made of three ounces of beans, flavoured with a quarter of an ounce of oil, per man. Fleshmeat and wine were served out four times a year, namely, at Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide and the Carnival (Pan. Pan. p. 131); and a hundred years later still, Jean Marteilhe, the French Protestant, states, as the ration of the slaves, simply twenty-six ounces of biscuit and four ounces of beans per day.

During these centuries the galleys had been increasing enormously in size. The ordinary French galley about the year 1710, when Marteilhe was serving, had 50 oars, with 6 men to an oar, and a complement of 500; the galley-royal of the same period had 60 oars, with 7 men to each, and a complement, all told, of 670: but at the end of the 16th century, the complement of an ordinary Venetian galley, such as fought at Lepanto, was 400, of whom 200 were rowers; and the galleys which Marino Sanuto describes had 180 men at the oars, and a complement of 250.

Mr. Lindsay is thus mistaken in considering (vol. i. p. 262), that the galley as described by Marteilhe can be taken as the type of the galleys of the middle ages; the difference in size was very great; but a still more radical difference was in the manner of rowing them, a difference which seems altogether to have escaped his notice. In the time of Marino Sanuto, and for more than one hundred years after, there was only one man to each oar; the oars were thus small and very numerous. The testimony of Pantero Pantera on this point is distinct and incontrovertible. It appears that just as the ancient Romans, after long trial, had decided that triremes were practically superior to quadriremes and quinqueremes, and had established this as a fact in the battle of Actium; so the mediæval States of Italy, after trying four and five oars to a bench, had become convinced that three was a more efficient number, and at three they remained fixed until the invention of the large oar, *scaloccio*; and these oars were rowed, not in rowlocks, not through holes in the side, as has been commonly misrepresented, but secured by grummets to thole-pins, fixed in a stout bulwark, which was called the *posticcio*, and in French *apostis*.

It does not appear that galleys, as distinct from large rowboats, ever came into general use in England; for what the old writers and monkish chroniclers speak of as galleys were

very certainly nothing of the sort; they were small vessels with auxiliary rowing power, and when used for purposes of war performed the duty of scouts: they seem to have had comparatively few oars, fitted always in single rank. But reference is often made to the galleys which formed part of the fleet which accompanied King Richard I. to the Holy Land; and Mr. Lindsay, describing the fitting out of this fleet at Dover, Dartmouth, and various English and French ports, and referring afterwards to the galleys which Vinesauf, with much exaggeration, has spoken of as 'innumerable,' as 'covering the 'sea,' which 'appeared to boil with the multitude of the rowers' (Lindsay, vol. i. p. 376), has omitted to state that these galleys, with which the king entered Messina, and which were 'innumerable,' numbered, in point of fact, less than forty; that it is in evidence that most of them were chartered at Marseilles; that, presumably, the others were picked up in Italy, and that fifteen more were supplied to him by the King of Sicily; and again, in noticing the battle off Dover in 1217, he says, 'an English fleet of forty galleys and other 'vessels attacked and defeated a French squadron of more 'than double its size' (vol. i. p. 394), implying evidently that the galleys were the principal part of the force; but Matthew Paris, to whom he refers, speaks of the English as getting to windward of the French 'by keeping a close luff;'* necessarily, therefore, under sail. Similarly, at the battle of Sluys, the English got to windward under sail on the starboard tack, and though their vessels were most probably assisted by oars, they were not, strictly speaking, galleys.

But in all considerations of early naval history, it must be remembered that the accounts which have come down to us are written by men ignorant of nautical technicalities, and in a language which had not the proper technical terms; that we are therefore left to give a strict and definite meaning to their details as we best can, and that the exact words are not to be implicitly and absolutely relied on. A great deal of the doubt and difficulty which pervades the study of naval archæology is due to our reluctance to admit and recognise this as a fact. It is assumed that when a chronicler wrote of a dromon, a galley, a nef, a buss, a cog, a holker, a huissier, a palander, a chelander, or any other description of vessel, he knew exactly what he was writing about, and used the terms with technical accuracy; and yet when we notice the curious mistakes which

* This point is very fully argued out by Sir Harris Nicolas, 'History of the Royal Navy,' vol. i. p. 179, *note*.

authors and journalists make even now, when opportunities of information are everywhere at hand, it is a natural and logical inference that the mediæval writers, for the most part monks and soldiers, might and did commit extraordinary solecisms.

In the same way, the various devices which stand for ships, either on Trajan's column, or on ancient medals, are mere conventionalities, and of no authority. But very great confusion has been introduced by a mistaken reverence for these. Trajan's column, more particularly, has much to answer for in the various absurdities it has suggested to inland scholars, men of much learning but little knowledge. And even in later times, rude child-like drawings have been received with a respect to which they are not entitled. An extreme instance of this occurs in Nicolas' 'History of the Royal Navy' (vol. i. p. 184), where referring to a couple of sketches of the fight off Dover, the author says:—'Though not actual pictures of the 'fight itself, and though certainly inaccurate representations 'of the vessels, inasmuch as they have neither masts nor sails '(nor, he might have added, oars), they are yet valuable from 'affording some idea of a naval conflict in the latter part of 'the thirteenth century.' But as the sketch, there copied, represents five angry men crowded into a washing tub, it can scarcely give an idea of anything, unless it may be of the once celebrated voyage of the Conscript Fathers to Philippi.

The seals of several of the mediæval corporations are of a very different class. Although the ships as shown in them are gross caricatures, they are still of such a nature as to convey some idea of what they are meant for; and though we would not for a moment suppose that the effigies, as shown in the seals of Sandwich, Poole, Dover, or Faversham (Lindsay, vol. i. p. 399), are to be regarded as portraits, they do none the less set forth some of the leading characteristics of the vessels of the time. They show, for instance, that the ships had but one mast; that they had only a square sail, and that it was furled aloft; that they had singularly high fore and stern castles; and from the Poole seal it would appear that the rudder was known, though from the others we may judge that the steering oar was more common. In the different seals, this steering oar is shown on the quarter exposed to view, and is different in different copies; but Northern custom was to fix it on the right side, which thus from the earliest period obtained the name of steer-board, a name which the Anglo-Saxons and Northmen brought to England, and which still lives as starboard. But the word steer refers directly to the star, the pole or lode star, by which the early navigators

kept their course; so that the first syllable of starboard is in reality the same as the English star.* Steering thus with an oar over the starboard quarter, the pilot necessarily turned his back to the other side, which was therefore called back-board; a name which in slightly different forms still prevails over all Western and Northern Europe, with the exception of England, where it has been called larboard, or leerboard, the left side.† But since with reference to the position of the steersman, the loom of the steering oar, or afterwards the tiller, was pushed away to starboard, whilst it was, as it were, lifted, carried, or ported to larboard, the phrase 'to port the helm' came to be equivalent to put it to larboard; and during the present century the word larboard has become obsolete, port being now used in its stead. The states of the Mediterranean have only recently adopted kindred names for the sides of the ship; all the old technical writers, such as Pantero Pantera or Bartolomeo Crescentio, use *destra* and *sinistra*, and the words *tribordo* and *babordo* are quite neologistic; indeed, in Italian, they have neither meaning nor signification; for the early Italians used the steering oar indifferently on either side, and sometimes one on each side.

From these corporate seals, also, we see that the ships of war, which their emblems are meant to represent, are sailing ships, not galleys, a fact which is confirmed by all history, notwithstanding the frequent use of the word. The establishment of this has more than mere archæological interest; for it proves the radically different nature of the early English navy from that of the Italian states. Galleys were not and could not be used for commerce, and from a very early period, the men of war and the merchant ships in the Mediterranean were different. It is reasonable to suppose that at the first outset, the young strength of the rising states must have consisted of armed merchant vessels. Guglielmotti has put this forward very plainly: he says:—'Every rowing vessel was seized on by 'the prince, and being fitted with a heavy beak and manned by 'two hundred fighting men, took its place with the others in 'the line of battle. The usual officers, the masters and pilots, 'conducted the soldiers who were put on board as the garrison 'of a moving castle, in which they had nothing else to think of

* A. S. steorbord (steorra = star); O. N. stjorn-borði (stjarna = star).

† Leer = left; the word is used by Ben Jonson ('Tale of a Tub,' i. 2). It would seem to be connected with lower, as höger = higher is still good Swedish for right.

'than to fight valiantly, whilst the sailors, on their part, led 'them on their way. The barons and those who were bound to 'attend their prince in arms on shore, were equally bound to 'serve on board ship at sea, as was distinctly ordered in the 'eighth century by Charles the Great: and in exactly the 'same way, the navy of the Popes was supplied by the mari-'time cities, and by the nobility of Campagna, Lazio, and 'Papal Etruria' (vol. i. p. 24). But this state of things was merely transitional; the heavy ships of commerce were ill fitted to contend against the fast war vessels of the Greeks and the Saracens, and the dromones of the ninth century were specially built and equipped.

Before the invention of gunpowder the fighting was necessarily done at very close quarters; and bows and arrows, darts, javelins, swords and battle-axes were used at sea, as on shore. But the galley had powers of attack far beyond those of a body of men in the field; it could carry heavy engines of war, and the *rembate*, castles in the fore-part, near the prow, were armed with such, able to throw huge bolts and stones which fell with deadly effect amongst the enemy's crew. Against the galley itself there were other weapons, foremost amongst which must be named that from which the galley derived its name of galera, the sword-fish; this was the *sperone*, a prolongation of the bow at or under the water-line; it is described as a beam of wood about twenty feet long, and headed with metal fashioned so as to resemble the beak of a bird, the head of an animal, or in some other ornamental or fantastic shape. The use of this, however, was necessarily limited. All history, ancient and modern, proves that formidable as the beak is for attack, a great deal of preliminary practice is needed to render it efficient, and without that practice it cannot be depended on. It was thus that by their own care and labour, and by the neglect of other states, the Athenians obtained that wonderful mastery at sea which carried them victoriously through the early years of the Peloponnesian war, and which they lost when their highly trained crews were annihilated at Syracuse. The Lacedæmonians or the Romans, with all their courage and military discipline, never became skilled in its management; still less did the irregular and feudal levies of the middle ages; whilst at a later period, when exercise might have been possible, the introduction of cannon turned men's thoughts in another direction, and the characteristic beak was no longer fitted to the galleys' bows.

The leading idea then, in early times, was to close, when personal skill in the use of arms, strength, and courage availed

more than seamanship. The dolphin, too, then came into action: this was a heavy sharp-pointed lump of metal, iron or lead, dangling by a chain from the yardarm, and which, being let fall on board the enemy, was by artful playing made to dance about in a lively manner (whence its name) to the damage alike of the galley and the men on board her. But of all the means of destruction then in use, none was so terrible as the Greek fire, which appears to have been compounded of naphtha, bitumen, and other inflammable substances: it was, possibly, to some extent, explosive; it was certainly liquid, and ignited on exposure to the air, so that it could either be thrown on board the enemy in jars which broke on striking, or driven in a stream of fire through a copper tube. Where it fell it burnt fiercely with a foul, suffocating smoke, and could be extinguished only with vinegar or sand. It was probably scarcely less dangerous to its friends than to its foes, and was laid aside very shortly after the introduction of gunpowder. Its exact composition has long been forgotten, and its memory lives only in the pages of the old chroniclers, who bear witness to the appalling effects which it produced, and to the ruin and dismay which it spread around.

The first possession of the secret, however, gave the Greeks an extraordinary advantage, not only in actual combat, but in the preparation of fire-ships, which they used with deadly success. The most notable instance of this was in the siege of Constantinople by the Saracens in 716, when the entire fleet of the invaders, amounting to 1,800 ships, was destroyed. As they turned to fly, the crowd of fugitives prevented flight; the Arabs and their ships were burnt in the same flames, or sunk in the same waters; and not a vestige was left of the imposing force, from which the Byzantine Emperor had vainly endeavoured to ransom the city. Skill in defence would seem to have more than kept pace with improvement in the means of attack; for neither in the siege of Antwerp, in 1585, nor at Calais, in 1588, did the fire-ships, charged as they were with gunpowder and pitch, do so much damage. They were nevertheless sufficiently terrible, and their use was continued: they formed a recognised part of every naval armament till the middle of last century, and the torpedo, as now devised, may be considered their direct descendant.

The accounts of early battles, which have come down to us, are exceedingly meagre: the chroniclers were certainly, as a rule, ignorant of the art of war, ignorant even that there was such an art, and their descriptions are rather of fierce fight, of unflinching courage, and of victories won by personal prowess

and national superiority. It may be fairly surmised that the leaders themselves, afloat or ashore, were often nearly as ignorant: to be foremost in fight, to set an example of daring to his followers, to reward the brave or to punish the backward, were the duties of the commander-in-chief and the superior officers; and the fortune of battle depended on some real or accidental advantage of numbers, of ferocity, of warlike training, of arms, or of position. At sea, it was understood that the sun or the wind in the faces of the enemy disconcerted his aim, caused him to steer wildly, and to row with less speed; but we find nothing to lead us to suppose that there was any knowledge of tactical evolutions. The two fleets met in line, as chance arranged it, and fought out their quarrel on a floating platform; the result being, that, on one side or the other, a certain number of galleys were sunk, a certain number burnt, a certain number carried by boarding and their crews thrown overboard, whilst the remainder, acknowledging their defeat, escaped by hard rowing.

As affecting the fortunes of an English king, though not of English subjects, the celebrated fight near the coast of Syria between the galleys of Richard I. and the great Saracen ship, has in some degree a national interest, and may be taken as a fair specimen of attack and defence, about the end of the twelfth century. The Saracen, erroneously named by some of the chroniclers a dromon, was a large sailing ship,* evidently a transport and store-ship, having on board 1,500 men, and a cargo of bows, arrows, and other weapons, Greek fire in jars, and serpents, which were some unknown sort of firework. Such a ship, stoutly built and high out of the water, although unable to attack, was formidable in defence. From the lofty bulwarks her men showered down missiles and Greek fire with telling effect, and by their numbers, successfully resisted all attempts to board her. Some of the Franks, probably Sicilians, dived under her stern and fastened her rudder so that she could not steer; but she still held out, and was at last sunk by the galleys repeatedly charging her with their beaks. As Robert of Brunne expresses it,

'The schip that was so grete, it dronkled in the flode.'

Outside the Straits, the earliest battle which can properly be called naval was that off Dover, between the English and French, in the beginning of the reign of Henry III. (August

* 'So mykelle was that barge it might not lightly saile,
And so heavy of charge, and the winde gan faile.'
Robert of Brunne.

24, 1217); in this the English, with very inferior numbers, clearly won by nautical skill and tactical ingenuity: by a manœuvre which the French did not understand till too late, they got to windward, and running down against their enemy, showered clouds of quick-lime from their tops, which were carried by the wind into the faces of the French, blinding them, and rendering them unable to defend themselves. In this age, when all the appliances of science and wealth are devoted to the invention and manufacture of instruments of destruction, it is almost amusing to read of the very simple expedients which served the purposes of our ancestors; and yet we may doubt whether the refinements of modern art have discovered anything more obnoxious to the enemy than such a shower of lime-dust. It is clear, though, that it could only be so used at very close quarters, with the advantage of the wind; it was therefore of very limited service, and never became general. At the battle of Sluys (June 24, 1340), in a very similar manner, the English took the position to windward, the French, as before, fancying that they were retreating. It appears certain that on both occasions the manœuvre was performed under sail, though from the nature and rig of the ships, with one large square sail, they must have been very far from weatherly. The almost necessary inference is that they were assisted by oars, but there is no distinct evidence to that effect. Neither have we any trustworthy estimate of the English force at Sluys: that of the French is stated, in the King's letter, as 190 ships and 35,000 men; and Froissart says that they were four times as numerous as the English. Thirty thousand of the French are said to have been slain, but a large proportion of these perished in their panic-struck endeavours to escape, after the defeat of their van; and it appears that the only severe fighting was in that partial engagement with the van. It is thus perfectly credible that the number of English engaged was very far below that of the French present; the more so, as they were unable to break a fourth line, consisting principally of Genoese galleys which made good their retreat. From the muster of the ships which attended Edward in his expedition to Calais, it appears that the crew of each vessel consisted, on the average, of twenty mariners: if we suppose that the men-at-arms, who were sent on board as a war complement, raised the average number of the crew to sixty, and that the fleet at Sluys consisted of 200 ships of all sizes, there would be 12,000 men under arms, which may perhaps be accepted as a probable estimate.

The reign of Edward III. is popularly famous for the great

victories of Crecy and Poitiers, fought on shore, victories which entailed a century of war and bloodshed on the two countries: to those who examine into our real interests, the naval conduct of that long reign has a still more glorious record; and independently of the victory at Sluys, which broke for years the naval power of France, and of the victory of 'Les Espagnols sur Mer,' which established our dominion of the narrow seas, the vigour with which commerce—even though carried on, for the most part, by German residents—was protected, and foreign marauders exterminated, went far to increase the prosperity, wealth, and resources of the country, —advantages which have existed even to the present day.

That these early victories of the English secured their maritime supremacy is very evident; but Mr. Lindsay, if we rightly understand his meaning, follows the popular error which attributes to them England's 'dominion of the sea.' In this, however, we may be mistaken, for his conclusion is not definitely stated, and on three different pages he gives three different dates for the original claim (vol. i. pp. 394, 451-2). But he nowhere alludes to the real meaning of this celebrated and much misunderstood claim, which was, in its origin, purely territorial, independent of naval power, and dated from the first possession, by the Norman kings, of the English and French coasts—the coasts, that is to say, on both sides of the Channel. It was not, as has been often said, an assertion of naval superiority, but of legal right; it was distinctly formulated by King John, sixteen years before the battle off Dover (Black Book, vol. i. p. 129), and remained in force till the beginning of the present century. But the mistaken idea that it was merely a braggart assumption, following on victory, has led to much confusion; it has been repeated, over and over again, that at different times our dominion of the sea was endangered, or even lost; and that the question at issue in the great wars of the seventeenth century was whether the dominion of the sea belonged to the English or to the Dutch. Such a question was never, for a moment, raised; though the Dutch disputed the English claim, they never put forward a corresponding one; and, considered by the light of early history, it will be seen that any counter-claim would have been absurd. The English dominion of the sea was undoubtedly a grievance to the Dutch in the pride of their independence and commercial activity, but the grievance which they felt still more, was the passing of the English Navigation Laws.

In tracing the rise of the Dutch in the end of the sixteenth

and early part of the seventeenth century, Mr. Lindsay attributes their success, in great measure, to the ancient laws of England which forbad any English exports in home bottoms, and which necessarily threw all the carrying trade into the hands of such foreigners as had energy to seize on it. It would seem, in reality, that these laws were the anachronistic survival of certain privileges and monopolies which had been granted centuries before to the German Merchants of the Steelyard, as equivalents for loans or gifts of money in times of financial embarrassment, and which, altogether inimical to the rising commercial spirit of the country, operated most injuriously. As soon as the government came into the hands of the Parliament, it endeavoured to remedy the existing evils; and after several preliminary measures, the celebrated Navigation Act came into operation in 1651.

This Act declared that 'no goods or commodities whatever, 'of the growth, production, or manufacture of Asia, Africa, or 'America, should be imported either into England or Ireland 'or any of the plantations of Great Britain, except in British-'built ships, owned by British subjects, and of which the 'master and three-fourths of the crew belonged to that 'country;' and further, that 'no goods of the growth, produc-'tion, or manufacture of any country in Europe should be 'imported into Great Britain except in British ships, owned 'and navigated by British subjects, or in such ships as were 'the real property of the people of the country or place in 'which the goods were produced, or from which they could 'only be, or most usually were, exported' (Lindsay, vol. ii. p. 184). It thus struck directly at the commercial interests of the Dutch, who had almost monopolised the carrying trade of the civilised world, and war broke out immediately afterwards; but gallantly as they fought it out, the naval strength of England was in the long run overpowering; and whether it is to be attributed to 'the Navigation Acts, or to the stoppage of 'trade, insecurity of capital, inherited debts, and taxes on 'ships, sustained by the Dutch during the war, England's 'maritime resources increased, while those of Holland de-'clined, and London became what Amsterdam once was, the 'chief emporium of the commercial world' (Lindsay, vol. ii. p. 195).

The prosperity of Holland had itself risen on the decadence of Portugal, to whose early enterprise was due the discovery of the passage round the Cape. It is well known that when, many years before the final success of Vasco da Gama, the kings of Portugal entered on their career of Oriental naviga-

tion, the Pope had conferred on them sovereign rights over all the unknown lands which they could discover, and had given them a monopoly of discovery. The Spanish islands in the West Indies were at once claimed by the Portuguese as a breach of this monopoly, and a very curious negotiation was carried on between the two governments before the difficulty was settled. Mr. Lindsay has, as an appendix, reprinted from Hakluyt the account of this contained in a most interesting letter from Mr. Robert Thorne, a Bristol merchant at Seville, to the English Ambassador. It was at last agreed that all discoveries east of the meridian of Cape Verde should belong to Portugal, and all to the west of the same meridian to Spain, the claim of each being carried round through 180 degrees of longitude. But it soon appeared that this settlement was itself doubtful; for the position of the meridian of 180° was a point open to much argument and contradictory assertion, and the Moluccas, or as Mr. Thorne calls them, 'Islands of Spicery,' were too valuable to be assigned to either party without a good deal of hard swearing. The Portuguese maintained (rightly enough) that they were all within the eastern half of the world; the Spaniards, on the other hand, were certain that they were in the western; and Mr. Thorne reports that, going east, they extended from 160° to 215°, so that 'it seemeth all that falleth 'from 160 to 180 degrees should be of Portingal, and all the 'rest of Spaine.' As a matter of fact, none of these islands lie to the eastward of the meridian of 180°, or anywhere near it; and the most valued of them are from 20° to 30° to the westward; but the Portuguese had no means of proving this; 'For 'that there is no starre fixed from east to west, as are the starres 'of the poles from north to south, but all mooveth with the 'mooving divine; no maner can bee founde howe certainly it 'may bee measured, but by conjectures, as the Navigants have 'esteemed the way they have gone.' In addition to this difficulty, the Portuguese had occupied Brazil, which was clearly beyond their assigned limits, and claimed it as discovered previous to the convention, a claim which the Spaniards would not allow. 'So,' writes Mr. Thorne in 1527, 'none can verely 'tell which hath the best reason. They be not yet agreed.'

He then goes on to suggest that whilst they are disputing about these valuable islands, the English might seize on them by going north from Newfoundland. Although his argument has been painfully proved to be impracticable, it is, we believe, the first recorded proposition to seek out the North Pole, and as such has a peculiar interest at the present time. The date of this, it must be observed, is long antecedent to the voyage

of Jean de Fuca, and the story to which it gave rise; long antecedent to the idea of a north-east or north-west passage, which occupied the minds of navigators for nearly 300 years. What Thorne says, then, is purely theoretical and in ignorance of the difficulties. 'If from the said New found lands the sea 'be navigable, there is no doubt but sayling northward and 'passing the Pole, descending to the equinoctiall line, we shall 'hit these Islands, and it should be a much shorter way than 'either the Spaniards or the Portingals have. For we be distant from the Pole but thirty and nine degrees, and from the 'Pole to the Equinoctiall be ninetie, the which added together 'bee an hundred twenty and nine degrees, leagues 2,489, and 'miles 7,440; where we should find these Islands. But it is 'a generall opinion of all Cosmographers, that passing the 'seventh clime the sea is all ice, and the colde so much that 'none can suffer it. And hitherto they had all the like opinion 'that under the line Equinoctiall for much heate the land was 'unhabitable. Yet since (by experience is proved) no lande so 'much habitable nor more temperate. And to conclude, I 'thinke the same should be found under the North if it were 'experimented. For as all judge *nihil fit vacuum in rerum* '*natura*. So I judge there is no land unhabitable, nor sea in-'navigable.'

This notice of the difficulties which lay in the way of settling geographical disputes leads us to the consideration of the difficulties of early navigation. It must then be borne in mind that in the time of Vasco da Gama or of Columbus, the methods of determining the latitude were extremely imperfect, and for determining the longitude there was absolutely no method at all beyond the vague and uncertain one still known as 'dead reckoning,' that is, by reducing the distance run on each course, as measured by log-line and compass. Now in those days and for many years after, nothing was accurately known about the variation of the compass, or about the currents of the ocean; and as, in parts of the world, the variation of the compass is nearly 25°, and ships going to or from India would perform part of their voyage in the Natal current, which frequently runs at a rate of more than 100 miles a day,* not to mention particularly the more sluggish currents which have a velocity of from 20 to 40 miles a day, it is quite evident that

* Marco Polo (Yule's edit. vol. ii. p. 346) speaks of this current as known to the Orientals, and as the limit of their voyaging towards the South, by reason of their fear that it would hinder them coming back again.

the dead reckoning, unchecked by any observations, was necessarily very incorrect. So far as latitude was concerned they knew that the Pole Star was near the Pole, but without any exact knowledge of its distance from it; they assumed its altitude to be the latitude, as indeed it is under certain conditions, which they may have been acquainted with; for the assumption, if accepted generally, involves a possible error of 90 miles. Even this would have been a comparatively close approximation if they had been able to take the altitude with any accuracy, which, however, was quite out of the question; and the method failed them altogether as soon as they crossed the line and the Pole Star disappeared below the horizon. Their knowledge of the sun's position was vague, their tables of declination very incorrect, and their instruments rude and imperfect. To make observations which they could consider satisfactory they had to land; the form of astrolabe which they used, the invention (we are told) of a Portuguese Jew named Zacuto, seems to have measured the altitude by letting the light pass through two holes at some distance from each other, and thus showing the line of the sun's rays. Vasco da Gama landed at St. Helena, on his first voyage, to take such an observation, 'because, as there was but a short time since 'mariners of this realm (of Portugal) took advantage of the 'use of the astrolabe for that requirement of navigation, and 'as the ships were small, they did not put much trust in using 'them on board on account of the ship's pitching and tossing.'* It would be interesting to know his determination of the latitude, but it is not stated; the result would of course be noted on his chart, and be corrected by subsequent navigators.

But inaccurate as the latitudes must have been, according to modern notions, they still were rough approximations; for the longitudes they had no method except wild guessing on the basis of the dead reckoning; nor was any other rendered available for more than 200 years. It is true that the methods by eclipses of the sun and moon, by the eclipses of Jupiter's satellites, by the transits of the moon, by the lunar distances of certain stars, and by time-keepers or chronometers, were understood at a comparatively early period, though indeed long subsequently to the days of Columbus; but none of these could be used on board ship, nor, indeed, had they any pretensions to scientific accuracy on shore. Still, this was the best

* Barros' 'Asia': quoted in Correa's 'Three Voyages of Vasco da 'Gama,' as translated and edited for the Hakluyt Society by the Hon. H. E. J. Stanley, p. 45.

that could be done—to determine as correctly as possible a great number of stations, and so, depending on the charts for a good departure, to trust for the rest to the dead reckoning. Giam-Battista Riccioli, in his 'Geographia et Hydrographia,' published in 1660—a work of really great learning and which gives a favourable idea of the state of geographical science—has inserted a table of longitudes, which, considering the disadvantages under which the observers and computers laboured, are astonishingly good. A few of these, taken at random, are South Foreland, east of Pico in the Azores, 33° 10′, which is 2° 15′ too much; St. Helena, 26° 50′ E., being 3° 30′ in excess; Cape of Good Hope, 46° 15′ E., or 41′ too little; and Macao, 144° 28′ E., which places it 2° 20′ too far to the eastward.

Comparing the longitudes in this table with the magnetic declination, or, as it is more commonly called by sailors, the variation of the compass, he shows that the favourite idea and long-entertained hope of determining longitude by means of variation is without any basis of fact: it had been at first supposed that the variation was constant at all places on the same meridian, and partly on this account, the meridian of Pico, where the variation was zero, had been accepted as the prime meridian, and continued to be generally used as such, even into the eighteenth century. Improvements in the science and art of navigation were thus extremely slow, and, until the introduction of the reflecting quadrant known as Hadley's, had made scarcely any advance: although the practice, guided by the experience of centuries, was no doubt much better, the astrolabe in different forms,* the quadrant with the plummet, and the cross-staff continued to be the observing instruments; whilst the log line and the compass gave the data for the dead reckoning, pretty much as they do now.

But in fact the invention of the compass is the great mark of distinction between ancient and modern navigation. All others, the reflecting quadrant or sextant, the chronometer, the lunar tables, the Nautical Almanac, all-important as they are, sink into insignificance as compared with the discovery of the virtues of the magnet. And yet this wonderful discovery

* In the Museum of the Royal Naval College at Greenwich, there is a small astrolabe of gold bearing maker's date 1569, believed to have belonged to Sir Francis Drake. It is a most comprehensive little thing, about the size of an old-fashioned watch, and, however imperfectly, embodies in itself the uses of the watch, sextant, azimuth compass, Nautical Almanac, Logarithmic Tables, and Sailing Directions.

has no recognised discoverer. When, where, or by whom it was made is absolutely unknown; for the ordinarily received story which attributes it to one Flavio Gioja of Amalfi, early in the fourteenth century, is quite without foundation. It is indeed possible that some of the skilled workmen of the Italian States improved or even invented the mechanical fitting of the needle, and reduced the compass to something like its present fashion; but it is beyond controversy that the polarity of the needle was known and was used at sea more than a hundred years before the time of Gioja, and that it is mentioned in a familiar manner by the minstrels of the twelfth century. Thus Guiot de Provins has described how sailors steer their course by means of the pole star; but 'they have 'also,' he says, 'an ugly brown stone, to which iron joins of its 'own accord. This they touch with a needle, which they then 'lay lengthwise in a rush, so that it may float in water; and 'it turns its point toward the star with certainty.' Other popular writers of the same time speak of it in similar terms, as a thing well known and used by sailors, but there is no mention of it in any chronicle, law, or contract.

It has been maintained that the origin of the compass must be English, because the three feathers of the Prince of Wales are always used to denote the North point: this is absurd, on the very face of it; for the Black Prince was the first who adopted this cognisance, and the number of feathers was for a long time unsettled. It has again been said that the mark of the North point is not the three feathers of Wales but the *fleur-de-lis* of France; but the fleur-de-lis was first assumed by the kings of France, in the twelfth century, when they had little or no maritime power; it was borne by many of the kings of England; and—which seems much more to the purpose—was, at quite as early a date, the device on the corporate seal of the merchants and shipowners of Wisby in Gothland, on which seal it has a form closely resembling the distinguishing mark of the North point. The French word *bousole* is obviously a corruption of the Italian *bossola*, and this has been considered as supporting the Italian claim. But whence came the word *bossola* into Italian? is it, as has been said, a derivative of the Latin *pyxis*? or is it the old Norse *byssa*, the English *box*, introduced into the south of Italy by the Normans? It is to be noticed also that the French minstrel just referred to speaks of the ugly brown stone as necessary to impart the virtue to the needle, and that that stone is named in Northern languages, and in Northern languages alone, from its guiding power; it is the load-stone. In French it

is *l'aimant*, from its attractive quality; in Italian, *calamita*, with an unmistakable reference to the reed on which the early needle was floated. Now all this seems to furnish fair grounds for the speculation that the property was first found out in the North: to suggest the possibility that the Norsemen were acquainted with it at a very early period, and were guided by it in their wonderful voyages to Greenland and down the coast of North America.

Whether this was or was not the case we cannot undertake to say; but it is quite clear that the study of the derivation and origin of technical words, which have no apparent meaning, has great historical capabilities. Professor Max Müller, in one of his lectures on the Science of Language, has examined into this point with reference to the hypothetical discovery, in future ages, of a tribe of negroes who affirmed by *yesr* or *yesm*, according as they spoke to a man or woman: and in a similar manner we may elucidate various points of naval archæology and history, by tracing home some of the terms of every-day use. Thus the very large intermixture of Teutonic words amongst the nautical terms of the French, proves how great must have been the influence of Northern settlers along the sea-board of France; for it is very clear that the Franks, on entering Gaul from the interior of Germany, could not have imported them; nor have they been adopted from any sense of their expressiveness, for most of them have simply no meaning: such for instance as *beaupré*, which, as denoting in French a beautiful field, is arrant nonsense, but is intelligible as a corrupted relation of bowsprit, the sprit, or small spar (itself kindred to sprout; A. S. *sprytan*) of the bow. Similarly *lof* is the same word as the English luff (A. S. *lyft*; O. N. *lopt*), which in another form still lives in ballad poetry as lift.*

In our own language, the absence of all but Teutonic terms has a more direct interest; it proves that our shipping is a native growth, a development of the rude beginnings of our forefathers, whether Saxon, Danish or Norwegian, and not a derivative from the ancient civilisation of the Mediterranean. Thus ship, skipper, mate, to steer, rudder, oar, boat, keel, mast, boom, and a host of others, show that all the essentials of a ship are our own: jolly-boat, cutter, shrouds, stays, tackles, blocks, are all Teutonic. Even in modern times we have borrowed very few. Mizen, whether name, mast or sail,

* As in *Sir Patrick Spens*:—

'The lift grew dark and the wind blew loud.'

is distinctly Italian, and the derivation of the word is interesting; it has been urged that the mizen-mast must, of course, have been originally the middle of three; which it certainly never was: the mast takes the name from the sail, *la mezana*, and the sail takes the name from the part of the ship above which it was set, *la mezania*, extending from the main-mast to the poop, that is, the middle of the ship. A boat's painter is another word on which much ingenuity has been spent: it is most probably connected with the Anglo-Saxon *bindan* (O. N. *binda*), to tie up or fasten, though a relationship has been suggested to the French *pendeur*, the English equivalent of which, however, is a pendant. Pennant, or pennon, is a term of chivalry; yacht and schooner are from the Dutch, imported probably in the seventeenth century; and poop, which is Latin, came to us through the Spanish. But these and some others are quite exceptional; of all the words and phrases peculiarly nautical and in daily use on board ship, there are few indeed which are not pure and homely English.

This leads us to doubt the correctness of M. Jal's argument that mediæval shipping was the same all over Europe, and that the recorded details in one country may be transferred to another, at pleasure: it is true, however, that his application of the argument is a fair inference, and that the French shipping, in the Mediterranean, closely resembled the Spanish and Italian: in the western seas, the evidence of language goes a long way to prove that there was a family likeness rather to the English, and that the difference between these and the Mediterranean craft was considerable. Though the sailor has been, in all ages, very cosmopolitan in his ideas, and the manners and customs of the sea have tended to assimilate themselves, we would maintain that the close resemblance which has, for the last few centuries, existed between the sea-going vessels of all nations is the result of mutual imitation, and certainly not of descent.

In considering this imitation, the marked propensity of the human race to adopt the same solution of the difficulties of their every-day life is not to be lost sight of. When we find in different ages, or at a distance of half the circumference of the globe, primæval tribes following the same custom of building their houses on piles, as in Switzerland and in Burmah; when we find the sumpitan, or blow-pipe, used by the Malays and by the Indians of the Upper Amazon; when we find that everywhere boats of basket-work covered with hide have been amongst the earliest conceptions of navigation—a rude type which still exists on the west coast of Ireland, and in which

the fishermen and pilots of Clare or Kerry still venture far out to sea—it is not to be wondered at that people of kindred origin, settling on different coasts, should have fallen into the same line of thought, so far as the circumstances were similar; but also, inasmuch as the circumstances were in many respects very different, it is logical to conclude that they had recourse to different expedients. Thus, starting with the same idea of a boat moved by oars and sails, an idea first formed, it may be, on some river or inland sea in the interior of Asia, amongst a united Aryan tribe, to whose common speech the connexion between oar and remus (ἐρέσσω), sail and velum (πλέω) would seem to point, the one people adhered to the primitive thole-pin (σκαλμός) and grummet (τροπωτήρ) as still used in the Mediterranean; the other, forced by the necessity of a stormy sea, devised the open rowlock: the one people developed the trireme, the dromon and the galley, as the typical vessel of war; the other, gradually discarding oars and raising their bulwarks, arrived at ships with guns on the broadside, firing through ports on two or more decks.

The Spaniards, with coasts on both seas, followed in both lines of development, though their national vanity induced them to aim at surpassing magnitude. Their galleys and their ships were the largest in the world; the great galley of Barcelona, built in 1567, with thirty-six benches a-side, and seven men to each bench pulling oars *à zenzile*, was but one instance of their mistaken pride; and the great galleons of the Armada, under whose weight the sea groaned, were helpless against the attacks of the smaller, handier, and better-handled ships of the English. The mediæval Catalans earned a wide fame in the Mediterranean as bold and skilful sailors; and the 'Consulate 'of the Sea' remains in testimony of the extent of their commerce; but on the ocean sea-board the Spaniards never displayed any nautical aptitude, though their power and wealth tempted mariners of foreign birth to their flag. The great discoveries which, in the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century, rendered Spain famous, and gave a fictitious vigour to her maritime pretensions, were undertaken and carried out by strangers: Columbus was a Genoese; so was Andrea Doria, the celebrated Admiral of Charles V.; Vespucci was a Florentine, and Magellan was a Portuguese.

Brave and good soldiers as they proved themselves on shore, whether against the French in the long wars of the sixteenth century, or against unknown dangers in Mexico and Peru, the Spaniards evinced on every occasion a singular incapacity

for naval war; and whilst they continued to fit out large fleets of magnificent ships, it was only for them to fall a prey to their first enemy. From the time of the Armada in 1588, to Trafalgar in 1805, their naval history is one long roll of imbecility, disaster, and defeat. Nor indeed were the conditions of their navigation such as to call forth or exercise the highest qualities of seamanship. Slipping away from the Spanish ports, they ran at once with a fair wind into the Trades, and were lazily borne along over the Ladies' Sea. When they found their way into the Pacific, they had a certain spell of rough weather, and cold, and danger in passing through the Straits of Magellan; but once there, their cruising to and fro was as steady as in the Atlantic; the Trade winds of the tropics took them from Acapulco to Manilla, and the west winds of the temperate zone brought them back again. When Magellan had once shown them the way to this navigation, there was little enterprise, though much profit, in the prosecution of it; and the chief danger was when some wild English rover, such as Cavendish or Drake, rudely claimed a share.

Very different indeed was the school of the early English navigators. The North sea trade and the Ireland or Iceland fisheries trained up a race of men who, as an old writer has it, 'could furl a topsail or spritsail, or shake out a bonnet in a 'dark and stormy night, and not shrink from their duty like 'the surfeited and hunger-pinched sailors who made the 'southern voyages.' These were the men who towards the end of the sixteenth and early in the seventeenth century, pushed far into the ice-bound regions of the North, and, under Frobisher or Baffin, explored the long-forgotten Baffin's Bay, or (according to Dr. Petermann) even reached that remote land beyond Novaya Zemlya, for the re-discovery of which, now, nearly three hundred years later, all Europe has been applauding our Austrian contemporaries. And it was not only in such peaceful employment that they were exercised. Under the bold and unscrupulous leaders of the Elizabethan age, they searched the uttermost parts of the earth, friends to the sea and enemies to all foreigners that sailed on it; whilst those who could not join in such distant enterprise laid wait for the homeward-bound traders, as they came into European waters. Cruising far out from the entrance of the Channel, in what has been known to our seamen in all ages as the Soundings, and beyond that, even to the coasts of Spain and Portugal, they harried the rich commerce of the Indies in a manner at once ruinous and insulting: the haughty preten-

sions of Philip were set at nought, his cities sacked, and his ships plundered or destroyed.

It was the policy of our Government to ignore or to wink at these proceedings, which roused and irritated the Spaniards; and whatever part ambition or bigotry may have played in bringing about their great expedition in 1588, it is quite certain that their longing for vengeance, and the hope of exterminating the piratical horde which had so long and so vexatiously preyed on them, were not without influence. But the severe training which had rendered our men able to do the injury, rendered them also able to withstand the avenger. Against their practised seamanship, the huge galleons of the Spaniards were powerless, and after a succession of encounters culminating in that off Calais on the memorable July 29th, the vaunted Armada fled to its utter destruction in the wild seas of the North and the West.

Are the men who won this celebrated victory, a victory which, more than anything else, established England as a great power, fitting subjects of opprobrium? Mr. Lindsay, accepting the name of pirates in its modern signification, and considering their piracy from a modern point of view, has criticised the career of Hawkins, and more especially of Drake, in no measured terms; their exploits are 'disreputable,' 'pure piracy,' 'piracy on a gigantic scale;' their men are 'a gang of marauders,' 'desperadoes.' In this we think he is wrong. The actions of Hawkins and Drake are to be judged by the standard of public opinion and law in their own time, not by that which the mercantile spirit of the present age has forced into currency. It is quite certain that the country at large, the Queen and her government included, approved and admired the bold deeds which Mr. Lindsay has so bitterly stigmatised; that knighthood—not then the prize of every successful grocer or tallow-chandler—was conferred on both; that the Queen, as a mark of special honour, visited Drake on board the 'Pelican' at Deptford, after his return from the most renowned of his expeditions, and rewarded him with the gift of lands in the immediate neighbourhood—lands which still, we believe, remain in the family of Drake's descendants. These facts are, for us, sufficient proofs that their exploits were deemed not only excusable, not only creditable, but splendid and heroic. Great stress is laid on the fact that the two countries were at peace; it is overlooked that in those days a formal declaration of war was unusual; that there were great causes of complaint against the Spaniards, who, on their part, had waged very cruel war—or piracy—against English

interests afloat; and that whilst it did not suit the Queen's policy to break off negotiations, she and the feeling of the country warmly and affectionately supported those who vindicated their wrongs.

The whole body of early naval history proves that 'pirate' was not a term of opprobrium. Capturing a foreign merchant ship, throwing her crew overboard or selling them as slaves, and appropriating the cargo, was a slightly irregular, but by no means dishonourable proceeding; it was the natural vent for the superfluous energy of the sea-board population, and a very ordinary method of filling an empty purse. The traces of this appear down to a comparatively recent period. Mr. Froude's History abounds with instances of it; so does Mr. Forster's 'Life of Sir John Eliot'; and in preceding centuries it had been still more customary, and was not thought to merit any decided moral censure, as indeed is evident from the celebrated description of one of the Canterbury pilgrims who 'certeinly was a good felawe,' although

> 'Of nyce conscience took he no keep.
> If that he foughte and hadde the heigher hand,
> By water he sente hem hoom to every land.'

Mr. Lindsay, as the historian of merchant shipping, naturally sees in this merely a serious obstacle to the development of commerce. There is little doubt that it was so, but perhaps not altogether and exactly in the way he has described. In those early days, the difference between a man-of-war and a trading vessel was simply in her armament and number of men, and it was open to any merchant to equip his ship so as to secure her against wanton attack. This of course made the fitting out a ship for foreign trade a much more costly undertaking, and in this sense acted as a drag on commercial enterprise. But the laws were stringent in requiring everyone on board, sailor or passenger, to hold himself ready to fight on occasion; he was to provide himself with proper arms, or, if he neglected to do so, they were to be found for him and charged against him. So manned and armed, the merchant ship was able to defend herself, or, if opportunity offered, to do a little piracy on her own account. In this manner there was nothing cowardly, ignominious, and disgraceful in this free cruising; and it only came to be considered so in later years, when the principle which Adam Smith has enunciated as 'Division of Labour' was recognised in the maritime world; when it was understood that a ship could fight better if she was not encumbered with

cargo, or with the fittings which cargo required; and on the other hand, that she could better carry cargo if she was not also equipped for war, or that she could trade more profitably if the gain was not swallowed up in arming and maintaining a numerous crew. Meantime the pirates on each side of the Channel waged unceasing war on each other, and between the two the trading ships had a hard time; but though they heavily weighted the commerce of the two countries, they kept up the nautical spirit in a way that was really the strength and safety of the kingdom. Our chroniclers naturally enough dwell more on the misdeeds of the French, and the losses which our merchants sustained; but it is quite clear that the Englishmen who crept out of the little muddy harbours from the Thames to the Land's End, from the Cinque Ports in the east, from Poole, Dartmouth, Looe and Fowey in the west, were the terror of the Channel, and with the strong hand maintained England's supremacy in the narrow sea.

Not that, as a matter of strict legality, their proceedings were allowed. Edict after edict was passed against those who, by plundering foreign merchant ships, rendered them shy of coming to English ports; who attacked and killed the subjects of foreign princes at peace or in alliance with the English king; who, in short, waged war on their own account; but the offence was none the less winked at; and partly from want of power—for the naval might of the country was in the hands of these so-called pirates—partly from the convenience of being able to harry the foreigner without the expense of actual war; partly from the obvious danger of quelling the great safeguard of the country, or, as it is now called, the first line of our national defence, they continued to cruise for their own benefit, without license in time of peace, with license in time of war; and in all times ready to atone for their irregularities and peccadilloes by gallant service against the national enemy, under the royal flag.

In point of fact, then, the pirates were privateers, and were so esteemed by their countrymen; but the code of international law was then in its infancy, and it was not considered unnatural or inhuman to hate one's enemy, who, accordingly, was not spared if he happened to be the weaker. That the rugged seamen were unable to appreciate the intricate niceties of diplomacy, or to understand how their enemy one day could be their friend the next, was indeed illegal, and, in a strict sense, criminal; but it was not held to be dishonourable. The confusion of ideas led to a blunt straightforwardness of action, which in no degree hurt their own feeling of self-respect, and

injured them but little in the opinion of others; and if occasionally they made a mistake and plundered a fellow-countryman, it was judged leniently, and was not considered to nullify years of good service against the common enemy.

Even so late as 1614, piracy, as such, was mercifully dealt with. We have the account written by Sir William Monson, who, as Admiral in the Narrow Seas, was in that year instructed to clear them of pirates—men whose courses he calls 'damnable.' On this mission he sailed round Scotland, visited the Hebrides whose inhabitants exceeded in 'brutishness and un-'civility' the savages of America, and went on to the west coast of Ireland, where, in Broad Haven, he broke up a nest of robbers and receivers. But though instructed to execute justice 'with some vigour,' one man only suffered capital punishment, and he 'had tasted twice before of His Majesty's gracious par-'don.' Wild, jovial ruffians they seem to have been, who had made themselves very popular with the inhabitants, and took the visit of the king's ship and death of their leader so much to heart, that they wholly abandoned the coast of Ireland. All historical evidence tends to the same conclusion that piracy, though forbidden by the laws, though 'hellish' and 'damnable' in theory, was so in practice only when exercised by foreigners, to whom indeed, when caught, little mercy was shown.

In contradistinction to this, offences against good order on board ship were, from the earliest times, severely punished. By the laws of Richard I., a murderer was to be bound to the dead body and thrown overboard; a thief was to have his head shaved, tarred and feathered, and he was to be landed at the first opportunity; blasphemy and brawling was forbidden under very heavy penalties, recognised as the justice of the sea. The seaman, says Sir William Monson, 'is willing to 'give or receive punishment deservingly, according to the laws 'of the sea;' and he enumerates amongst the punishments which a captain may inflict, 'putting one in the bilbows during 'pleasure; keep them fasting; duck them at the yard-'arm, or haul them from yardarm to yardarm under the ship's 'keel; or make them fast to the capstan and whip them there; 'or at the capstan or main-mast hang weights about their 'necks till their heart and back be ready to break; or to gagg 'or scrape their tongues for blasphemy or swearing.' 'This,' he adds, 'will tame the most rude and savage people in the world,' which seems not improbable (Churchill's Voyages, &c., vol. iii. p. 293).

In the open sea this severe code was undoubtedly enforced;

but the legal modifications or alternatives of the punishments for many offences lead us to believe that, in early times, the extreme penalty was rather considered as held *in terrorem*. Thus, according to the Laws of Oleron as accepted in the Black Book, a mariner smiting the master is to have his hand struck off—with the alternative of a fine of five shillings;* and a juryman guilty of discovering the counsel of the king and of his fellow-jurymen, shall with all due ceremony, and after public proclamation of his offence, have his 'throate slit and his tongue 'drawne thereout and cutt of from his head,'—'if he doth not 'pay a fine or ransome for the same according to the discretion 'of the admirall or his lieutenant' (Black Book, vol. i. p. 45).

In fact, nominal severity and cruelty, tempered by practical leniency in the administration, would appear to have been the basis of criminal jurisdiction in the middle ages. But there are some offences which do not admit of any such leniency; and in the nautical code, such are all offences against the ship. A breach of discipline, however flagrant, is an injury as between man and man, and may possibly be arranged; an offence against the ship, endangering the loss of all on board, of the ship herself and the cargo, is a more serious matter. A man who steals a boat or anchor is to be hanged on conviction. A man who is accused of stealing 'a buoy rope of what value 'soever, which is tyed to an anchor in the water,' is to be hanged—not, if convicted, but—'unless he be thereof ac-'quitted by twelve men.' The pilot, who through negligence or ignorance, runs the ship aground, is to be brought to the capstan and have his head cut off; but if he does it on purpose for the sake of wrecking, he is to be hanged on a very high gibbet in the immediate neighbourhood of the place, and 'the said gibbet ought to be left on the said spot in perpetual 'memorie, and to serve as a landmark to other vessels that 'shall come there.'

From the earliest times we find most stringent edicts against wrecking: the laws of flotsom and jetsom too, descending directly from the Rhodian code, were very clearly defined; but the executive would seem to have been unable to enforce them. It is well known that these laws were habitually set at defiance, and that, within comparatively recent times, on many remote parts of the coast, wrecks were systematically plundered,

* The Black Book has 'cinq soulx.' Many of the MSS. have 'cent soulx,' which Sir Travers Twiss thinks is the correct reading. It does not seem improbable that the custom of the English Admiralty Court had purposely mitigated the alternative penalty.

whilst those who escaped from the sea found worse enemies on land.

This was the case in every age all over the world, but was never perhaps carried to such an extent as by the natives of the Malabar coast, who maintained that not only wrecks, but all ships which, being driven by stress of weather, put into their harbour for shelter, were sent there by the gods for their benefit, and seized on them as a religious duty. Piracy with these people was a national institution; they cruised abroad in large fleets, and, after plundering merchant ships, dismissed them with the hope that they might fall in with them on a future occasion. In the Mediterranean a similar state of things long continued. The Algerines and other natives of the north coast of Africa have been called pirates in all European histories: but the distinction should be made; they were certainly not pirates in the modern sense of the word—no-nation scoundrels, who rob and murder indiscriminately; they were true to each other, to their countrymen and fellow-subjects, though they carried on a cruel and continued war against the Christians, who, on their part, were well able to defend themselves, or to take very summary vengeance. It has never been the fashion to call the Knights of St. John pirates; but pirates they were, in exactly the same sense that the Algerines were; they harried the Turks, as the Algerines did the Franks, and latterly for exactly the same reason—their private advantage. We hear a great deal of the Christian slaves barbarously treated by the Moors, and released from their captivity by the various expeditions, French or English; but few who have visited Malta, and inquired into the origin of the massive fortifications and yawning ditches, can have avoided the reflection that the Turkish slaves did not lead a life of luxurious indolence.*

It is scarcely to be doubted that the Venetians were at first, in a similar manner, a mere body of pirates or national corsairs, as indeed the inhabitants of the islands and creeks of the Dalmatian coast long continued. The half-savage remnants of a maritime tribe, driven out of their homes, and sheltering on a few barren islands, fearing and hating their neighbours, do not immediately settle down to steady commerce, to develop, after centuries of peaceful and prosperous trading, the piratical instincts which we find in the Venetians of the ninth and tenth

* See Porter's 'History of the Knights of Malta,' vol. ii. p. 274, where it appears by a letter from Charles II. that the knights systematically sold their slaves to the kings of France and Spain, for service in the galleys.

centuries. We may more reasonably conclude that these outbreaks of wild adventure were rather the survival of some of their earlier habits not yet fully tamed down by wealth, trade, and settled government. In young communities, the first requisite for success is energy; order, regularity and law have often shaped themselves out of very unpromising beginnings; and it is not a little singular to remark that the greatest commercial seaport of modern days first rose to preeminence by fitting out slavers and privateers. Whatever may have been the origin of the wealth and commerce of the ancient Phœnicians, it is quite certain that in modern times the only exception to the rule of naval power springing out of habitual piracy is that of the German Hansa, or as it has been more commonly called in English, The Hanseatic League. This was, in its origin and in its strength, purely commercial, a union for mutual defence against the common foe, or in support of rights and privileges. We have dwelt hitherto almost exclusively on points which, though not strictly belonging to the subject of his title, Mr. Lindsay has treated at great length, and with much misapplied ingenuity; but the history of the Hansa, a power which, through the later middle ages, was supreme in the Baltic and the Danish sea, and which was nevertheless purely commercial, based on trade both by sea and land, is distinctly within the limits he has sketched out for himself; so that we may be permitted to express our surprise at the all but total omission of even the name of this celebrated league.

When Northern Europe slowly emerged from the barbarism of the dark ages, we find several of the Germanic towns occupying a peculiar position, claiming a peculiar acknowledgment, and receiving peculiar privileges as trading communities. The interests of these seem to have been closely associated with English commerce, and as early as the twelfth century, Henry II. gave the merchants of Cologne, of Lübeck and others, letters of safe conduct and protection, of permission to trade freely in England, more especially to sell Rhine wines in competition with those of Bordeaux, and in short securing them 'all the usages and liberties which the merchants of 'Germany have enjoyed in the times of our predecessors, 'kings of England.'* The friendly feeling which these letters show continued, through many centuries, to exist between the English Government and the Germanic States, undisturbed

* The letters are given at length by Sartorius, in 'Urkundliche 'Geschichte des Ursprunges der deutschen Hanse,' vol. ii. pp. 3, 4, 8. 4to. Hamburg, 1830.

by political jealousy or assumption, though probably not without occasional clashings of commercial interest with the merchants of London, and certainly not without occasional differences, as to maritime rights, with English corsairs. It is thus that the German League has little part in English state history, whilst in the Baltic and in the North Sea it became a formidable naval power.

The word *hansa* signified originally a number of men collectively, and is used by Ulfilas as the Gothic equivalent of the Latin *multitudo* and *cohors* (Luke vi. 17; John xviii. 3, 12). In later times, it first appears in England, and is applied by King John to the guilds of the citizens of York and the burghers of Dunwich,* in almost exactly the sense that was long attached to our word 'factory' as a settlement of merchants in India and China. Curiously enough, however, the word, as first accepted in North Germany in this connexion, had a very different meaning. In the year 1270, a statute of Hamburg fixed definitely what each merchant trading to Flanders, Utrecht and Osterkerken had to pay as *Hense*, where it has the obvious signification of toll or custom's duty; and in a Lübeck statute of 1299, the payment of similar *Hense* is ordained (Sartorius, vol. i. p. 10). There is no distinct record of how these statutes extended to other states, but that they did so seems established, and the merchants subject to them became gradually known as the merchants of the German Hansa, a name which thus had at first no territorial significance, and referred merely to some common agreement relative to duties, which may perhaps be compared to the Zollverein, as it existed till within the last few years. In course of time, however, it was applied to the towns where the agreement was accepted; and is first so used in a public document dated at Lübeck in 1358 (jenich Stad van der dudeschen hense; Sartorius, vol. ii. p. 445), after which the expression Hanse-towns (Hansestädte) came rapidly into common use.

The edict just mentioned specially names as present when it was drawn up, the representatives of Lübeck, Goslar, Hamburg, Rostock, Stralsund, Wismar and Brunswick, whilst other towns, not named, had assented in writing to the decision of the meeting. This decision was no less than commercially excommunicating Flanders; 'on account of injustice and in-

* 'Eboracum, or the History and Antiquities of York,' by Francis Drake, p. 203, folio, 1736; 'Historical Treatise of Cities and Burghs 'or Boroughs,' by Robert Brady. App. p. 10. 1690.

'jury done to Allemannic merchants of the German Hansa, 'it is resolved that trade with Flanders is stopped.' This is repeated in great detail, and the prohibition enforced by penalties of banishment and outlawry. Clearly then the Hansa had already become a power in the State. A few years later, in 1367, another assembly held at Cologne, consisting of representatives from Lübeck, Rostock, Stralsund, Wismar, Amsterdam, and several others whose names are now of little importance, formally declared war against the King of Denmark and Norway (Sartorius, vol. ii. p. 606). This decree, which, like the other, is most carefully detailed, and gives a favourable idea of the clear and businesslike turn of mind of those who drew it out, was afterwards forwarded to the other towns which had not sent deputies,—amongst many others, to Brunswick, Hamburg, Kiel, Stettin, Riga and Reval; but it does not appear that the inland towns took any part in the war, either by furnishing troops or money.

The result of the war was entirely in favour of the Hansa. Their fleet scoured the Baltic; they took Copenhagen and Elsinore; they landed on the coast of Norway and devastated the country with fire and sword; within three years peace was concluded, the terms being dictated by the Hansa as conquerors; the navigation through the Sound was declared free, and the King of Denmark had to swear recognition of the rights and liberties of the German merchants.

It is very evident that a league of this nature between the whole commercial interest of Northern Germany, engrossing to itself all the moneyed wealth of the country, maintaining armed garrisons, and fitting out armed ships, must have attained enormous political influence; and it is the only instance in modern times of such a power originating in and supported by commerce, and by commerce alone. But a very large proportion of this commerce consisted in the overland traffic of Indian and Oriental goods through Germany to the Northern ports, from which England, Western France, Russia, and Sweden were supplied. It was this that gave such towns as Cologne or Augsburg their mediæval wealth and celebrity, and that set up such houses as the Fuggers or the Welsers as the equals of princes. With the cessation of this Indian trade their prosperity waned, and at the present day they are the mere relics of a past greatness.

It is interesting, therefore, in comparing the past with the present, to examine into the points of resemblance or of difference between these former seats of life, activity, wealth, trade, and power, with the grass now growing in their streets,

and their splendid palaces turned into hotels for the convenience of a passing archæologist, and our own country, whose maritime commerce is equal to that of all the rest of the world, and whose greatness is, according to modern ideas, dependent on the continuance of that commerce, and of the manufactures which it encourages. That the extreme wealth and luxury which these support would perish with them, may be considered certain; but England was a free and powerful state long before that commerce attained its present development; and her naval strength is founded, not on the cold calculations of commercial prudence, but on the enterprise, the vigour, and the steadfastness of her sons.

ART. VI.—*Fifty Years of my Life.* By GEORGE THOMAS, Earl of ALBEMARLE. 2 vols. 8vo. 1876.

To describe in one word the literature of the day we may call it eminently biographical. We are not able to boast of many writers of original and commanding genius. But everybody who has done anything in this world is sure to have his life written; and everybody who has anything to recollect writes down his own recollections. The public are interested and amused by these revelations, which sometimes revive old impressions and sometimes explain circumstances which had been imperfectly understood; and when the history of the age we live in comes to be written, it will be the duty and the task of some future Macaulay to weave out of these personal traditions a connected representation of English Society. They may be as useful to him as Plutarch's Lives are to the student of antiquity. The late Lord Clarendon used to say that all history was to be found in the 'Universal Biography'; and so in truth it is, though broken up into endless personal divisions.

If we are asked why we select from the mass of biographical literature—the lives of statesmen, soldiers, prelates, artists, judges, and men of letters—which loads the bench of critical justice, these volumes of Lord Albemarle's in preference to many other works of greater pith and pretension, our answer is a ready and conclusive one. This book is one of the most amusing of its class; it is written in a cheerful good-humoured spirit; it contains a good many capital anecdotes; and it will preserve the traditions of one of the best old Whig families in England.

A young Keppel, as everyone knows, came over to this

country with William of Orange in 1688; but for six or seven hundred years a Keppel 'of that ilk' had occupied the well-wooded islet on the river Issel in Guelderland, which is the *Hoofdslot* of the race, and the family had played a considerable part in the Low Countries ever since the crusades. Arnold Joost van Keppel was thirteenth in descent from the founder of the house. At the age of thirteen he had already succeeded his father Oswald in the lordship of Voorst, and he was also a page of honour to the Stadtholder of the United Provinces. In this capacity, being then sixteen, he accompanied his illustrious countryman and master to England—the youngest, liveliest, and handsomest of the Dutchmen who landed with William at Torbay on November 5, 1688. His career is thus described by his descendant and living representative:—

'On the accession of William to the throne he employed Keppel chiefly as an amanuensis; but his charming disposition, added to his good looks and winning manners, so won the affections of his royal master that he soon became the dispenser of his patronage, the depositary of his secrets, and his inseparable companion in peace or war. When he came of age, in 1695, he was raised to the peerage by the titles of Baron Ashford, Viscount Bury of St. Edmund's, and Earl of Albemarle. Three years later the King made him a grant of 100,000 acres of confiscated property in Ireland, which grant, however, the Commons of England very properly refused to ratify. The following year His Majesty sent some of the first English artificers to Holland to beautify the house and grounds of his country seat. A few years ago I paid a visit to the Voorst, but it was sadly shorn of its beams. I looked in vain for the "avenues, terrace walks, fountains, cascades, canals," &c., of which I had read the description. The former pleasure grounds were wholly occupied by a field of rye. The offices had disappeared, the house even was stripped of its wings, and the Albemarle arms on the pediment of the body of the building furnished the only memento of its former possessor.'

William III. may be said to have died in the arms of his favourite, and to him he gave, in his last moments, the keys of his chest and private drawers.

After the death of his patron, the first Lord Albemarle returned to Holland, and was appointed a lieutenant-general of the Dutch forces. It was in this command that he actively co-operated with Marlborough in the glorious campaigns of 1705 and 1706. He died, however, in 1718 at the early age of forty-six.

The second and the third Earls of Albemarle were not undistinguished in their military career, but their good fortune was not equal to their valour. Villars carried the lines of Denain at the head of very superior forces in 1712, in spite of

the first Lord Albemarle's vigorous resistance. At Fontenoy, in 1745, the second Lord Albemarle (William Anne) commanded the celebrated attack on the centre of the French line. The division consisted of the Brigade of Guards and seven other infantry regiments. Lord Albemarle posted himself with the colours of the Third Guards. Being in this forward position his descendant, the present Earl, argues that he must have been the identical officer to whom the well-known *mot*, '*Messieurs les Gardes Françaises, tirez les premiers*,' should be attributed, if indeed any such speech was made at all, because he thinks that no officer of inferior rank would have ventured to enter upon such a dialogue in the immediate presence of the French and English generals of division. The received version of this anecdote is that Lord Charles Hay was the British officer who gave the challenge, and M. d'Auteroches the French officer who made the gallant reply. Even the scepticism of M. Fournier, who has destroyed so many historical repartees, accepts the story, and M. Alexis de Valon has written an article on the subject. Lord Albemarle is, as far as we know, the first writer who attributes the speech to his own ancestor, and the reply to the Duc de Biron. General Sir Frederic Hamilton in his excellent history of the Grenadier Guards omits the speech altogether, but he says that when the opposing French and English battalions reached the crest of the ridge they suddenly found themselves within fifty paces of each other. Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Charles Hay, captain of the King's Company of the First Guards, stepping forward, recognised his opponents in an instant, and taking out his flask drank to them, saluting them at the same time with his hat, and added some bantering expressions. The British cheered, upon which the officers of the French Guards hurried to the front, with the Duke de Biron at their head, to return the salute of the British Guardsmen, and M. d'Auteroches, captain of the grenadier company, called for a counter cheer. '*The French Guards then fired*' (says Hamilton), when Hay was wounded: the British Guards replied with a deadly volley. Lord Albemarle was certainly on the spot, for he says in a letter to the Duke of Newcastle that he and the officer commanding the brigade of Foot Guards under himself 'were close 'afoot together till the time of his death,' and that of 'five 'officers belonging to one platoon only Ensign Prideaux and 'himself escaped.' But we are not aware that Lord Albemarle was at that time a guardsman at all, though he was shortly afterwards appointed to the colonelcy of the Coldstream Guards; and, if the alleged dialogue took place, it seems to us

much more likely to have been held by the regimental officers on each side than by the generals. Our biographer, however, doubts the whole story, and thinks that it originated in the practice of the French army to reserve their fire. He says:—

'Although I hold the story to be a myth, I am inclined to believe that it arose from the practice then prevalent in the French army of receiving the enemy's fire before they fired themselves. I have already shown that the Duc de Noailles gave such an order to the infantry at Dettingen, and I find that later in the day, at Fontenoy, the Franco-Irish Brigade "marched up to the British line *without firing*." Hence I infer that the Duc de Biron, in conformity with military precedent, gave like instructions to his men—not, however, with either the knowledge or approval of the Commander-in-Chief, Marshal de Saxe, who, in his memoirs, has entered a strong protest against the then prevailing custom.'

However this may be, the first discharge of the artillery and small arms of the British line at Fontenoy, killed 18 officers, and placed *hors de combat* 600 of the French Guards. But in spite of this spirited commencement, the skill of Marshal Saxe won the day, the Dutch troops having left their allies to sustain the brunt of the battle alone. In this celebrated action the 42nd Highlanders and the 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers displayed conspicuous valour; 'seventy years after Fontenoy,' says our gallant author, 'I had the honour of being brigaded 'with the same regiments on the slopes of Waterloo.'

Laffeldt, in 1747, must be reckoned as another check. But in the meantime Lord Albemarle had shared in the victory of Culloden, where he commanded the front line of infantry; and a silver punch-bowl found in Prince Charles' tent after the battle was given by the Duke of Cumberland to Lord Bury, and is still an heirloom in the Keppel family.

The crowning military exploit of the Keppel family was undoubtedly the siege of the Moro and the capture of Havana in 1762. Lord Albemarle commanded the expedition; Major General George Keppel took an active and successful part in the military operations; and Commodore Keppel (acting under Sir George Pococke) distinguished himself not less in the fleet. To convey an army of 10,000 men to the West Indies in 150 transports, to land them in the island of Cuba at midsummer, to commence the siege of a fortress of great strength, gallantly defended, in the tropics, and to carry the place by assault after working by sap and mine for forty-four days, was an achievement not unworthy to be compared with the siege of Sebastopol itself, if the relative condition of our forces and resources be taken into account; and it shows what could be done, and was

done, by the navy and the troops of Great Britain 114 years ago, when our strength was not one-tenth of what it is at present. It is true that Chatham had planned the expedition and Albemarle conducted it to a triumphant result, though Lord Bute was not very grateful for it.

The following letter from the Duke of Cumberland to the victorious general deserves to be quoted, though the royal style and modes of spelling are rather eccentric.

'*H.R.H. the Duke of Cumberland to George, Lord Albemarle.*

'Windsor Great Lodge, Octr ye 2^{d}, 1762.

'My Dear Albemarle,—You have made me the happiest of men existing, nay, you have almost repaid me for the severe anxieties I have gone through for this last three months, beside the disagreeable and tedious time your absence gave without reflection of what you was to go through; upon the whole no joy equall mine, and I strut and plume myself as if it was I that had taken the Havannah. In short, you have done your king and country the most materiall service that any millitary man has ever done since we were a country, and you have shewn yourself an excellent officer; all this I knew was in you, but now the whole world see it and own it.

'Millitarily speaking, I take your siege to have been the most difficult that has been since the invention of artillery. Sixty-eight days in that climate is alone prodigious; without my partiallity to you, 'tis a great action in itself, setting aside the imense service you have done your country, I am so wrap'd up still in your share of honour and glory, that I don't yet quite feall that pleasure I have to come to as an Inglishman and an *old soldier*. Pray make my most sincere compliments to both the brothers; I hope before you receive this they will be both recovered. The storm of the Moro does William's heart and hedd great honor.'

But we must hasten to pass from these family recollections, which the writer relates in a very agreeable and unpretending manner, to the more immediate subject of these volumes.

George Thomas Keppel, the present Lord Albemarle, tells us that he was born in June 1799, in the parish of Marylebone. His childhood was spent at Elden Hall, Suffolk, a country house near Euston, where as a boy he remembers to have seen the 'Junius' Duke of Grafton—an old friend of the Keppels, for about 130 years ago this same Duke was a guest of William Anne, Lord Albemarle, then Ambassador in Paris.

'It was while fishing sometimes for roach and dace in the stream that runs through the Park, that I used to see an elderly gentleman pass by mounted on a thoroughbred horse, which he bestrode with much grace and dignity. He was of low stature and spare figure, had lank silver hair, a long nose, high cheek-bones and a stern expression of countenance, which a picture of him at Euston forcibly recalls to me.

He was usually habited in a peach-coloured, single-breasted coat extending below the knee, leather breeches, and long topless boots, then worn by bishops and butchers. On his head was a small gold-laced three-cornered hat—this whole style of dress he might almost have worn when he was Lord of the Bedchamber to George the Third's father, Frederick Prince of Wales.'

In this same period of his life Lord Albemarle places his cousin, Sir Robert Adair, well remembered even by the present generation, for he died in 1854 at past ninety.

'Like most of his mother's male relations, he was sent to Westminster School; and with a view to his future profession of diplomatist, finished his education at the University of Göttingen. On his return to England he became a constant guest of his uncle, Lord Keppel, and was staying at Elden when the Whigs came in for their short tenure of office in 1782. In the autumn of that same year, he went over to Euston to shoot pheasants in Fakenham wood. He there first became acquainted with his celebrated cousin, Charles James Fox. That most good-natured of men, seeing a shy youth, whom nobody knew or noticed, did all in his power to set him at his ease. "Well, young 'un," said Fox, "where do you spring from?" "From Göttingen," was the reply. "Not much shooting there, I suppose?" "Oh yes, we used to shoot foxes." "Hush!" said Fox, "never pronounce that word again, at least in this house, for if the Duke were to hear that you had *killed one of my namesakes*, he would swear it belonged to Fakenham wood."'

Adair was the type of a Whig of the old school: but in spite of his Whiggism and of the U-niversity of Göttingen, Canning could find no better man to send to Turkey in 1808; and after the Belgian Revolution of 1830, this same ambassador was sent by Lord Palmerston to prevent a collision between the Dutch and Belgian forces; he joined King Leopold, and at last made his way to the Dutch camp, flourishing his handkerchief for a flag of truce on the end of a soldier's ramrod. He was shot at, as he wrote to Mr. Coke, 'like a Holkham rabbit,' but he succeeded in obtaining a truce of forty-eight hours. Lord Albemarle thinks that this last stroke of diplomacy saved Europe from a general war. But his political account of the transaction might be controverted. The Prince of Orange certainly did not besiege King Leopold at Liège, for the Belgians were routed at Louvain, and Belgium was saved by Marshal Gérard's army. Baron Stockmar relates that but for Adair's timely arrival, King Leopold and his remaining troops must have surrendered to the Dutch.

A greater man than Robert Adair yet lives in Lord Albemarle's recollections. It must have been in the summer of 1806, when he was about seven years old, that his father took

him to St. Anne's Hill to see Mr. Fox. The account of this memorable visit occurs in Lord Albemarle's 'Memoirs of 'Lord Rockingham,' and we have quoted it before, in reviewing that work,* but it will bear repetition.

'It was at the time of our visit that the symptoms of dropsy, the disease of which Fox died a few months later, began to show themselves. His legs were so swollen that he could not walk; he used to wheel himself about in what was called a "Merlin chair;" indeed out of this chair I never remember to have seen him. In many respects his personal appearance at this time, differed but little from that assigned to him in the many prints and pictures still extant of him. There were still the well-formed nose and mouth, and the same manly, open, benevolent countenance. But his face had lost that swarthy appearance, which in the caricatures of the day had obtained for him the name of "Nigger:" it was very pale. His eyes, though watery, twinkled with fun and good humour. The "thick black "beard of true British stuff" had become like that of Hamlet's father, "a sable silvered." He wore a single-breasted coat of a light grey colour, with plated buttons as large as half-crowns; a thick linsey-woolsey waistcoat, sage-coloured breeches, dark worsted stockings, and gouty shoes coming over the ankles.

'Fox was not visible of a morning. He either transacted the business of his office, or was occupied in it, or reading Greek plays, or French fairy tales, of which last species of literature I have heard my father say he was particularly fond.

'At one o'clock was the children's dinner. We used to assemble in the dining-room; Fox was wheeled in at the same moment for his daily basin of soup. That meal despatched, he was for the rest of the day the exclusive property of us children, and we all adjourned to the garden for our game at trap-ball. All was now noise and merriment. Our host, the youngest amongst us, laughed, chaffed, and chatted the whole time. As he could not walk, he of course had the innings, we the bowling and fagging out; with what glee would he send the ball into the bushes in order to add to his score, and how shamelessly would he wrangle with us whenever we fairly bowled him out!'

It is certainly a very uncommon distinction for a nobleman, whom we still have the pleasure to see in the House of Lords and in Hyde Park, not only to have fought under Wellington at Waterloo, but to have played trap-ball with Mr. Fox. Lord Russell and Sir Augustus Clifford appear to be the only other persons, now living, who personally knew Mr. Fox. Lord Eversley is reported to have heard Fox speak in the House of Commons: but the future Speaker merely cried out, 'What is that fat gentleman in such a passion about?'

Westminster School was seventy years ago the great seed-plot of Whig statesmen, and to Westminster George Thomas

* Edin. Rev. vol. xcvi. p. 137.

Keppel was in due time sent. He might pass for the Tom Brown of other days, and very different those days were from our own. A great deal of flogging, a great deal of fagging, not much to eat and not much to do, made up the school life of sixty years ago—a rough harsh life, to which a man looks back with pleasure, not because he enjoyed it, but because somehow or other he lived through it.

George Thomas, however, had a *solatium* in the shape of his two grandmothers. The Dowager Lady Albemarle was a stern but not ungenerous woman:—

'My other grandmother, the Dowager Lady de Clifford, was the very opposite of her in Berkeley Square. If the one was too hard upon my faults, the other erred in the opposite extreme. She was ever ready to help me out of my scrapes, and up to the time of her death, would fight my battles against all comers. She had passed much of her time abroad, and been acquainted with many of the notabilities of the Court of Louis the Sixteenth. Until age had impaired her faculties, she was full of anecdote, and a very agreeable companion. Moore, the poet, whom I introduced to her, has made honourable mention of her in his journal. She was a woman of great personal courage. When she was travelling with her dying husband through France by easy stages on her way to England, she stopped at a small roadside inn. Hearing a noise at midnight, she opened her door and saw a man stealing into her husband's bedroom. She seized him by the collar, threw him downstairs, ordered horses immediately, and proceeded on her journey.

'Not long before her death—she was then eighty-four—some robbers climbed over the garden wall which lines the north side of Hill Street, where it abuts on South Audley Street. They had nearly succeeded in gaining an entrance into the house, when the old lady threw open her window, discharged one of the pistols which she always kept loaded, and lustily cried "Thieves." The rogues made off, no doubt resolving that when next they attacked a lone elderly woman, it should be one less ready to show fight.'

In 1805 this Lady was appointed by the King to take charge of the Princess Charlotte—a task of no small difficulty, when the father, the mother, and the royal grandfather of her pupil were all on terms of the fiercest hostility. These volumes supply some additional indications of the selfishness, malignity, and vulgar passion which actuated every member of this illustrious family; but we prefer to pass to the sketch of the young Princess herself, with whom Lady de Clifford's grandson was naturally brought into a childish intimacy. He was then about nine years old.

'In 1808 I first made the acquaintance of Princess Charlotte. It was on a Saturday, a Westminster half-holiday. From this time forth for the next three years many of my Saturdays and Sundays were passed in her company. She had just completed her twelfth year.

Her complexion was rather pale. She had blue eyes, and that peculiarly blonde hair which was characteristic rather of her German than of her English descent. Her features were regular, her face, which was oval, had not that fulness which later took off somewhat from her good looks. Her form was slender but of great symmetry; her hands and feet were beautifully shaped. When excited, she stuttered painfully. Her manners were free from the slightest affectation; they rather erred in the opposite extreme. She was an excellent actress whenever there was anything to call forth her imitative power. One of her fancies was to ape the manners of a man. On these occasions she would double her fists, and assume an attitude of defence that would have done credit to a professed pugilist. What I disliked in her, when in this mood, was her fondness for exercising her hands upon me in their clenched form. She was excessively violent in her disposition, but easily appeased, very warm-hearted, and never so happy as when doing a kindness. Unlike her grandmothers, the Duchess of Brunswick and the Queen of England, she was generous to excess. There was scarcely a member of my family upon whom she did not bestow gifts. From Princess Charlotte I received my first watch; from her, too, my first pony, an ugly but thoroughly good little animal, which, from its habit of "forging" in the trot, I named "Humphrey "Clinker." Poor old Humphrey! He did good service to the younger members of the family after I had reached man's estate. In speaking of the openhandedness of the Princess, I must not omit to mention sundry "tips," which I hardly think I should have accepted had I understood how near—our relative stations considered—her poverty was akin to my own.'

'Thae waur daft days,' as old Ochiltree says, and now and then the boy and girl broke out into high jinks, which remind us of a scene in Paul de Kock. Lord Albemarle (the father) lived at that time at Earl's Court, Brompton, which is thus described:—

'Our house, with the grounds attached, would comprise, I suppose, about two acres. A small gate leads out of the garden into the road; next come two large entrance gates, which open upon a court, forming a carriage drive to the house. Further on are gates leading to the stables. From the stables is a subterraneous passage which communicates with a small orchard. Encircling the orchard is a gravel walk and a garden. A semicircular plot of ground laid out in flower-beds faces the drawing-room windows. This description of the locality is prefatory to the narrative of an event which occurred there one Sunday afternoon.

'In her visits to Earl's Court the Princess usually came in my grandmother's carriage, but on this occasion in her own. The scarlet liveries soon brought opposite to the entrance gate a crowd of people anxious to get a glimpse of the Heiress Presumptive to the throne. Soon after her arrival at Earl's Court I happened to pass outside the gates. I was asked by the bystanders, "Where is the Princess?" I told her how anxious the people were to have a sight of her. "They shall soon have

that pleasure," was the reply. Slipping out of the garden gate into the road, she ran in among the crowd from the rear, and appeared more anxious than anyone to have a peep at the Princess. I would fain have stopped her, but she was in boisterous spirits, and would have her own way: she proceeded to the stable entrance, saddled and bridled my father's hack herself, and armed with the groom's heavy riding-whip, led the animal through the subterranean passage to the garden gravel walk. She now told me to mount. I, nothing loth, obeyed. But before I could grasp the reins or get my feet through the stirrup leathers, she gave the horse a tremendous cut with the whip on the hindquarters. Off set the animal at full gallop, I on his back, or rather on his neck, holding on by the mane and roaring lustily. The noise only quickened his pace. I clung on till I came to the plot in front of the drawing-room windows, when the brute threw his heels into the air and sent me flying over his head. At the same moment the Princess emerged from the rose bushes, panting for breath. She had hoped, by making a short cut, to intercept the horse and its rider before they came into view. My cries brought the whole family on to the lawn. Of course the Princess got a tremendous scolding from Lady de Clifford. That she was used to, and took coolly enough. Unluckily for her up came my father, in whose good graces she was desirous to stand high. By looks rather than words he expressed his disapprobation. In a short time quiet was restored, and my people returned to the house. But no sooner were the Princess and I alone again, than the heavy riding-whip was once more put into requisition, and she treated my father's son exactly as she had just been treating my father's horse.'

We are not much surprised that, after a few adventures of this kind, George Thomas should one day have remarked to his illustrious friend, 'A pretty Queen you'll make!' But the Princess was capable of higher things, and the following letter, written by Her Royal Highness at sixteen, is really of great historical interest and value, for it demonstrates that at the very time when her father, the Regent, was casting off his Whig principles, she adhered to them with increased firmness, partly, no doubt, out of the royal spirit of contradiction.

'She lost no opportunity, as far as her state of seclusion would allow, of identifying herself with her Royal Sire's former private and political friends. Shortly before the anniversary of Mr. Fox's birthday she gave my father a bust of that patriot. In answer to his acknowledgment of the present with which he had been honoured, she wrote to him what was evidently intended to be a manifesto of her political creed.

Princess Charlotte to William Charles Lord Albemarle.

'Warwick House: January 17, 1812.

'MY DEAR LORD ALBEMARLE,—I have been very much vexed at not being able to answer your letter immediately, which my wishes would have led me to do, but I delay no longer taking up my pen and expressing the emotions of satisfaction and pleasure I received on reading

it. I cannot say how happy I feel that the bust has given you so much satisfaction. As knowing your affection to Mr. Fox (both in public and private), it struck me that you would like to have it, and I was therefore particularly anxious for its success.

'Nor shall I now stand in need of being reminded of his great name or his great deeds while there are such able men, though few in number (comparatively speaking), who make it their study as well as their pride to follow as closely as possible the precepts of their *late great leader*. Which to admire most I am at a loss to know, for turn to either side one beholds so much that calls forth *unqualified* praise, that it would be a difficult task imposed. He has been one of those few—those very few—who have really had the good of their country at heart, and in view, not in words only, but who both in thought and deed acted for that alone; who by his uncorrupted integrity proved what a patriot and a statesman was, and united these two different characters (which ought never to have been divided). Of all his numerous deeds none are so to be cherished as that most cruel and disgraceful procedure (particularly to this country which is called a free one) the *slave trade*,* and his laudable exertions for *universal toleration* and comfort to our unfortunate and grossly-abused sister kingdom, which, alas, was not crowned with success; and this is the man who, after devoting his time, health, and at length life, is called a *revolutionist*; one who subverts, at least tries to subvert, the laws and liberties of this country. Who would, who could, and who can believe this? No one who have their eyes opened and an unprejudiced judgment, but the short-sighted and jaundiced eye of the people. Many there are who say they understand the word *toleration*. I will grant they do, but not in deed. There are dignitaries in the Church† who pique themselves on their learning, but do not seem, no more than the *temporal peers*, to comprehend its meaning, or else they who are to preach meekness and charity would certainly not, I *should conceive, seem to rejoice* so at the sufferings of Ireland, nor utter such *virulent protests* against their *just claims*. In fine, the word *bishopric* includes *everything* that is the touchstone of action, the spring from whence all that holy fire issues; that God that they teach (or at least feign to do, who enjoins charitableness and forgiveness) is wholly forgotten in their rancorous hatred towards an oppressed and unfortunate people, whose crime is following other ceremonies, not owning these dignitaries, but above all having the name of Irishman. It is with honest pride, the pride of a true-born English person, that I avow these sentiments, principles that I *am convinced* are the only true foundation of this country, and the spirit of the constitution, nor shall I be ashamed to broach them before the whole world, should I ever be called upon. Thank God there are some young of both sexes, some that I have the happiness to *know personally*, as well as from report, that feel firm at this state of things, and that are

* The Princess evidently means to refer to the *abolition* of the slave trade; this sentence is incorrect.

† This is aimed at the Bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Fisher, her tutor, whom she hated, and always called 'the great U.P.'

from their hearts and minds followers of your late inestimable friend. Happy, thrice happy, will the moment be when the plans Mr. Fox pursued and planned are put into *full force*; then indeed England will have cause to rejoice, she may lift up her head in conscious superiority and pre-eminence.

'But I must plead my excuses for having detained you so long.

'Believe me, with the greatest esteem,

'My dear Lord Albemarle,

'Your most sincere,

'CHARLOTTE.'

Mr. Keppel, to drop the schoolboy's appellation, was about two months short of sixteen when he was gazetted to a commission in the 14th Regiment of the line. In March 1815, when Napoleon had just escaped from Elba, nobody seems to have appreciated the gravity of the event. It was not till five weeks after he had landed in France that the 'London Gazette' contained a batch of military appointments, and amongst them the first commission of our young hero. Before the end of April, however, he and the troops were on their way to Flanders.

'The third battalion of the 14th Foot, which I now joined, was one which in ordinary times would not have been considered fit to be sent on foreign service at all, much less against an enemy in the field. Fourteen of the officers and three hundred of the men were under twenty years of age. These last consisted principally of Buckinghamshire lads, fresh from the plough, whose rustic appearance procured for them the appellation of the "Peasants."

'In my commanding officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Francis Skelly Tidy, I found a good-looking man, above the middle height, of soldier-like appearance, of a spare but athletic figure, of elastic step, and of frank, cheerful, and agreeable manners. The battalion had been drawn up in the Square at Brussels the day before, to be inspected by an old general of the name of Mackenzie, who no sooner set eyes on the corps than he called out "Well, I never saw such a set of boys, both officers and men." Tidy asked the general to modify the expression —"I called you boys," said the veteran, "and so you are, but I should have added, I never saw so *fine* a set of boys, both officers and men." Still the general could not reconcile it to his conscience to declare the raw striplings fit for active service, and ordered the colonel to march them off the ground, and to join a brigade then about to proceed to garrison Antwerp. Tidy would not budge a step. Lord Hill happening to pass by, our colonel called out, "My lord, were you satisfied with the behaviour of the 14th at Corunna?" "Of course I was; but why ask the question?" "Because I am sure your lordship will save this fine old regiment from the disgrace of garrison duty." Lord Hill went to the Duke, who had arrived that same day at Brussels, and brought him to the window. The regiment was afterwards inspected by his Grace and their sentence reversed. In the meanwhile a priggish staff officer, who knew nothing of the countermand, said to Tidy in

mincing tones, "Sir, your brigade is waiting for you. Be pleased to march off your men." "Ay, ay, sir," was the rough reply, and with a look of defiance, my colonel gave the significant word of command, "Fourteenth, TO THE FRONT! Quick march." From henceforth our regiment formed part of Lord Hill's corps.'

On June 13th our author completed his sixteenth year. He celebrated the day by amateur races at Grammont with some old Westminsters, little knowing that within two days' march lay a hostile army of 122,000 men, commanded by the greatest captain of the age. On the 16th and 17th the regiment was marching to Waterloo. Mr. Keppel was the youngest officer on that memorable field, and he has outlived almost every other officer who fought there. At the last Waterloo banquet, in the year of the Duke of Wellington's death, eighty-four veterans still gathered round the board at Apsley House. Of these only three, Sir Charles Yorke, Lord Rokeby, and Lord Albemarle are still with us.

The 14th regiment was attached on the day of the battle to the 2nd Infantry division, commanded by Sir William Clinton: they therefore occupied a position on the extreme right of the British line; but later in the day they moved towards the left, and formed square in the middle of the plain, but still not far from the Nivelles chaussée. This movement brought the regiments under heavy fire, and several casualties occurred.

'We were now ordered to lie down. Our square, hardly large enough to hold us when standing upright, was too small for us in a recumbent position. Our men lay packed together like herrings in a barrel. Not finding a vacant spot, I seated myself on a drum. Behind me was the colonel's charger, which, with his head pressed against mine, was mumbling my epaulette; while I patted his cheek. Suddenly my drum capsized and I was thrown prostrate, with the feeling of a blow on the right cheek. I put my hand to my head, thinking half my face was shot away, but the skin was not even abraded. A piece of shell had struck the horse on the nose exactly between my hand and my head, and killed him instantly. The blow I received was from the embossed crown on the horse's bit.

'The French artillerymen had now brought us so completely within range, that if we had continued much longer in this exposed situation I should probably not have lived to tell my tale. We soon received the order to seek the shelter of a neighbouring hill.

'Looking back to the part of the field we had lately quitted, we saw another brigade of artillery hurrying into position—a howitzer shell had penetrated one of their ammunition waggons which exploded, drowning for a moment the roar of the artillery, and dealing death and destruction on all around. Our sympathies were for the moment principally excited by the sufferings of some poor horses, which were the principal sufferers by the catastrophe, and were galloping about the

field. Some would suddenly stop, and nibble the grass within their reach till they fell backwards and died. One poor animal, horribly mutilated, kept hovering about us, as if to seek the protection of our square.'

Then follows a passage which might serve for a description of Miss Thompson's well-known picture of the British square repelling a cavalry charge which was exhibited last year in the Royal Academy—peasant lads and all.

'We now occupied the crest of a gentle eminence, and looked down upon what, from a few blades still standing, was shown to have been in the morning a field of rye, ripe for the sickle. It had now, from the action of horse, foot, and artillery, been beaten down into the consistency and appearance of an Indian mat.

'From the reverse side of the hill in front of us there now appeared the enemy our colonel had been taught to expect. They were a magnificent body of horsemen, wore black helmets, and, if my memory does not deceive me, black cuirasses. As soon as they reached the ascent of our hill they advanced towards us at the *pas de charge*. For a moment they left us in doubt which square they intended to honour, but gave the preference to our left-hand neighbour, a regiment of Brunswickers, which was at wheeling distance from ours. After one or two vain attempts to pierce the square, they went some fifty yards to our rear. Their presence amongst us procured us a momentary respite from the fire of the enemy's artillery. They now repassed between the two battalions. As soon as they were clear of our battalion, two faces of the attacked square opened fire. At the same instant the British gunners on our right who, at the approach of the Cuirassiers had thrown themselves at the feet of our front rank men, returned to their guns and poured in a murderous fire of grape into the flying enemy. For some seconds the smoke of the cross fire was so dense that not a single object in front of us was discernible. When it cleared away the Imperial horsemen were seen flying in disorder. The matted hill was strewed with dead and dying, horses galloping away without riders, and dismounted Cuirassiers running out of the fire as fast as their heavy armour would allow them.'

The young Ensign, safe and sound after the battle, bivouacked that night under one of the big elms of Hougoumont—the trees now in the avenue of the farm are of more recent growth; and so ended his experience in war. Forty years elapsed before another shot was fired by a British army in Europe, and for a long time to come the duties of an active and intelligent officer merged in those of an equerry or an aide-de-camp. It is a curious fact that the warlike enthusiasm of the nation had so cooled, and the desire of peace was so great, that the soldiers who returned from France after the campaign of 1815 were very coldly received. They were detained and rigidly searched at Dover custom-house, and marched off without a supper to the

gloomiest barrack in Dover Castle. The troops sent on by sea to Ireland fared even worse. In those ante-Plimsoll days the transports were rotten, being merchant vessels taken at the lowest tender, with ignorant skippers to command them. The 'Seahorse,' with the 59th Regiment on board, sailed from the Downs, and was wrecked off Kinsale; 394 souls perished. The 'Lord Melville' and the 'Boadicea' were lost in the same manner; out of 280 in the latter ship, only 60 were saved. 'Beyond a short paragraph in the papers,' says Lord Albemarle, 'no public notice was taken of this catastrophe.' These are the things that lead us to hope that in 'Fifty Years of my Life,' matters have, upon the whole, improved.

We do not propose to accompany Lord Albemarle, or Lieutenant Keppel, as he was then more familiarly called, in his rambles, whether on service, or on pleasure bent, all over the world; but few men have seen life under more varied forms, and related what they have seen more agreeably. Soon after the Peace he went with his regiment to the Ionian Isles, then under the stern but salutary reign of 'King Tom.' His next post was at the Mauritius, where he was appointed aide-de-camp to the Governor, Sir John Dalrymple; and on his return to England in 1820, he became an honorary equerry to the Duke of Sussex, in constant attendance on that Prince. He owed this promotion, no doubt, to the Duke's friendship for the great Whig families of Norfolk; for although Lord Albemarle is better known as a soldier and a traveller than as a politician, no man has ever stuck more firmly to the hereditary principles of his ancestors. The name of Keppel has long been a war-cry of the Whig party. The great dispute as to Admiral Keppel's conduct at Ushant had been fought on party grounds, and led to a popular commotion. When the Admiral stood for Windsor, after his honourable acquittal, the King in person canvassed the town against him, and from that day onwards royalty had not been very popular either at Holkham or Quidenham, with one exception—we mean of course the Duke of Sussex. In January 1820 (erroneously printed 1819), in the height of Tory ascendancy, when Sidmouth, Eldon, and Castlereagh had just carried the 'Six Acts,' and the country lay prostrate beneath their unconstitutional policy, the then Earl of Albemarle (father of the present writer) took the chair at a great public dinner held in St. Andrew's Hall, Norwich, ostensibly to celebrate the birthday of Mr. Fox, but in truth to denounce the measures of the Government; and the principal guest at this dinner was no other than the brother of the Regent, the Duke of Sussex. The King,

George III., died shortly afterwards; the Duke of Kent almost the next day. The Dukes of York and Cumberland were more ardent and bigoted Tories than the Regent himself, who had at least the doubtful advantage of being a Whig apostate. In the midst of all this reaction, one Prince of the House of Brunswick raised his cheerful and sonorous voice for the principles which had placed his family on the throne. The patriotic toasts of the day were drunk with acclamation, amongst others, one to the '*Respectability* of the Crown, the 'durability of the Constitution, and the liberty of the Sub-'ject;' and the song 'Fall, tyrants, fall!' which old John Taylor of Norwich had written in 1788 to celebrate the centenary of the landing of William of Orange at Torbay, was enthusiastically sung, the Duke of Sussex leading the chorus. The history of that song is curious. It began—

'The trumpet of liberty sounds through the world,
And the universe starts at the sound;
Her standard Philosophy's hand has unfurled,
And the nations are thronging around.
The cruel dominion of priestcraft is o'er,
Its thunders, its faggots, its chains;
Mankind will endure the vile bondage no more,
While Religion our freedom maintains.
Fall, tyrants, fall!'

Though written several months before the meeting of the States General at Versailles, these lines, and some other stanzas, were considered to be prophetic of the French Revolution, and the song shared the popularity of the 'Marseillaise' among the party which had hailed with rapture that great overthrow of despotic power. In Norfolk especially the friends and followers of Mr. Fox adhered to the views he took of that great event, until they were checked by the altered course of Mr. Windham; but the House of Quidenham remained faithfully attached to the 'good old 'cause.' At this distance of time, and under circumstances so different, it is hardly possible to describe the violence of party feeling which had been excited by the reactionary policy and measures of Lord Liverpool's government. The Ministry were literally at war with the people, and in one instance at least blood had been shed. The Whigs of that day responded, it must be acknowledged, in no moderate language, for they firmly believed that the liberties of the country were in danger; but they were prepared for deeds as well as words, and if the course of events had rendered inevitable a more direct appeal to the people, men like Lord Albemarle, Lord

Fitzwilliam, and Mr. Coke would not have been wanting to their Whig principles and their duty. The arrival of Queen Caroline in England at this crisis, and the steps immediately taken to bring in a Bill of Pains and Penalties against Her Majesty, fell like a spark upon these fiery materials; and on looking back to that convulsive period, we are really surprised that the constitution stood the shock of so much folly and unpopularity on the part of the Tories.

Before the end of the year 1820, Lieutenant Keppel, then of the 24th Foot, was ordered to join his regiment, whose headquarters were in Bengal. Upon his arrival our gallant author, with his accustomed good luck, found a vacancy on the personal staff of the Marquis of Hastings, then Governor-General, to which he was immediately appointed, and the next few years of his life were spent in India. On leaving the country in 1829, Lieutenant Keppel took, as is well known, the Overland Route, and the 'Personal Narrative' (as it was called) of his travels through Persia to the Russian frontier deservedly obtained for him considerable celebrity, and, what was more, an unattached majority from the Duke of Wellington, who said 'It is that young fellow's book that got him his step.'

By the death of his eldest brother, who only lived about two years in the enjoyment of the family honours, the military cadet of the House of Keppel succeeded in 1851 to the earldom; and perhaps there is no better education and training for an English Peer than to have entered upon life, and seen a good deal of the world as a younger son, before he arrives at the rank and duties of the head of his family.

We must now leave Lord Albemarle to relate, in person, to our readers, the rest of his adventures. Our part is done in introducing them to so amusing a companion; and if he has not had the good fortune to rival the military achievements of his ancestors, having lived in these piping times of peace, he has at least stood constantly by their Whig principles, and he has done what no former Earl of Albemarle had accomplished in writing a very agreeable and entertaining book. His first work, the 'Memoirs of the Marquis of Rockingham,' which was published in 1852, was a book of higher political and literary pretensions than these amusing volumes. We reviewed it at the time of its appearance; and no subsequent publication, not even Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice's interesting life of his grandfather Lord Shelburne, has thrown more light on the transactions of the earlier years of George III. But these 'Reminiscences' have the charm and flavour of personal experience, and they bring us into direct contact with the persons

they describe. But before we conclude, there is one transaction related by Lord Albemarle, though it concerned his father more than himself, to which we must refer. The marriage of the Prince of Wales to Mrs. Fitzherbert has repeatedly been discussed in this Journal, more especially in the historical articles contributed by Lord Brougham and Sir George Cornewall Lewis to our pages, and since republished with the names of those eminent persons. It is, therefore, well known that the documents relating to the marriage were deposited in June 1833 at Coutts's Bank by an agreement between the Duke of Wellington and Sir W. Knighton as executors of George IV., and Lord Albemarle and Lord Stourton as the nominees of Mrs. Fitzherbert. There the papers still are: but of what do they consist? Lord Brougham says 'one was a will leaving everything to her 'disposal; another was a marriage settlement of great length 'with the certificate of the marriage annexed.'* Lord Albemarle answers this question with more precision, and shows that whilst the most essential papers in proof of the marriage were, and are, preserved, a vast quantity of other documents was destroyed. To this he adds an anecdote of singular interest, which shows that however insensible George IV. may have been to the nobler sentiments of honour and duty, affection for Mrs. Fitzherbert still lingered for almost half a century in his heart.

'[1837.] In the month of March of this year died Mrs. Fitzherbert, a lady who had occupied a large share of public attention, and one associated in my mind with a number of childish recollections. She was buried at Brighton, where a handsome monument was raised to her memory by the Honourable Mrs. Dawson Damer, her adopted child, and the "Minnie Seymour" of my nursery days.

'In one of the pamphlets of her day, Mrs. Fitzherbert is described as "legally, really, and happily for the country, Her Royal Highness "the Princess of Wales." William IV. treated her with much kindness and consideration; he allowed her to wear widow's weeds for the deceased king; urged her to assume the royal liveries, and in her visits to the Palace, observed those external marks of courtesy which a British Sovereign usually shows to a sister-in-law.

'Four years before her death, there appeared in "Lord Holland's "Memoirs of the Whig Party," some passages which reflected on the relation in which she stood to George IV. when Prince of Wales. In consequence of this publication, Mrs. Fitzherbert committed certain documents to the charge of Lord Stourton, as one of her nearest relatives and to my father as her oldest and most trusted friend. Lord Stourton was prevented from acting by illness, and Lord Albemarle

* Statesmen of George III., vol. ii. p. 2.

became her nominee. It was then arranged with the approval of King William, that the Duke of Wellington as executor of George IV. should meet Lord Albemarle at Mrs. Fitzherbert's house in Tilney Street, and that they should destroy all documents, that were not deemed necessary for the vindication of her character.

'The documents retained were:—

'1. The mortgage on the palace at Brighton.

'2. The certificate of the marriage dated December 21st, 1785.

'3. Letter from George IV. signed by him.

'4. Will written by George IV.

'5. Memorandum written by Mrs. Fitzherbert, attached to a letter written by the clergyman who performed the marriage ceremony.

'The papers were made into a packet, and having been first sealed by the Duke of Wellington and my father, were lodged at Coutts's bank, where they now remain. They are declared to be "the property of the Earl of Albemarle," they are, however, not *my* property, but are held in trust by my brother Edward, as my father's executor. Some idea of the mass of manuscripts committed to the flames may be formed by an expression of the Duke to my father, after several hours' burning: "I think, my Lord, we had better hold our hand for a "while, or we shall set the old woman's chimney on fire."

'At an early period of their marriage, George Prince of Wales presented Mrs. Fitzherbert with a large diamond. This jewel she caused to be divided into two parts. In one part was inclosed the Prince's portrait, which she reserved for herself. The other half containing her miniature, she gave to His Royal Highness. Soon after their final separation, it was agreed between them that all tokens of affection which each had received from the other should be returned. The arrangement was carried out by Mrs. Fitzherbert, but the Prince failed to restore her miniature. Too proud to ask for an explanation, Mrs. Fitzherbert lived and died in ignorance of what had become of her present.

'When on his death-bed, George IV. desired the Duke of Wellington, whom he had appointed his executor, to take care that he was buried in the night clothes in which he then lay. Soon after His Majesty had received the assurance that his wishes should be complied with, he breathed his last. Left alone with the lifeless form of his Royal Master, the Duke was seized with an irrepressible desire to discover the motive which had led the King to make so strange a request. Approaching the bed, he discovered round the King's neck, attached to a very dirty and faded piece of black riband, the jewelled miniature of Mrs. Fitzherbert.

'The poor King's dying request was fulfilled to the letter, and he carried with him to the grave the image of her who was perhaps the only woman whom he had respected as well as loved. The portrait of George Prince of Wales was bequeathed by Mrs. Fitzherbert to Mrs. Dawson Damer, and she left it in her will to her daughter, Georgiana, Countess Fortescue. It is now the property of her husband who survived her—the present Earl Fortescue, to whom I am indebted for these particulars.'

ART. VII.—*Storia della Repubblica di Firenze da* GINO CAPPONI. Two vols. 8vo. Firenze: 1875.

WE had hoped that our tribute to the merits of this remarkable work would have found its illustrious author still living, the glory and pride of the city whose historic fortunes it was the interest of his later years to narrate: but a short illness at the beginning of February 1876 carried off the Marquis Gino Capponi in the full possession of his faculties and sympathies. It was not a premature death, as time is counted, for he had lived nearly eighty-four years, and had played a finished part in politics and in literature. It was not premature as to the curtailment of this world's happiness, for he had been doomed for thirty years to the severest of physical deprivations —like our own great writer and patriot Milton,

> 'Shut up from outward light
> To incorporate with gloomy night;
> For inward light, alas!
> Puts forth no visual beam.'

A man of warm family affections, he had experienced the severance of his dearest domestic ties; and, courageous and resigned as he was, those who knew him in his latter days tell us that he looked with desire to the moment when his spirit should be freed from its mortal impediments.

Yet to his fellow-countrymen the tidings of the Marquis Capponi's death came as a calamity; and the blank occasioned by his departure from among them is one not to be filled up. This will readily be understood by all who have studied the course of modern Italian politics, by all who are acquainted with the literature of the Peninsula during the last fifty years, by all who have had entrance into its most refined social circles; and, we may add, by all who are conversant with the lower ranks in Florence, and have heard the household name of 'il nostro Gino Capponi' habitually mentioned with love and respect by peasant and artisan.

In fact this love of the lower classes for one who has been styled 'l'uom modello de' suoi tempi, il gentil'uomo 'Toscano per eccellenza,' is not one of the least remarkable circumstances connected with him. When, at his funeral, at the Marignolle Chapel, representatives were present from the King, the Ministry, and the Chamber of Legislation, from numerous Colleges and Societies, and the military and ceremonial display was such as had seldom if ever been accorded to an Italian subject, no tribute on the occasion was more sincere or moving

than that of the crowds whose part in it was that of onlookers and mourners only. It was in Capponi's unaffected identification of himself with the character and interests of his countrymen that the secret of their devotion to him lay. The Senator Marco Tabarrini, in his oration on the occasion, said: 'The people could not take measure of the loftiness of his mind, 'but they felt instinctively that his heart beat in unison with 'theirs. They saw him abstemious as regards the luxury 'which humiliates, and the pride which gives offence; they 'saluted him in the national feasts; they beheld him sorrowing 'in the common misfortunes, praying at the common altars; 'for Capponi was a Christian, and the religious sentiment 'which for him comprehended all forms of good, raised and 'ennobled every other affection.'

There was another pathetic circumstance attending the death of Gino Capponi, which to all denizens of Florence helped to give it the aspect of a national event. With him died out one of the most illustrious and characteristic of her historic races. The Capponi belonged to the *grossi popolani*, sometimes also styled *popolani grassi*, or again *nobili popolani*, the burgher-aristocracy of the Republic, which built its greatness on commerce after the feudal aristocracy had been forced out of the field of civic power. They are said to have derived their wealth from the silk trade, which ranked high among the *Arti maggiori*. They furnished Florence with some of her most eminent statesmen; and while we hear of no Capponi who brought dishonour on his name, several of the race achieved signal distinction in their country's annals.

Gino Alessandro Capponi was baptised in orthodox Florentine fashion, at the font of St. John the Baptist, on the 15th of September, 1792. His mother was a Frescobaldi; one of the families, not of the burgher, but of the feudal aristocracy of the State. Among his intimate early associates were J. B. Niccolini, the distinguished dramatic author, and Cesare Balbo. When twenty-six years of age he was known in England as the friend of Ugo Foscolo, and as sharing in those aspirations for Italian liberty which were alternately bursting forth and being stifled in the hearts of Florentines and Milanese and Romans after the Peace. The copy of this history which the author was good enough to send us last year is inscribed in his own hand, 'By the Author, old acquaintance of Mr. 'Jeffrey, Dr. Brewster, and Mr. Brougham' As time went on, all the distinguished men of letters of his country were drawn more or less into connexion with the influential nobleman whose wealth and taste led him to promote literary effort

as well as patriotic impulse. In conjunction with the well-known bookseller John Peter Vieusseux, he set up the 'Antologia' at Florence, which counted among its contributors Tommaseo, Mazzini, Matteucci, Sclopis, and other eminent men. A curious anecdote has been told us arising out of his relations with Vieusseux. It was the Marquis's practice to place a sum of money in the publisher's hands, for the purpose of supplying the necessities of deserving persons who might be involved in difficulties. After Vieusseux's death, a letter was found among his papers, addressed to the Marquis, stating that up to the time of its date he had not made use of the fund, but that he had just met with a young man of singular merit, to whom he had now advanced a part: the young man's name was Giuseppe Garibaldi. To Capponi the unhappy poet Leopardi was deeply indebted for the offices of friendship. Leopardi addressed his 'Palinodia' to the 'candido, lodato Gino.' Colletta's History of Naples was published under Capponi's auspices. Guerrazzi dedicated to him his novel 'Isabella 'Orsini.' Giusti, to whom latterly he gave a home under his roof, and who died in his arms, loved him with unbounded and touching devotion, and inscribed to him his 'Terra de' Morti.' The Marquis's temporary residence at Munich in 1841, where he sought the aid of skilled advice (unhappily in vain) to avert his threatened blindness, brought him into contact with Schelling, Görres, Döllinger and other German authors. Physical calamity and domestic sorrow kept him for a while in retirement, though not in mental inertness; but the events of 1848 stirred him to take an active part in his country's fortunes. He was entrusted with the formation of the liberal cabinet to which the Grand Duke of Tuscany found himself driven to commit the conduct of affairs; but his power was shortlived; he did not go far enough for Montanelli and others. Nevertheless, when the Grand Duke took flight a few months afterwards, and the Tuscan Senate deliberated in perplexity, it was Gino Capponi who stood up and exclaimed, 'If the Prince is not to 'be found, the people have the right to choose that form of 'government which shall seem to them best;' words which were immediately followed by the proclamation of the Republic. The lengths to which the democratic government and the Constituent Assembly were disposed to go, threw the *Capponiani*, as the followers of the Marchese were called,* into the

* Or *Sanbastiani*, from the name of the street, *San Sebastiano*, in which the Capponi Palazzo was situated—now to have its name changed to that of the *Via Gino Capponi*.

ranks of reaction; but their leader himself, shrinking from reactionary policy, withdrew from public life, till the year 1859 again opened a vista to the hopes of moderate liberalism. He then tried to force upon the Grand Duke a consciousness of the impending crisis; but his warnings were rejected. He was made president of the Council of State in the brief Provisional Government appointed by the King of Sardinia; and when the new Kingdom of Italy was established, he was first deputed to the Constituent Assembly as representative of Tuscany, and afterwards took his place as a member of the Senate. The calm enjoyments of literature and friendship gilded his later years; his society was sought by all foreigners of distinction who visited his city, and on whom his varied conversation, marvellous memory, and singularly noble presence never failed to make profound impression. He survived to witness the admiration with which the chief literary achievement of his life was received; and was called away to his desired rest after an illness of a few days only.

A monument in Santa Croce, the Florentine Valhalla, and a marble bust on the Pincian Hill, have been decreed as tokens of the public esteem of this eminent Italian. But no monument of him will preserve his memory so proudly as the literary work which it is our business now to describe—truly a wonderful legacy for an octogenarian statesman and a sightless scholar to have bequeathed to his fellow-countrymen.

Of its origin the Marquis himself gives the following account. A French lady, Madame Hortense Allart, known in Italy and in France by several publications of a historical nature, put forth in 1843 a concise narrative of the Florentine Republic, which had great merit, and was translated into Italian by Signor Alessandro Carraresi. Gino Capponi on looking over this book judged that for Italian readers it was somewhat disproportioned in the measure given to different parts and subjects; and he occupied himself in suggesting notes and alterations in it, till he found his thoughts altogether steeped in the history of Florence. In difficult and anxious times the subject became a rest and resource to him, and by degrees the present composition took shape. What stimulated its author the most to its completion was the knowledge that the French historian and statesman M. Thiers had the idea in his mind of writing a history of the Florentine Republic as being an important subject of study in these days of advancing democracy. A German writer in the 'Deutsche Rundschau' (April, 1875), who visited Capponi in 1873, was told by him that the work was not destined to see the light till after his

death; but happily this intention was changed at the instance of the Baron Alfred von Reumont, who was so strongly impressed with its merits after reading it in manuscript that he persuaded the venerable author not to defer enriching Italian literature with so valuable a monument.

For familiar conversance with facts, delicate portrayal of character, acute criticism of moral and mental phenomena, and tempered enthusiasm for the picturesque aspects of human affairs, as well as for lucidity and force of language, this work is undoubtedly a literary monument of very high mark. The author adopts the narrative rather than the philosophic style. He recounts, indeed, with a tranquil judgment of causes near and remote which justify his right to be considered a historian of the philosophic class; but he does not argue or analyse like a Hallam or a Sismondi. He tells his story as the old Italian chroniclers and epic poets were wont to tell their stories—colloquially, almost garrulously, not striving to make points, or to state evidence, but moving on from incident to incident, as though he had been an actual spectator of the events described, and was mainly anxious to make his hearers understand in what form they had happened. Sometimes we are reminded of Herodotus, sometimes of Ariosto, by his facile yet earnest manner of story-telling. And yet the Marquis knows how σωφρωνίζειν on occasion; and when he assumes a didactic position, as when contemplating the causes and results of the *Ciompi* outbreak, does it with authority, and not as do the Scribes of the ordinary lecture-room; laying down his axioms with the calm experience of a sage who has made up his mind as to the lessons to be drawn from this or that complication of human affairs, and assuming his dicta as granted for all present purposes.

Nevertheless on the whole we rather desiderate a clear expression of what the writer's ultimate opinion is as to the lessons to be derived from the political history of Florence. His sympathies seem to be called out in various directions, and not always in the same direction as his judgment. He evidently exults in the joyous energetic life of what he terms the 'heroic 'age' in the city's annals, when already the fallacious theory, as he considers it, of founding government on trade fraternisation had been established, and the State machinery was by his admission emphatically bad. For the levelling tendencies of the succeeding time, ending in the Ciompi convulsion, he entertains evident antipathy; his feelings incline him, there can be little doubt, to the oligarchic reaction under the *Ottimati*, far more than to any other rule or party

in the city's history; yet theoretically he condemns that government by the 'Few' as unconstitutional and arbitrary, and to be admired only as a happy accident. For the rule of the Medici he has no approval or sympathy, considering it as corrupt in principle and demoralising in effect. But he brings to the front its better aspects, its citizen-like absence of display, its association with popular traditions. The short-lived presidencies of Savonarola and Soderini claim his interest; but he sees that they were anachronisms, the benevolent enthusiasms of revivalists who could not discern the track on which the world was advancing. Had the Marquis Capponi lived in the early part of the sixteenth century, we cannot doubt that he would himself have belonged to the doctrinaire school which worked its brains so hard to devise a 'governo 'misto' on the model of Venice as the best possible constitution for a Florentine republic, just when a republic in Florence had become impossible. His own political standing point was always that of one a little behind his times; too much governed by the past to dare greatly, too large-minded to favour reaction. As little could the political wiseacres of 1530 set the old commonwealth of Florence on its legs again, as the *Capponiani* of 1848 could keep Tuscany from following where the novel combinations of national affairs led her.

Our remarks in the ensuing pages will be mainly directed to the internal workings of the Florentine democracy, and we shall be compelled to forego the pleasure of dwelling on those elaborate and instructive portions of his work where the Marquis Capponi has described the formation of the language and literature of Tuscany, and has weighed the characteristics of its greatest writers. This he has done in a spirit of independence, and with a store of knowledge which render his opinions especially valuable; and the forcible wording in which they are conveyed testifies to an earnestness based on thorough ripeness of thought. We can merely refer to his account of Dante, who designed to infuse into his great poem

'his whole being, thus seeking to consecrate to Love all the powers of his will. But within and without the unstable mind stood impediments of every sort, hinted at by him, and known to himself alone; and "ditches crossed his path, and fetters bound him."'

And of Petrarch, who

'created for himself that new phenomenon, the life of a literary man, and derived from it a fame such as, perhaps, no other ever enjoyed—tranquil, constant, free from animosities, and little hurt by offences, to which nevertheless, he was peculiarly sensitive; and after his death

Petrarch was the poet of the lethargic centuries, which came to an end when all Italy revived to the love of the Dantescan strain.'

Boccaccio is an object of outspoken aversion to our critic. While giving him praise for his fecundity of words and phrases, he denies him the merit of true eloquence or delicate mastery of language. He asserts him to be greater in narrative and description than imagery; to be false and unreal in feeling, meretricious in sentiment. Boccaccio, he says, could describe the pleasant hills and gardens of Schifanoia, with their bushes and rivulets, but Nature in her grand and terrible aspects was above his conceptions. The celebrated description of the Plague of Florence, however deserving of praise for its literary merits, is pronounced to be out of place, morally speaking, as the prelude to a series of libertine tales; and Boccaccio's authority as a master of Italian prose to have been only a decree of those degenerate times of the national literature when academical trivialities reigned paramount.

The Marquis Capponi's own execution as a writer is certainly as far as possible from that of which he accuses Boccaccio. We have spoken of his narrative style as communicative almost to the pitch of garrulity; but far from being showy or rhetorical, it is expressed with an antique simplicity akin to that of the original chroniclers, Villani and others, whose words he not unfrequently employs. His criticisms, on the other hand, are conveyed with incisive vigour; and his narrative itself is often varied by the insertion of terse dicta, moral or sentimental, which are very gems of expression, but which drive the translator's ingenuity to despair.

The remark of M. Thiers, that the Florentine Republic was the most democratic of all democracies, ancient or modern, applies to the working of its institutions. Theoretically, the community on the banks of the Arno had no rights but such as it derived from the Emperor of Germany. This, as historians of late have especially taken pains to prove, was the hypothesis on which all administrative power rested in the Christendom of the Middle Ages. Charlemagne and his descendants, and afterwards the Franconian, Saxon, and Swabian dynasties, were assumed to have stepped into the position once occupied by the Western successors of Constantine; and the idea that the Holy Roman Empire was *de jure* the sole fountain of authority in temporal matters, pervaded all legal and constitutional enactments; though so commonplace an assumption had it become, and so practically inoperative, that the historical student of a particular state or period might excusably fail to detect its existence.

The tradition, however, survived as long as the Republic lasted. In their official documents, the notaries and chancellors of the Republic were wont to style themselves *imperiali auctoritate notarius; imperiali auctoritate judex.* The adage 'un 'Dio, un Papa, un Imperatore,' was common, says the Marquis, in some country districts of Italy even within this century, when peasants were known to have stated as a plea for resisting the military conscription of Napoleon I. that he was not the 'true' Emperor. To mock or modern Emperors small respect is paid.

The Marquis Capponi holds the original government of Florence, by consuls, to have been derived from Roman custom; not, as some historians assert, from the institution of such officers by the German Emperors. His dictum on this subject is an example of the occasional colloquial energy of his style. 'I am aware,' he says, 'that the legendary connexion with 'Rome was a piece of civic brag; but here we have a positive 'fact; the consuls reappear ever and anon among the southern 'cities of Italy without long intermission from the Roman 'times to the resurgence of the Communes. That they were 'an institution of German origin, let those believe who will.' In fact the antagonism to feudal claims and a Teutonic aristocracy, which was the key-note of early Florentine history, was as much one of race and temperament as of reason. The people of Tuscany were of purer Latin descent than other Italians, if we except the people of Venice. *Figlia di Roma* was the title by which the citizens on the banks of the Arno loved to express their belief that their city was a direct colony from the Imperial mistress of the world: and to be a daughter of Rome was in no case to be an obedient pupil of barbarian schooling in those ideas of feudal law and aristocratic domination which were gaining their hold over the rest of Europe.

When the denizens of the city proceeded to further organisation it was with the definite object of keeping the outside nobles at bay, and conducting their own affairs after their own fashion. Hence the magistracies of the *Anziani*, the *Buonuomini*, the men of character and consideration, who looked after the public interests; while, subsequently to the settlement with Frederick Barbarossa, the *Potestà*, an officer of non-Florentine extraction, but practically selected by the people, to administer criminal justice, represented, with little real influence in the body politic, the theoretical rights of Imperialism.

Busy and practical was the character of the Florentine burgher from the earliest times. He devoted himself to de-

veloping the resources which Nature had munificently placed at his command. What the sheep and silk-worm yielded he manufactured into cloths and draperies. For articles of foreign produce he devised ingenious methods of refinement and colouring. In all European markets he found vent for his wares. He made an art of the circulation of money itself. The Florentine bankers and money-changers rose to an importance not to be gauged by the surface details of history. What helped to incite in the Florentine the love of gain and the taste for commercial enterprise, was the rare combination, with this taste for the practical, of a most delicate and refined appreciation of beauty in the various departments of art. Loving his city, he loved to adorn it. Dante might inveigh against the degenerate luxury of his times, but we have a shrewd suspicion that it was to the scenic beauty of his *Fioretta* that he partly paid homage when he contemplated her in exile from the Umbrian heights.

With this pride in the beauty of his city was allied the sense of proprietorship in its political management. Busy and practical, and by no means reverential or submissive in the habits of his mind, the Florentine burgher loved to conduct his own affairs for himself. Imaginative, though not reverential, he early conceived an idea of his community as a political existence, a state destined to its own history and position in the world's economy. We have this idea propounded in the prelude to the great work of Villani, by far the most remarkable historical monument of the Middle Ages.

And with the Florentine's civic ardour was moreover allied that singular and marked attribute, his fickleness. For as he identified himself with his city as a political existence, its constitutional perfection became as much the passion of his soul as its artistic beauty. At a period of civilised history when experience was as yet very small in the art of government, and the strivings of new life animated, rapid change seemed the readiest solution for every difficulty as it occurred. Was there a little friction in the machine here or there, no time must be given for the parts to work themselves into harmony by usage, but new screws must be applied, new adjustments made immediately. Any failure in the conduct of state affairs must be at once laid to the charge of ill-working institutions. If a defeat from outside enemies were the untoward incident, then some new dictatorial committee of war or public order must be devised to conduct things better in time to come; if tumults

within the walls, then some novel method of official appointments or organisation of trade militias.

Dante, 'quel terribile coetaneo,' as the Marquis somewhere calls him, who had the grave reflective tendencies of the northern temperament combined with his southern ardour, criticised and condemned the mutability of his fellow-citizens. The passage in the 'Purgatorio' in which he describes it, is familiar to all students of Florentine history, having been cited by perhaps every writer on the theme. He tells the fickle city satirically, that Athens and Sparta, which made the ancient laws and were so renowned for civil arts, were but poor examples of good management compared with her, whose ordinances were so subtly contrived that what was fabricated in October did not last till the middle of November; and reminds her how many times she had changed customs and offices and persons within recent experience, being no less restless than the sick patient tossing on her couch.

Experience, in the long course of history, does much in the way of teaching. It does at last dispel illusions and quench enthusiasms in a large portion of mankind, at all events. The Gambettist republican of to-day reins in his radical zeal in remembrance of the failures of 1793 and 1848, with their overripe theories of the Rights of Man, and of 'Liberty, Equality, 'and Fraternity.' The Florentine citizen, after many tossings to and fro on the feverish bed of democratic experiment, sank wearied into oligarchic optimism, then pillowed himself on Medicean popular Cæsarism. The last stirrings of his political self-consciousness were evidenced in those tempered theories of the sixteenth century, which philosophical doctrinaires elaborated when it was too late to put them to the test of practice.

For our present purpose we will divide the course of Florentine history into four stages. First, that which the Marquis Capponi himself calls the 'heroic stage;' secondly, the levelling stage; thirdly, the reactionary or aristocratic stage; fourthly, the Medicean or servile stage. The study throughout these successive periods of the democratic principle on which the constitution was founded, is one of great interest and instruction at the present day; and it has this advantage over the study of the same principle on a larger scale—as in the United States, for instance—that here we have the beginning, the middle, and the end before us, and can trace effects and causes within definite limits. In short, here we have a compact miniature picture before our eyes; and moreover a picture whose

intellectual and artistic setting makes it attractive on other grounds than those of political instruction.

The Marquis Capponi calls that the 'heroic' age during which the Guelph and Ghibelline contest was a real and inspiring cause of action. The poet of the 'Divina Com-'media,' indeed, looks back to a time from which the heroic age itself is a degeneracy, when through the mouth of his ancestor Cacciaguida, he asserts the first corruption of the city to have come with the extension of its walls in 1078. From that time it was, he laments, that the leathern jerkin with buttons of bone ceased to be the habiliment of important citizens, that ladies painted their faces and adorned themselves with showy apparel, that the portentous marriage portions required for their daughters made parents tremble! Trade, no doubt, was already introducing comparative luxury; but it must be said, in spite of Dante, that the personal habits of the Florentine burgher continued to be thrifty to the latest period of the Republic. His expenditure was more upon public works than upon personal display.

Taking then the war preceding the Peace of Constance (1183) as the starting-point for the 'heroic' era, and the date of Dante's death, 1321, as its termination—that being about the time when the last political contest of the Republic against the Empire ceased, we may assign, as the leading characteristic of this century and a half, the great collision between those principles of feudalism and democratic independence to which accidental circumstance affixed the nicknames of Guelph and Ghibelle. Now here we must carefully remark, that the republican life of Florence turned upon two main pivots. Its original idea was that of championing civic self-government against feudal tyranny. Its secondary idea, which evolved itself out of the actual condition of civic life within its walls, and became paramount as the other became effete, was the supremacy and advance of the industrial arts. The first was political, the second social. Both combined in fostering democracy; and therefore, as long as Guelphism was a real cause, there was no want of harmony in the adjustment of the political machine. When Guelphism became a name to cover other party views, it was otherwise. The two co-operating pivots on which the machinery had hitherto turned came to act in different directions; and in the discordant relations between the governing body, or Signoria, by which the State was worked, and that curious institution within the State—the 'Magistrato 'di Parte Guelfa'—we shall find the key to all the political vicissitudes of the Republic from the time when the heroic age

came to an end till the Mediceau rule had put an extinguisher on civic spirit as well as on civic enmities.

With the national contest of Guelph against Ghibelline, which was an Italian cause, and placed Florence as its leader in a proud position of influence and trust, we shall not here concern ourselves. Our remarks are confined to the constitutional history of the Republic. The year 1266 is memorable as the epoch when the different 'Arts'—trades or guilds—which the mercantile pursuits of the people had brought into existence, were formally organised, and recognised in the political constitution, —when from a committee held in the factory of the *Calimala*, or cloth trade, in the Mercato Nuovo, emerged at a stroke, and as it were spontaneously, the Republic of Florence.

The guilds or 'Arts' were then twelve in number; seven being known as the *Arti maggiori*, or Greater Arts, and five as the *Arti minori*, or Lesser Arts. The Greater Arts consisted of 1. Judges and notaries; 2. Merchants of the *Calimala* (a trade which consisted in refining rough cloths imported from France and other countries); 3. Exchangers; 4. Wool merchants; 5. Silk merchants; 6. Physicians and druggists (Dante belonged to this Art); 7. Furriers. The Lesser Arts comprised the ordinary retail trades; and these subsequently increased from five to fourteen, and to a greater number still during the short period of ultra-democratic ascendency in the State. There is some confusion among historians as to whether the political recognition of the trade corporations extended in 1266 to the Minor as well as to the Major Arts. Capponi seems to limit it to the Major Arts. The recognition consisted in each being endowed with a council of its own, a chief magistrate or consul to administer justice in civil causes, and a gonfalonier or banneret, to whose standard the members of the guild were to repair on any occasion of popular tumult. But it was not till sixteen years later that the Arts, as such, were assumed as the basis of actual government. Up to 1282 the administration continued to be in the hands of the *Anziani* (elders) or *buonuomini* (good men), whether noble or plebeian by origin. It was then decreed, in consequence of an agitation which had its origin in the council of the *Calimala*, that the chief magistracies should henceforth be assigned to a few of the leading members of the upper guilds to be called *Priori delle Arti*, Priors, or foremost men of the Arts—first on three only; the numbers being eventually raised to six, and then to eight. This Signory, renewed every two months, and representing along with the *Capitano del popolo*, and, a little later, the *Gonfaloniere di Giustizia*, the majesty of the Florentine

Republic, was appointed to live in great state at the public charge in a special palace, whose precincts the members were prohibited from leaving, except on public business, during their tenure of office. How or when the Lesser Arts were admitted to the Signory seems a little doubtful, but the *maggiori*, at all events, possessed a safe preponderance of influence and numbers; and at this starting-point of the commercial Republic there was no warfare of the trades within themselves, but only united opposition to aristocratic privilege. To the Signory of the Priors were added 'Colleges,' one consisting of the Gonfaloniers of all the guilds, and the other of twelve *buonuomini* (added in 1321), and these three magistracies were known as the *tre maggiori*. Councils of the 'Commune' and of the 'People' also formed part of the government. By the bimestral change of persons, and by a law of *divieto* or prohibition which forbade any outgoing member of the Signory to return to office again for two years, the ambition of individuals was strictly guarded against; but the machine worked clumsily, and it often happened that the whole constitution was overridden by the appointment of a *balia*, or dictatorial committee, to take the management of affairs in any special emergency. The aim of the legislators meanwhile was mainly directed against the intervention of the aristocratic element; and to this a decisive blow was given in the *Ordinanze della Giustizia*, introduced by Giano della Bella in 1293, when invidious rules, in cases of criminal justice, were made against the obnoxious magnates, and they were rendered distinctly ineligible to the office of Prior or to the 'Colleges,' except by dropping their class honours and embracing trade. Even then, thirty-three of the noblest families of Florence were absolutely excluded. The nobles, as such, were also incapable of voting in the elections to the chief offices. In tracing the succession of these popular enactments we are met with some difficulties; and historians seem at times confused in their accounts. For instance, if the Signoria was restricted to the Priors of Arts in 1292, why should Giano della Bella have thought it necessary to exclude the nobles expressly in his ordinances of 1293? The *grandi* certainly retained a hold on public affairs in the 'Council of the Commune,' as well as in the extra-governmental Corporation of the 'Parte Guelfa.' With whatever practical counterworkings, however, it is certain that before the close of the thirteenth century the State constitution of Florence had been established on that basis of industry, democracy, and fraternity which gave it its ostensible character throughout the period of the Republic.

It was a government based on democracy and fraternity, but not on any principle of equal justice. Citizenship implied a status between which and the masses on the one hand, and the unenfranchised aristocracy on the other, a distinct bar existed. This citizenship, comprising from four to five thousand individuals in a population of from ninety to a hundred thousand, was founded on the exercise of trade. To be enrolled in one or other of the trading corporations gave right to a voice in the elective and administrative functions of State. But here, again, was a distinction. Originally the Greater Arts monopolised the actual power; whatever the wording of the laws might be, the effective influence of the Lesser Arts was a subsequent move in the direction of democracy, which was followed up later again by the revolutionary intrusion of the unincorporated handicrafts. A technical homage to the sovereignty of the people at large was displayed in the *Parlamento* or popular Assembly which was wont to be convened on the Piazza or public square, when sanction was required for the appointment of dictatorial *balìe*, or for great constitutional changes; but it amounted to very little really, the laws being announced and the popular vote directed by the Signory.

The sphere of actual political life was a limited one; but once clearly defined, the precautions taken to prevent any monopoly of power within that sphere were abundant. The Florentine had the greatest horror of government by *un solo*. It was partly to raise a barrier against ambition in any rising burgher, partly also to prevent loss of individual profit in business by prolonged occupation with official claims, that the tenure of the chief magistracies was limited to two months. The same jealousy of power caused the enactment of that other law of *divieto* by which no two persons bearing the same family name, or allied by *consorteria*, could be drawn for contemporaneous magistracies; and it furnished a motive for the remarkable ordinance of 1323, by which the chances of lottery were made the rule of appointments. The nervous restlessness of the Florentine lawgivers could go no further.

The special legislation against the *grandi* or nobles was certainly indefensible on any ground of abstract justice. But it had its plea in the exigencies of the time. The Tuscan nobles, being mostly Latin by race and temperament, like the lower orders, might be indeed less alien to the citizens than in other parts of Italy: but in their tall city houses as in their country castles, they flaunted the traditions of their class, and, but for their internecine quarrels, it might have been more difficult for

the burghers than it actually proved to keep down their pretensions.

With a clearsightedness above all logic, the Florentine tradesmen perceived that the way to be free was to be unfair. They might have given the same answer to the advocates of representative justice that the American Republican Government after the War of Secession had for those who objected to the arbitrary proceedings of the freedmen's bureau. The Southern slaveholders had to be kept under, slavery as a system had to be crushed out, and this was the only way to do it. Rights of property, as such, must yield to the demands of a higher conception of liberty. The busy, practical community of Florence was determined that the principle of feudal privilege should not have footing in the management of its concerns—that their government should be one of fraternal equality, founded on the exercise of the industrial arts. And it is impossible not to sympathise with the desire of those intelligent men of commerce and industry, luxuriating in a new culture and keenly alive to a sense of harmony, beauty, and symmetry in all around them, to repress the coarse disturbers of all public peace and progress. It was their delusion, indeed, to think that the nobility were the only disturbing element of the public peace; that Ghibelline traditions were the only false postulates they had to contest. Disorder came from the jealousies and dissensions among themselves, and from the restless passions of those below them, as soon as the first democratic victory was fairly secured. A government founded on trade socialisms, says the Marquis Capponi, is vitiated in its first principles because it must always imply a contest about the wages of labour.

Meanwhile, the special glory for Florence of the 'heroic' age was the triumph of the Guelph cause against Ghibellinism without and within. With the failure of the Emperor Henry VII. to establish his authority against the Republic ended the last effort of Imperial domination. We quote our historian's genial review of her character and condition at this period:—

'Felicitous days were those which the greatest of our chroniclers had enjoyed in the spring-time of his life; and hence, as it seems to me, he derived that serenity of judgment in which Giovanni Villani not seldom surpasses more solemn historians. This [Florentine] people was never attuned to vast enterprises, which always carry with them a disposition to melancholy and quietude. Their life expanded on this side and on that according to the tendencies of their nature; it was not gathered into one focus by the dominion of Will. Florence had suffered little in comparison with other cities, and the popular state had

here formed itself naturally, easily, because it was directed by its own inward needs, because, in short, the people counted for more and the nobles for less than elsewhere. Hence also we find that in State affairs common consent was more operative than force, or than the demure wisdom of the few. Looking at the civil ordinances of the State, we are tempted to pronounce the public life to have been one of haphazard. Nevertheless the Republic did, in fact, accomplish self-rule, and moreover did make its own profound impression, for the reasons that its number of *buon' uomini* was considerable, intellects were wide awake, minds were for that age temperate, the disposition of the people was lively and inclined to pleasure, but, inasmuch as it was an artistic people, to refined and elevated pleasure. Within this period fell the youth of Dante, the maturity of Giotto. Florence possessed men versed in toil, expert in traffic, skilled in free and continuous intercourse with their fellow-citizens, experienced by frequency of distant travel, and well-informed through observation of other men and things. For at that time commerce had made a very rapid advance. G. Villani resided for a long time at Bruges in Flanders, where Florentine merchants had an emporium. Many resorted to the ports of the Levant. And then, as by a sudden impulse, arose those noble edifices in which the grandeur of Florence as a town consists. Then, also, the people, having accomplished the formation of its modern language, revelled in the enchantment of the young diction which issued from its lips, the revealer of a harmony having its seat within the soul itself, and the clearest of instruments for the expression of that inner thought. Not as yet had Florence abused her wealth to corruption, nor her liberty to licence; not yet had public passions degenerated to private greed. Amid great opulence, the city still tasted the dear delights of simple manners; and the towns and peoples which enjoyed liberty through her political action regarded her with affection.

'The Guelph name, as that name was understood in Tuscany more than in any other province of Italy, had had the effect of bringing nobles and people together from the beginning in the participation of a common national emotion, and to some extent amalgamating them. Not a few lords of the dismantled castles, and landed proprietors dispossessed or ruined by the civil wars, had sought compensation in the trades by which they saw so many of the popular orders rise to consequence; many still retaining their rank, and casting in their lot with the victorious party, had allowed themselves to descend to civic ambitions, seeking what had been to them a hitherto unattempted source of power. As long as the struggle against the Ghibellines lasted, the relations between the two classes did not seem to be broken; but that struggle had come to a victorious end, and in the meantime the popular wave continued steadily to rise. When the government came into the hands of the Priors of Arts, it appeared to the nobles that no part sufficient to content them remained. True it might be stated that for the Priorate were eligible "*buon' uomini* of mercantile calling, although "they might happen to be of noble degree;" but they were regarded with a jealous eye, and everything was sure to turn against them in

the city, where the prevailing mass of the inferior orders constituted a formidable hedge around them.' (Vol. i. p. 29.) *

The second period of Florentine constitutional history, according to the division we have suggested, has for its characteristic not the opposition of the trading classes to the feudal aristocracy, but the broadening of the democratic platform as between the differing degrees of the trading and working classes themselves. As the old aristocracy retired into the background, a new aristocracy, that of wealth acquired by commerce, had come forward. The magnates of the *Arti maggiori* were as influential, and were becoming as proud, as any of the castled lords whom they had superseded; while even among Florentine democrats a tender feeling was reserved for the pleas of birth and title which was refused to the purse-proud assumptions of the so-called *Famiglie,* or houses of the *popolani grassi.* To obviate any undue influence in elections on the part of the moneyed aristocracy, it seems to have been, that the apparent extreme of impartiality was reached in the famous law of 1323, to which allusion has already been made, by which the constitution-mongers of the time, bitten by what the Marquis Capponi calls *una mania d'equalità,* ordained that the chances of lottery among eligible burghers of good character should determine all appointments to the chief offices thenceforward. Concise and stern is our historian's sentence on this innovation, which, he says, 'maintained from that time, and 'surviving even to our own days, I do not shrink from pro-'nouncing fatal. By it the authority of the magistrates be-'came lowered, a result in which democracies no less than 'absolute governments find their profit; but with the depreci-'ation of the magistrates the State itself declines, and when 'perils supervene, it is found defenceless.' That this method was very ineffectual for securing good character in the chief officers of state is obvious. The historian Nardi says of it that it tended greatly to corrupt the good manners of the city, inasmuch as the *squittinio* or scrutiny into character being made every three or five years, and not on each occasion, as would

* We would here call attention to a historical romance lately published under the title of 'Dante and Beatrice,' which shows keen appreciation of the social aspects of Florentine life at this period, with its vivid contrasts of light and shade. The author, who gives his name as Roxburghe Lothian, combines with careful antiquarian study gifts of deep feeling and sympathetic fancy. And although his characters of 'Dante and Beatrice Portinari' are somewhat fantastical, there is an extraordinary brilliancy and reality in his pictures of mediæval Florence.

have been right 'considering the present quality of the burghers 'and the badness of the times,' those who had once obtained their nomination and been put into the purses thereto appointed, being certain to arrive some time at the honours and offices for which they were designed, became careless and negligent of good customs in their lives. This law was afterwards made applicable to the 'colleagues,' that is to say to the Gonfalonieri and *buonuomini*, as well as to the Priors; and when it was followed up by the enactment of *divieto*, forbidding any two members of a family to hold office at the same time, the houses of the higher aristocracy found themselves severely hit; for their means of influencing elections had been great, and their family ramifications were extensive.

The logic of facts was becoming too strong for these magnates of the upper guilds. The *Famiglie* might ally themselves with the ancient nobility by marriage, build splendid edifices, and while diligently frequenting their shops and manufactories, consider themselves the equals of any Lombard or Venetian signor. But their supremacy over their fellow-citizens was not founded on any principle of demarcation. Soon after the enactment of the laws of lottery and *divieto*, the Lesser Arts burst the boundaries of exclusion, and forced on the hitherto governing classes the unwelcome truth that butchers, shoemakers, and blacksmiths had as much right to govern the State as the notaries and bill-exchangers and merchants of the *Calimala* or of the silk trades, conspicuous for their patronage of the Fine Arts, and for their munificent adornment of the city.

This was the important change which took place after the brief dictatorship of Walter de Brienne, Duke of Athens, in 1343. Subsequently it led to a further struggle; that of the incorporated traders of every degree and their unincorporated operatives; in short, between capital and labour, as represented in the *Ciompi* outbreak of 1378.

These two movements deserve careful consideration. They constitute one of the most instructive portions of the Marquis Capponi's narrative; and here the historian's horror of Radical extremes comes prominently forward and inspires him with more didactive incisiveness than in most parts of his narrative.

It was the shortlived rule of Walter de Brienne which gave effectively to the *Arti Minori* the consciousness of their strength. To prop his tyranny against the force of the *popolani grassi*, or upper citizens, he attempted first to court the discredited *Grandi*, and then the members of those inferior industrial guilds who had hitherto been ineligible for the highest offices, or whose share of them had been in small proportion

to those held by the upper guilds. More than this: he had given the rights of organisation to some of those unincorporated handicrafts which had hitherto been only dependent on the existing guilds; so that the number of the *Arti minori* or *minuti* was increased from fourteen to seventeen, and a very low order of men admitted to State affairs. But the upstart Duke and his tyranny succumbed within twelve months, and when he was expelled, with the irrepressible shouts of *Libertà! Popolo!* from all classes and degrees, the nobles, who had taken a prominent share in his expulsion, claimed their reward, and made a last struggle for constitutional recognition. The effort failed; and the so-called *Cacciata de' Grandi* was the final blow to their hopes. The upper and lower degrees of the burghers had then to adjust their differences. The social lines among classes had multiplied. They were distinguishable into *popolani grassi, mediani,* and *artefici minuti*; below these again being the *plebe,* the rabble, commonly described as being 'senza 'arte nè parte;' without art or part in State affairs.

The change in the number of Priors from six to eight, dividing the city by quarters and not by *sestieri,* and the assignment of a preponderance for this highest magistracy to the Minor Arts, constituted the main features of the radical reform of 1343. Of the governing Signory henceforward two were to be *popolani grassi,* three *popoli mezzani,* and three *artefici minuti.* The upper class of citizens was fairly swamped.

But while the government was thus taking a decidedly more democratic turn, in the advancing power of labour against capital, the Florentine nobles found a refuge and a sphere of action for themselves in that singular corporate institution to which reference has already been made, the *Magistrato di parte Guelfa.* The influence of this institution, founded at the same time with the organisation of the Arts (1267), and specially designed for the advancement of the Guelph cause and the suppression of Ghibellinism, extended throughout Italy: Florence, as the leader of Guelphism, shaping it for the fulfilment of her mission, with characteristic definiteness of purpose and disregard of theoretic justice.

The Corporation or 'Society' consisted of a secret council of fourteen and a larger council of sixty, of six Priors or Captains, with the possession of a separate treasury and common seal. It was an *imperium in imperio*; a little state within the State of Florence. Its magistracy, like the official Signory and Colleges, was renewable every two months; but unlike the State offices of the *Tre maggiori,* it was by statute to consist of nobles as well as of plebeians. And of this

very important provision the nobles did not omit to avail themselves. They had the power over large pecuniary funds; for three-fifths of the confiscated property of Ghibelline families were made over to the 'Parte' for discretionary uses; and they possessed the very important prerogative of exiling or ostracising any persons to whom they could bring home the charge of inclination to the Ghibelline faction. As long as Ghibellinism was a real political foe, this institution, arbitrary as it might be, had its political justification. When Ghibellinism and Guelphism had turned into convenient nicknames for social animosities, it became a formidable engine of class warfare. For it worked secretly, mysteriously, and with that character of conspiracy which a state within a state must always bear. It marked its victims silently; it uttered its sentences abruptly; it carried on its traditions relentlessly; it hated democracy persistently; it aimed always at maintaining the aristocratic element in the State as far as it could do so without breaking openly with the Signory at the Palazzo. Its great instrument of warfare was the right of Admonition. Now here we are conscious of a sense of bathos. A corporate society ably organised, politically powerful, working out its separate ends, and able to seize its victims on grounds of suspicion only, and let fall midnight sentences from which there is no appeal, bears with it an awful sound. But what was in fact this 'admoni-'tion' from which the Florentine burgher recoiled with as much terror as though it involved his nocturnal consignment in a sack to the waters of the Arno, or his decapitation on the guillotine of some 'Committee of Safety'? It was simply a prohibition to occupy any official position in the State. And here we are reminded of a curiously marked characteristic of the Florentine citizen. To have a hand in managing the political affairs of his own community 'avere lo stato,' as it was called, was with him a passion. 'Perdere lo stato,' or to be deprived of the share of management to which his position otherwise would entitle him, was in his view the greatest calamity that in the ordinary course of things could befall him. And the sort of panic into which the citizens generally were thrown by the 'admonitions' of the Guelph Corporation seems to us to furnish an answer to those who assert that the advanced democracy of the Florentine constitution tended to cruel and brutal excesses. There is really very little of such excess recorded in the annals of the Republic. Opposing factions might fine and exile each other; 'admonitions' might abound; but lives were rarely taken. In the insurrection of the *Ciompi*, when the passions of the lowest

and uncultivated orders were worked up, some summary executions took place, no doubt; but usually the very vivacity and changeableness of the people, and their refined tastes, mitigated sanguinary asperities. Capponi, speaking of their Latin and Etruscan origin, says, in a passage the graceful conciseness of which would suffer too much from translation: 'Quindi la copia delle tradizioni che indussero in questo popolo, 'come esperienze anticipate, la temperanza ne' pensieri; e 'quindi la buona economica costituzione e le abitudini civili, 'che pure in mezzo a feroci tempi lo educavano tuttavia 'alla mitezza dei costumi; pregi del popolo di Toscana, che 'sopravissero a ogni decadenza, ed a lui sono felicità.' (Vol. i. p. 190.)

The division in the Republic between the ultra-democratical and reactionary elements—a division going down to its very entrails, as Capponi says—was brought to a climax by the war against Pope Gregory XI., in which Florence found herself engaged from 1375 to 1378. We need not enter into the causes of this war; but so it was that Florence, the old Guelphic city, found herself bearing arms against the Head of the Church, and had to encounter the weight of an interdict fulminated from the Papal head-quarters at Avignon. To conduct the affairs of this contest she had appointed a committee of eight citizens, who as the *Otto della Guerra* became very powerful and popular, and, as though in defiance of any ecclesiastical censure, were called in familiar language the *Otto Santi.* The Guelph Society saw its advantage in espousing the cause of the Church and fighting the popular government and the *Otto della Guerra* with every engine in their power. 'Admonitions' abounded. Sentences were pronounced at night, as though with the terrors of a secret tribunal. No solid proof of Ghibelline connexion or descent was required. It was not enough, people said, to be 'more Guelph than Charlemagne,' any displeasure conceived by the 'Parte' was enough to condemn a man. The close of the war with the Pope (July 1378) brought these bitter internal differences to a final and portentous outbreak, and gave opportunity for the intervention of revolutionary elements which had been long fermenting in the social constitution, and which were connected with wider causes than the mere local conditions of Florentine life.

The course of national politics is often affected as much by material and physical catastrophes or evolutions as by moral influences; or, perhaps it should rather be said, moral influences often arise directly from physical occurrences. Plague and famine, in the middle of the fourteenth century, worked an

amount of social disturbance in different countries of Europe which ordinary history has been slow to estimate. The Black Death, which is asserted by recent inquirers to have carried off one-half of the population of England, was, in its worst visitation of 1348, contemporaneous with the Plague of Florence, described by Boccaccio in his 'Decameron,' when the mortality amounted to three-fifths of the citizens. Precisely at the same distance of time from each event, broke out the two social insurrections, that of the Peasants' Revolt, headed by the priest John Ball, in England, and that of the *Ciompi*, or lowest manufacturers, at Florence. The phenomena would seem to have been connected with each other in the following manner.

In each country which it visited, the mortality caused by the pestilence had operated to increase the wealth of the survivors who stepped into the inheritance of their defunct relatives; while, by diminishing the number of hands available for work, it raised considerably the rate of wages. Matteo Villani says that the agricultural labourers in Tuscany aspired to possess all the oxen and corn, and to cultivate the best lands and leave the rest alone; menial servants refused enormous salaries, and they and others of their class launched into self-indulgences in the way of living which remind us strongly of the complaints lately made of the spendthrift luxury of our South Wales collierymen before successive strikes had ruined them. The laws could do nothing to repress the expenses of funerals and weddings, says Matteo Villani, writing of the year 1362, or the sumptuous dress of the women; and notwithstanding that there was a scarcity at the time, the '*minuto popolo* made 'holiday and dressed and feasted as though they were living 'in the midst of riches and abundance.' The rulers of the state sought to restrain this extravagance by taxing articles of food, but in vain. Matteo Villani, himself a loyal man of the people in the old republican sense, speaks indignantly of the ignorant and ungrateful masses to whom poverty was more beneficial than wealth.

Now it is curious to compare with M. Villani's account of the lower classes of the Florentine people at this time, the contemporary picture of English society. We take for purposes of reference the very popular work on the 'History of the 'English People,' lately published by Mr. J. R. Green:—

'The whole organisation of labour,' says this writer, 'was thrown out of gear. The scarcity of hands made it difficult for the minor tenants to perform the services due for their lands, and only a temporary abandonment of half the rent by the landowners induced the farmers to refrain

from the abandonment of their farms. . . . Even when the first burst of panic was over, the sudden rise of wages consequent on the enormous diminution in the supply of free labour, though unaccompanied by a corresponding rise in the price of food, rudely disturbed the course of industrial employments. Harvests rotted on the ground, and fields were left untilled, not merely from scarcity of hands, but from the strife which now for the first time revealed itself between capital and labour. While the landowners of the country and the wealthier craftsmen of the towns were threatened with ruin by what seemed to their age the extravagant demands of the new labour class, the country itself was torn with riot and disorder. The outbreak of lawless self-indulgence which followed everywhere in the wake of the plague told especially upon the "landless men" wandering in search of work, and for the first time masters of the labour market.'

The same causes which thus affected the agriculturists of the English shires acted on the artificers in the Italian workshops: and consequently the political and social tendencies at Florence were in preparation for the revolutionary crisis which marked the year 1378. A few weeks before the peace with the Pope was proclaimed, Salvestro de' Medici, a popular favourite, was elected Gonfalonier of Justice, in spite of the efforts of the Guelph Party leaders to prevent his appointment by the law of *divieto*; to 'admonish' one so notoriously free as he was from Ghibelline taint being too hardy a step even for them. A partisan of the *Arti minuti*, and opposed to the aristocratic tendencies of the Guelph Society, Salvestro de' Medici proposed a law to check the operation of the admonitions by enabling persons 'admonished' to recover their rights. Popular tumults ensued. A *balìa*, consisting of the Signory and Colleges, and other boards, was appointed to act. A temporising policy gained the ascendant for the moment. Then was published the peace with the Pope, and the popular excitement broke out in a new form. The *Arti minuti*, to carry out their opposition to the Guelph Party, had called in the assistance of the lowest artificers, the unincorporated workmen, of whom the most audacious and reckless were the comrades or *Ciompi* of the wool-carding craft:—

'But when you call in the force of the people to make a forward movement,' says the Marquis Capponi, amplifying a remark of Machiavelli's on the occasion, 'it is not the true people that respond. You behold a multitude issue forth to whom another name belongs, a multitude which you can neither direct nor keep back, and by whom all your designs are thwarted. They [the promoters of the democratic movement] had at first made their appeal to the guilds, but behind these came the rabble who, as we say in Florence, had *nè arte nè parte*, and that throng of evil livers—rather idlers than starving men—who always abound in an opulent city.'

The cry of the unwashed multitude was distinctly for political power and an increase of wages. 'We demand,' said their spokesman Simoncino, 'that the handicrafts subject to the 'woollen trade shall have their own consuls and colleges, and 'shall not have to do with the officer who torments them for 'every trifling cause, nor with the master wool merchants who 'pay them very badly, and give only two-thirds of the value 'of their labour. And we demand that these handicrafts shall 'bear a part in the ruling of the city, and that they shall not be 'punished for any fire or robbery they may have committed.'

The popular commotion which took place when the mob forced the Palace of the Signory, and the Priors had to seek safety in flight, reaches the lowest point of the democratic tide in the history of the Republic. The proletaires, in power, but not knowing how to consolidate their power, were held in check by one of their own class, the temperate and sagacious wool-carder Michele di Lando; and after a brief saturnalia of thirty-eight days had to submit to the tempered radicalism of the *Arti minori.* Here, after stating the regulations made by the new governors for the establishment of order, the Marquis observes:—

'These measures of justice were decreed in the name of a government of artisans; the "people," as though natural lords of Florence, would admit no recognition of mere outcast rabble; and I know not what other people in the world would have been so well able to govern itself as this, had it but discovered forms adapted for the purpose, and had the equality on which the Republic was founded been true and sincere. . . . But it was impossible for a state composed of members too numerous and independent, and all depending on gain, to maintain that faith in itself which is the principle of liberty as it is of strength: the more numerous the participants in government are, the more numerous are the adversaries which rise against it. It often happens, in intestine divisions, that while some among the victorious party think enough can never be done to keep down their beaten enemies, others consider that more than enough has been done already, and are willing, for the sake of peace, to renounce the full fruits of the victory achieved; for in the long run we all of us have need of each other; and this truth, which often becomes a leaven of discord in human societies, is nevertheless a bond to prevent them from falling asunder. In the present instance we have before us a manufacturing community in which the more penurious handicrafts make war on the workshops of their employers, and on capital, the indispensable instrument for the exertion of labour, and on commerce, which feeds it; thus the *proletaires*, by forcibly exacting more equitable wages, ended by incurring the loss of their labour itself.' (Vol. i. p. 359.)

The conservative reaction which dates from the year 1382, takes us into the third period into which we have divided our

survey of this instructive history. It was just a century between the time when the Priors of Arts took the helm of state, the government of Florence being then formally consigned to the trading classes, and the time when the Minor Guilds failed in their attempt to give the most levelling interpretation to the mercantile constitution then established. The reaction called the Greater Guilds nominally to the helm again; but, as the Marquis Capponi says, the too ripe flowers had withered: the period for effectual government by the trading corporations in any shape had passed. The Priors preserved their state and their dignities, but little more; the real power passed into the hands of a few able citizens who knew how to guide affairs. External circumstances had partly tended to this result, as well as internal circumstances. The times had come to require a more continuous and statesmanlike policy in the inter-peninsular relations of the Republic than could be supplied by a Priorate composed chiefly of retail tradesmen, and changeable every two months. Formerly, when the Guelph and Ghibelline cause was alive, the Guelph Party Corporation had been invented to supply this want; afterwards spasmodic *balie*, or committees with dictatorial power, had been appointed for every special occasion of war. But now the prudence and experience of thoughtful men came to have a value in the market which the jealous democracy of Florence had hitherto specially guarded itself against. Wearied of civic rivalries in official life, she gave herself into their hands, and saw her elaborately devised magistracies and councils worked as instruments but no longer as directing organisms. Not only the Signory and the Colleges—the *Tre maggiori*—faded into insignificance, the formidable corporation of the Guelph Party also lost its power. The bond of brotherhood, the 'fraternity' of the Florentine civic life, chiefly survived in certain religious corporations which had still a part to play before the history of the commonwealth had run its course. Amidst the machinations of Milanese and Neapolitan rulers, and the attempts of French and German ambition, Florence and Venice, the only really free states of Italy—republics both of them, though constituted on very different principles—had now an important part to play in keeping alive the national faith and spirit. In practical efficiency it could not be denied that Florence came behind Venice. The inconstancy of her mercurial democracy rendered her far less apt for political influence than the rival republic with its compact, unchanging, and strictly guarded oligarchy. It happened consequently, that amidst the general sameness of their interests as regarded the affairs of the Peninsula, there existed

jealousy and a want of cordiality between the 'Daughter of 'Rome' and the Queen of the Adriatic; but it happened also that the *Ottimati*, the sagacious and thoughtful men of state at Florence, conceived an admiration for the constitutional mechanism which led to such results in the rival republic, and indulged in dreams of imitation.

The rule of the *Ottimati*, or, as it was sometimes called, of the *Pochi*—the 'best,' or the 'few,' lasted from 1382 to 1434. Taken altogether, these fifty years, during which the house of the Albizzi occupied the chief position in the State, were the most conspicuous era of united dignity and happiness for Florence. Hitherto personages had made very little distinctive mark in Florentine annals. As soon as an individual had acquired notoriety by some great public deed, he seems to sink again into obscurity. A Giano della Bella, after introducing one of the most important ordinances of the state, retires and dies in exile. A Michele Lando, after saving society from the excesses of his own order by a display of unusual courage and good sense, undergoes similar extinction. Of military captains the Florentines could make no boast. The old militia had long been superseded by the use of mercenary soldiery. But now, instead of parties and magistracies we have names and characters of individual statesmen filling up the canvas of history. On some of these, touched with sympathetic discrimination by the Marquis Capponi, it will be pleasing to turn our attention for a while. Maso degl' Albizzi was at the head of affairs from 1382 to 1417, when he died at the age of seventy.

'Born in the year preceding the mortality of 1348, he had in the vigour of his youth witnessed many adverse events; his houses burnt, his uncle beheaded, himself exiled, a portion of his numerous family adopting alien names and bearings. Recalled to his home when the government was taken out of the hands of the Ciompi, everything thenceforward turned in his favour, and he remained like a prince in the city, holding that degree not only by reason of the wealth and authority of his house, but by reason of his own prudence and of that civic modesty which made him satisfied to *be* rather than to *seem* great; so that his name, which afterwards attained long celebrity, was confounded during his lifetime with those of other citizens more prominent by technical qualifications. Maso had chosen for his armorial device a mastiff with his jaws muzzled, a figure which may be seen sculptured on his tomb in San Piero Maggiore; wishing thereby to signify that no noise ought to be made before due time. This was a precept he constantly observed himself; and under him the State went on its course without any patent discords. He threw a veil over the offences offered by others, or sought by soft words to mitigate them. Content with warding off positive injuries to himself, he affected to be

ignorant of the evil humours he might have excited, and he was careful to devise means for preventing doubtful friends from becoming open enemies. The Gino Capponi of that day was denounced to him as having a design to change the government. Maso sent the accuser to the Signory, who had him beheaded. No breach of union ever came to the surface between those who guided the State; they all lived on familiar terms with each other.'

Another remarkable portrait is that of the wise old Niccolò da Uzzano, who survived his colleagues and did not go to the grave till 1432, three years after the death of Giovanni de' Medici, when, as our historian pathetically observes, these two eminent citizens 'exhaled with their dying breath that of better 'times, and the last voices which inspired faith in a tempered 'republic.' Of Niccolò da Uzzano the Marquis says:—

'He attained his great position not by the power of his house, which, domiciled in its provincial castles, had hitherto commanded no clientèle within the city, but by the long services he had himself rendered to the Republic; nor do I believe that Florence ever possessed a citizen equal to him in the great authority he exercised in the councils, bridling the most audacious, and by gentleness of temper conciliating the adverse. Any measure would be carried as soon as Niccolò had spoken, he having previously come to an understanding with the other members of the Council. So that "many were elected to offices, but "few to government," the form residing still in the Colleges and Councils, but actual measures being preconcerted in the shops and offices and dining-rooms of the principal citizens, and the voice of the rest, conceded to the show of liberty, being all but a nullity.'

Guido Cavalcanti, a contemporary writer, gives a lifelike touch to the personality of this Nestor of the *Ottimati.* 'While 'the other members of the council,' he says, 'gave their opi-'nion, Niccolò da Uzzano would indulge in sound slumber, and 'neither comprehend nor hear anything that was going on. 'But at last, either because his sleep had come to a natural 'end, or that he was purposely awakened, he would struggle 'half-conscious to the chair; and then having propounded the 'course which ought to be followed, the rest of the Assembly 'gave its confirmation to his words.'

No citizen among the new oligarchs was more conspicuous at this time for virtue and ability than the present author's ancestor and namesake Gino Capponi, who, as a writer as well as for military and state affairs, acquired a title to historic note. His great achievement was the conquest of Pisa. When that proud little republic was reluctantly forced to yield to the cupidity of the Florentines for its possession, Capponi was appointed to the government, which he administered with much tact and skill. He died in 1421, leaving to his yet more emi-

nent son, Neri, the charge to serve his country faithfully and without flinching; a charge which Neri, the friend of Cosmo de' Medici, observed conscientiously, though not without those imputations of doubtful mind and prevaricating action to which sagacious men are liable in critical times. But 'Neri aveva 'goduto l'antica Repubblica,' observes his descendant, 'e verso 'quella inclinava sempre.'

The Marquis Capponi dilates with obvious satisfaction on the prosperity, material and intellectual, of Florence during the half century of oligarchic republican rule:—

'Prosperous years had Florence now,' he says; 'better years perhaps never; and here and at Venice alone, the fair conditions of Italian life (*il bel vivere italiano*) seemed to find development. Never was the Republic ruled in so orderly a fashion within, nor more respected in the rest of Italy, where it had succeeded in many profitable enterprises, powerful by means of opulent trades and commerce, flourishing in respect of Art, which was then rising to the very culminating point of beauty. Then was begun the cupola of the cathedral, and the larger gate of the Baptistery of S. Giovanni was erected. Manufactures assumed the dignity of Fine Arts, chiefly seen in the manufactures of gold, spun and beaten, and in that of enamelling, for which the *Orificeria* became celebrated, and came to serve as a school for the most eminent artists. But in what regards wealth, properly speaking, it is to be noted that the silk trade had increased so largely at the beginning of the fifteenth century as to become the most lucrative of all in Florence. Velvets, brocades, and gold cloths touched the apex of perfection. They were in request among princes and courts, while cloths of inferior value found a large demand in many parts of Europe and Asia, and were an ample source of profit. Nor did the woollen trade as a consequence decline from the activity in which we have seen it during the preceding century.' (Vol. i. p. 450.)

The conquest of Pisa directed the ambition of the State to the acquisition of maritime power. Officers called 'Consuls 'of the Sea' were appointed. The first Florentine galley was launched in 1421 with great pomp and circumstance, and made a trading voyage to Alexandria; but though considerable efforts were made in the department of mercantile marine, the Florentine naval power never came to equal that which Pisa itself had commanded when free. In 1421 the Republic made another important acquisition by the purchase of Leghorn from the Genoese. In mentioning the handsome public buildings which rose at the citizens' expense, the Marquis observes that probably no city in Italy equalled Florence in the number of its charitable foundations. The Hospital of Santa Maria Nuova was an institution dating as far back as the Plague of 1348, and is adduced by the Marquis, in an earlier chapter of

his work, as a proof that the old chroniclers were guilty of some exaggeration when they dwelt on the general demoralisation occasioned by that calamity, and omitted to mention the better features of the times.

The literary as well as the artistic achievements of which the subsequent Medicean rule reaped the glory were, for the most important part, prepared during the preceding half century of oligarchic government. This was the time when the studies of the Renaissance were setting the brains of the learned in a ferment, when inquiry into the thoughts and style of the ancient classics was becoming of greater interest to cultivated men than revolutionary novelties:—

'Ruder ages,' says our author, 'live on faith and passion: at this period minds had become somewhat more refined, but not therefore deteriorated; the corruption of the following century did not make its beginnings evident till the decline of the *quattro cento*. Courts and literary men grew worse; but during those years we have been speaking of, the people, less agitated by the passions peculiar to them, behaved in more quiet and orderly fashion; when the government is in the hands of a few, these generally apply themselves to the preservation of the laws made in better times. At Florence the Fine Arts, which had come to maturity during that period, were excellent teachers; the artists were at the head of the true "people," and not seldom were to be classed among its most virtuous members.' (Vol. i. p. 537.)

We must forego the temptation still to linger on our author's account of the rule of the *Ottimati*, which is evidently consecrated to him by the romance of family tradition, as well as by the personal sympathies of what we may term an Italian Whig of the old school, though the education of modern politics forbids him to give it unqualified approval. Meanwhile the next constitutional phase was preparing. The rule of the oligarchs had been made possible because civic equality founded on trade had been proved a failure, because it had been shown that differences of wealth would inevitably produce degrees of influence, and eventually of social dignity, and that though official magistracies might whirl round on the pivot of bimestral change, yet within the functions of State a power more personal and abiding would assert itself. Still the names and shows of civic self-government were dear to the Florentines, and the rule of the oligarchs never gained that popularity to which the character of its chiefs entitled it. It collapsed altogether with the change of persons in the next generation. Rinaldo degl' Albizzi, the son of Maso, gifted with some noble qualities, but proud, impatient, peremptory, not generous in outlay, nor careful in conciliation, found himself confronted

with an able opposition statesman, Cosmo, son of Giovanni de' Medici. The house of Medici was one belonging not to the burgher aristocracy—the *popolani grassi*—but to the class next below it, the *gente grassa*, or *mediani*, who as yet affected no superiority of social position in the city, but rested their influence on the wealth acquired in their shops or banking houses. It was by banking chiefly that the Medici made their enormous wealth—a wealth which gave them importance not only in Italy, but throughout Europe. The *gente grassa* as a rule took the 'liberal' side in politics. Giovanni de' Medici, though he sympathised with the statesmanlike prudence of the earlier *Ottimati*, and worked harmoniously with them to outward appearances, had felt and acted like a man of the people. The question which brought his influence really into collision with the oligarchs was that of taxation; although in the measure called the *Catasto*, passed in 1427, if he had any part in encouraging the popular demand, which the Marquis Capponi considers there is no evidence to prove, that part was kept in the background, and the measure was formally brought forward by the leaders of the State. Our author says: 'In the Councils, 'votes were often matters of show only, being given in consequence of resolutions already taken in the offices and shops. 'Official history is never the whole, and not always the truth, 'of history. In this instance we know the law to have been 'determined upon by the people, on whose side stood the house 'of the Medici, and the Optimates proposed it when they saw 'themselves unable to resist it.'

The inequality of the hitherto existing system of taxation had long been a hardship for the people of Florence. The *Ciompi* had urged it as one of their grievances, and it was a very reasonable complaint. The system of forced loans and indirect taxes by which the revenue had been habitually raised, both hampered industry and exhausted the credit of the State, besides leading to great frauds in the hands of its managers, and invidious exemptions in the case of men high in office, who pleaded excuse on the score of *pompa*, i.e. the outlay necessary for maintaining public state and the adornments of the city. The *Catasto* was a property tax, measured on an *Estimo*, or calculation of the capital possessed by individuals. The presumed cost of living being first deducted, a rate of half per cent. was raised on the surplus remaining to each individual; the possessor of 100 florins paid 5 florins, and so forth. Niccolò da Uzzano, it is said, had only paid 16 florins hitherto as his taxes to the State, he was now assessed at 250.

The *Catasto* underwent various changes. Later, under the

rule of Cosmo de' Medici it was rendered still more popular by the introduction of the sliding scale, whereby the rich not only paid more, but more in proportion than the poor. But, like the preceding system, it became a great shackle to commerce, and under a corrupt administration afforded large scope for favouritism and oppression. Nothing helped the Medici more than their power of manipulating this engine; nothing served them more effectually in gaining the favour of the masses.

'The common people and Cosmo understood each other,' says Capponi. The Committee or *Balia* by which Cosmo was recalled from banishment was the result of a popular vote given in *Parlamento.* Just as we have seen the Cæsarism of modern times raise itself upon the *plébiscite*, and boast of universal suffrage as the foundation of its authority. The parallel might be pursued further. The government of the Medici was carried on by corruption. Professedly a homage to the popular principle, it was in fact a tyranny wielded by wealth and intrigue. While—in this respect unlike the French Imperial régime—it preserved the forms of civic simplicity, the real power was that of *un solo*—the old aversion and dread of the Republic. It was by a succession of *Balie*, founded on the fictitious concurrence of the whole people in *Parlamento*, but the nominations to which he managed to keep practically in his own hands, that Cosmo was able to override the official Signoria. Nevertheless he died carrying to his grave the title of 'Father of his country;' and these are the reflections which our author passes on his rule:—

'True, the minds of the people became degraded during that time of peace; the favours of the house of Medici were not dispensed without corruption; but this remained of the ancient popular State, that there was no princedom, no court, no armed guard surrounding the chief, no abject service, no enforced silence. Cosmo, secure of the State by dint of keeping in his own hands the appointments to magistracies and the imposts, let things go their own way in other matters, and he administered through the Colleges and Councils, whose authority was by no means vain. The people saw the magisterial forms unchanged, and instead of belonging, as heretofore, to whichever faction violence might place uppermost, depending on a house which the people itself had raised to power, and which served it as a safeguard against its adversaries and against its own intemperance.'

Lorenzo's government was much more of a sovereignty in form than that of his grandfather had been, though he too shunned the monarchical state. His Council of Seventy was made to absorb into itself all the authority of the ancient magistrates, and by excluding every show of free election,

'did worse than oppress liberty, it discredited it.' These are the words of the Marquis Capponi, in an able treatise which he contributed some years ago to the 'Archivio Storico 'Italiano,' a collection of historical documents edited and annotated by himself and some literary colleagues. To those who have opportunity to study it, we would commend some other remarks in this treatise bearing upon that very curious phenomenon, the survival and increase of a free republican spirit among the Florentines throughout the period of Medicean supremacy, till at the latest moment of the Republic's existence it declared itself with a persistency, a heroic self-sacrifice which render the siege of Florence perhaps the noblest episode in the nation's annals. Twice this craving for civic independence asserted itself; first, when the Dominican preacher Savonarola came to the head of affairs after Lorenzo's death. Nearly sixty years of Medicean rule had then given men time for reflection, and the Friar found widely spread among his contemporaries an admiration of Venetian institutions, taking shape in the conception of a Grand Council which was to represent all classes of citizens. He also found another instrument to his hand, which was more congenial to his own instincts than any constitutional machinery. The old co-operative element of the popular sovereignty, driven from the state offices, had enshrined itself in the devotional confraternities; and by a singular turn of human sentiment, a sort of religious revivalism was taking hold of people's minds even in sarcastic lightminded Florence. The 'penitence preachers' were making their mark in a sceptical age.

Savonarola was a man of essentially Italian mind in religion: a moral reformer, not a theological innovator. He was also a man of the people. He saw that the rampant vices of the day were engendered in high places: in adopting the scheme of the Grand Council as the expression of the popular thought and will, he connected with it the idea of direct theocratic allegiance. His death, brought about by the jealousies and fears of the Church, did not extinguish the theocratic enthusiasm he had inspired, but it weakened it by the loss of an efficient leader; and the Grand Council, without a popular prophet to back it, proved but an awkward instrument of government.

This notable institution, which continued with more or less modification to be the panacea of patriotic visionaries even after the Republic's final extinction, was taken in idea from the *Maggior Consiglio* of Venice; but whereas in the Republic of the Adriatic, citizenship was equivalent to nobility, another

qualification had to be devised for democratic Florence; and it was ordained that the title of admission to the Grand Council should be membership of any of the families which had been in the greater offices of state, either under the Medici or under the previous free constitution—the 'beneficed,' as they were called. By this arrangement about three-fourths of the *Arti maggiori* were admitted, and one-fourth of the *Arti minori*—a mixture certainly not too democratic: a Senate of eighty members, changeable every half year, was appointed by the Council, whose own members were elected for life, and were nominally as many as two thousand, about half of whom actually took their seats. What the Council wanted to make it efficient, was some concentrated authority to prepare laws and ensure their discussion. An assembly of from one to two thousand members could talk vaguely, but it could hardly debate closely, or decide promptly. The institution of the Gonfalonierate for life, under Piero Soderini, seemed for a short time to supply this want of a vigorous initiative. During the ten years that Soderini held office, 'Florence,' says the Marquis, 'was 'governed by a better constitution than it had ever previously 'possessed. There was no eager strife of parties within her 'walls; without, no complicated difficulties to contend with.' Soderini was virtuous and moderate in temper. But the Medici, though without an active party in the city, reaped the advantage of the general relaxation which had come over party feeling. The old fraternities of commerce had decayed; industry ministered to the luxury of courts rather than to private enterprise; letters depended on the great and their patronage, and had lost their earlier originality; '*avere lo Stato*' was no longer the partisan passion with the Florentine that it had once been; he liked to have a voice in the Council, but rather by way of fashion and prestige than from any active interest in civic concerns. '*Palle** *e pane*' was a cry which occasionally testified how the flesh-pots of Egypt had left their reminiscences among the people.

When on the re-establishment of the power of the Medici over Florence in 1513, Cardinal Giulio (afterwards Pope Clement VII.) undertook the guardianship of the State for the young Lorenzo, grandson of 'the Magnificent,' the crafty churchman wished still to give the citizens the show of popular institutions, and invited schemes from theoretic publicists on all hands. Even the remnant of Savonarola's followers were

* *Palle*, the Medicean party cry, from the armorial bearings of the family.

allowed to suggest their nostrums. The Grand Council had been abolished on the downfall of Soderini; but the Cardinal a few years later had a design, real or pretended, of restoring this popular institution. One thing the mind of the people seemed set against, and that was any idea of calling the representatives of the old oligarchical party again to the front. The notion of broad representative institutions had been eagerly caught up; and even after the final collapse of the Republic, patriotic visionaries, like Donato Giannotti, continued to discuss the possibility of a *Governo misto*, in which the Grand Council should represent, not as heretofore, the official or 'beneficed' families of Florence only, but also the feudal patriciate, the *Grandi*, so jealously excluded from the privileges of citizenship by the old Constitution.

The sack of Rome, and the imprisonment of Pope Clement VII. in 1527, afforded the last real opportunity for putting patriotic dreams in execution. This time the impulse was very ardent. It was evident that despotism, if now triumphant, would extinguish not only the democratic liberties, but the political independence, of Florence. The first Medici had, at all events, been masters on their own foundation: the new princelings would be vassals of Spain or of the Pope; so much the rule of Leo X. and of Clement VII. had taught the Florentines.

There is a grand simplicity in the Marquis Capponi's narrative of the siege of Florence and the heroic efforts of her last defenders to preserve her liberty. While all Italy looked on with admiration at the dying struggles of the Republic, the complications in which her resistance involved the Pope, seemed as inextricable as they were shameful. 'I wish Flo-'rence had never existed!' he might well exclaim, in the petulance of despair.

'Non fu da quel tempo la professione repubblicana che una 'memoria e un sentimento,' says our historian, speaking of the time when Cosmo, son of Giovanni of the Black Bands, became 'Grand Duke' of Florence. Adding shortly afterwards, 'Ma tutto un popolo educato nei pensieri di libertà, era 'impossibile che di subito si addottrinasse alla ubbidienza; 'mutò la vita, ma l'uomo antico qualche rifugio lo trovava 'sempre.' And this refuge—which under the first Medicean rule the democratic socialism of the Florentines had found in the religious confraternities—they were now reduced to accept in the literary academies which rapidly extended through Italy. Devotional confraternities also survived, and certain political interests were occasionally mixed up both with them

and with the literary academies. Old traditions, too, long survived. 'A hundred years ago,' says the Marquis Capponi, 'there were still families calling themselves Guelphs or Ghibel-'lines, according as their sympathies inclined them more to 'Rome or to Vienna.' (Vol. ii. p. 492.)

And now, leaving the lessons of the Florentine democracy, as such, to be drawn from the facts and remarks already noted, what is the conclusion we arrive at from the political existence of the Republic, as regards the larger fortunes of the Peninsula? Did she, or did she not, advance the cause of national independence? In a geographical and political sense she certainly did not. Her vivacity, her self-will, her indomitable independence, gave her a life apart, and she had not insight to sacrifice that life to wider interests. She was, it cannot be denied, a powerful instrument in baffling every attempt to found a united Italy, which the ambition of provincial magnates was from time to time making in blind conformity with the instincts gradually at work in consolidating other nations of Europe. Florence, in conjunction with Venice, took care that no real mastery should be achieved by Naples or by Milan; and prided herself on her own acuteness in inventing the maxim of the 'balance of power' by which the separate states of the Peninsula were held in jealous division; the consequence of her action being that France and Spain and Germany stepped in and prevented any national kingdom being made for three hundred years to come.

One Florentine thinker there was, deeply versed in political speculations, who, looking farther than his contemporaries of the sixteenth century, breathed a sigh for Italian unity. That thinker was Niccolò Machiavelli: his exhortation to Lorenzo de' Medici at the end of the 'Principe' is too well known to need more than a reference. But as the Marquis Capponi's account of this extraordinary man is one of the most striking and finely worded of his personal notices, we are tempted to enrich our pages with the comparison drawn between him and the Italy of his day, though greatly regretting the inadequacy of any translation to do justice to the forcible and melodious language of the original:—

'Nevertheless, in Machiavelli I seem to behold the image and the expression of what Italy was in his time. Of refined and most fertile genius, of dissolute manners, marvellously acute in apprehension, but with deeds not corresponding to his thought; robing himself at one time in the curial toga, but shutting up his real greatness in himself; revelling alternately among plebeian impurities and courtly infamies: plunging into the slough of vileness in order to challenge Fortune and

make her confess herself ashamed; after long exercise in things of state, ambitious only of serving whoever might happen to rule; admired and reviled, used and neglected; set up as a mark to hit at because he was a master and because he was unhappy; mixed up in political intrigues with princes, he who was greater than any of them—without dignity of character and without inward strength to fortify him; suffering undue insolences, and revenging himself with undue contempts and hatreds. And in political matters he felt as Italy felt; he divined a great end, he revolved high conceptions; but they were forces abused, greatnesses corrupted, which, desperate from lack of means, lay prone in mire like the Roman eagles in the days of defeat. Nor was religion more extinguished in his heart than it was in the heart of Italy; he revered it as lofty; as an Italian he loved it; then, in scorn of the bad government by which he saw it debased, he assailed it with vituperation, and cancelled it from his heart by vice. Such was Machiavelli, and such was Italy!' (Vol. ii. p. 369.)

Tale fu l'Italia! Such was Italy! and now that, after three centuries of servitude and division, she has at last achieved Machiavelli's desire of an independent national being, what *is* Italy? That she has a soul which has survived all her griefs and kept her existent through all material disintegration, so that the sub-Alpine peninsula can still be great and influential as well as geographically one, is assuredly owing, notwithstanding the isolation of her old statecraft, to the bright intellectual self-consciousness of the Florentine commonwealth, which, abhorring the interposition of the northern feudal element, nurtured the intellectual imagination of her subjects as an original, unfettered prerogative. Let us here cite the words in which the Marquis sums up the case for and against his beloved Republic: 'Certain it is that the separate peoples of Italy, 'coming into existence before the nation had taken form, were 'instrumental to keeping her disunited; and of this crime the 'people of Florence made itself more guilty than any other, to 'future generations; but who would at this day dare to count 'as sin against her or other cities of Italy, that fulness of civic 'life and those noblest fecundities of thought from whence the 'world derived so much light?'

And—let us add—now that Italy is a nation, and feels what a nation's ends should be, we may well hope that she will find means of educating politicians of a more exalted type than Machiavelli; in contrast with whose character we turn, for a final quotation, to the Marquis's description, at an earlier page, of a true patriot, the first great historian of the Republic—as Machiavelli was almost her last—in those times of joyous turbulence before the national corruption had set in; and this we do the rather because we may assuredly recognise in it, uncon-

sciously drawn, the portraiture of the writer himself who so eloquently expresses it:—

'In that year (1349) died of the plague Giovanni Villani, our guide hitherto, and one than whom we shall have no better amongst those who have written the story of our nation's fortunes. We have seen how Villani was present at Palagio, nearly sixty years before, on the day of the battle of Campaldino; he continued his historical narrative up to the termination of his life. Contemporary with Dante Alighieri, his character was formed in the great school of the thirteenth century; hence the lofty rectitude which dominates his judgments, and that composition of thought, at the same time bold and modest, which is the index, not of easy times and tranquil existence, but rather of souls having confidence in themselves and internal peace. Giovanni was of the number of those *buoni uomini* he had so often brought upon the scene, who laid the foundations of a liberty made possible by themselves alone, and who maintained it amid the shocks of ambitions; peaceful and strong because they sought the common good along with their own good, and Truth always, in everything.' (Vol. i. p. 219.)

Such too, we now say, was Gino Capponi. He, and the lamented Rossi, were the two men who in these our times have alone represented the antique grandeur of the highest order of the Italian character and intellect. Their style, their manners, their principles had something of the severe dignity of the past; nothing of the Gallic frivolity of modern Italy: and it gives us the greatest satisfaction that a work of so high an order as this History should be among the first fruits of the regenerated kingdom. We learn with pleasure that a translation of it into English is in preparation. The task is a great and difficult one—but not unworthy of an accomplished pen.

ART. VIII—1. *First, Second, and Third Reports of the Royal Commissioners appointed to inquire into Endowed Schools and Hospitals. (Scotland.)* 1873–5.

2. *Report on the State of Education in the Burgh and Middle-class Schools in Scotland.* By THOMAS HARVEY, M.A., and A. C. SELLAR, M.A., Assistant Commissioners appointed by the Royal Commission on Education in Scotland. Vol. II. Special Reports, 1868.

3. *The Higher Education of Scotland. An Address delivered in the New Hall, Oban, on Wednesday, November* 3, 1875, *under the auspices of the Oban Scientific and Literary Association.* By ALEXANDER CRAIG SELLAR, M.A., Advocate, one of the Endowed Schools (Scotland) Commissioners.

4. *The Arts Faculties in the Scottish Universities. An Address delivered to the Graduates in Arts in the University of Edinburgh, on Wednesday, April* 21, 1873. By W. Y. SELLAR, Professor of Humanity in the University.

5. *Our Secondary Education and some of its recent Critics: being Remarks on Entrance Examinations. In substance delivered at the Meeting of Glasgow University Council, October* 27, 1875. By JOHN HUTCHISON, M.A., one of the Classical Masters in the High School of Glasgow.

6. *Suggestions as to Amendment of the Education (Scotland) Act,* 1872. *A Paper read at the Educational Congress, held in Glasgow, Dec.* 29, 1875. By the Rev. JOHN STARK. Duntocher.

IT has often been our fate to express, in these pages, a more or less qualified sympathy with schemes, of the possible, or, at all events, of the probable, realisation of which we did not affect to conceal our distrust. But here is a scheme with which we sympathise altogether, and which, at no very distant period, will certainly be realised. The people of Scotland have long been conscious of the existence of grave defects in their secondary school system, and they give unmistakable indications of having at last determined that these defects shall be remedied.

When the people of Scotland determine 'to set a stout heart 'to a stye brae,' we all know what that means; and if the enterprise to which they have now put their shoulder were a far more difficult one than it is, we should not hesitate as to its success. The defects to be remedied are obvious and acknowledged, and the means of remedying them are assuredly within

the reach, if they are not already in the hands, of those most interested in the work.

There is not even very much difference of opinion as to the application of the means, or the order in which they are to be called into play. When the dust shall have cleared away which class feelings and local jealousies inevitably raise when any question of national importance is stirred, and the community of interests and sympathies which bind all classes and localities together shall have come fully into view, we believe that a very unusual concurrence of opinion will be manifested in favour of the recommendations contained in the able and judicious Report which we propose to examine in this article. Compliance with the general will, in such circumstances, will be dictated by the instinct of self-preservation to whatever government may be in power. The Lord Advocate will 'see his way' to something more effectual than 'giving power to local bodies 'and trustees to adapt the management of the institutions 'under their control to the circumstances and wants of the pre-'sent time,' and—an executive Commission will be appointed.

But though, with the light which the Commissioners have thrown upon it, we think we can 'see our way' to the speedy and complete solution of the problem which has arisen out of the present condition of the secondary instruction in Scotland, there is certainly something in its existence that is startling and even mysterious.

Of the classes into which all advanced communities, whatever their political organisation may be, inevitably divide themselves, the most self-helping is, what in this country is called, the 'upper 'middle-class.' Relieved from the enervating influences of luxury, on the one hand, and the depressing influences of poverty, on the other: conscious that its retention of the advantages which it enjoys is still dependent on the mental activity by which they were gained: and keenly alive to æsthetic and intellectual pleasures: the upper middle-class seems the least likely of all to neglect its own educational concerns. Nor is there anything to interfere with this natural result of the circumstances of the class in any specialties which belong to its position in Scotland. On the contrary, from the extent to which the highest stratum of Scottish society has become denationalised by English influences, Scotland has gone into the hands of this very class, more than was the case formerly, or is now the case in other countries. It is in its members that the intellectual life of Scotland, in so far as it possesses any distinctive characteristics, finds its expression. They are the representatives of its literature, its philosophy, and its art; and

they have kept a distinctive place for it, in all these respects, very fairly alongside of the rest of the world. Yet no fact is more certain than that, for a century and a half, the scholastic education of this class has been a miserable scramble, in which the deficiencies of the national institutions have been partially supplied to the community generally, by an unnatural alliance between the elementary schools and the universities, whilst the children of the wealthy have been educated by private tutors, at adventure schools, and schools established for denominational purposes, or sent away to England as if their parents had been squatters in New Zealand, or missionaries in Africa.

By what series of causes the interests of the Scottish schoolboy came thus to be neglected, and the bridge which once carried him, and still carries other schoolboys, over the chasm which divides their education as children from their education as students, was broken down, is an inquiry which we do not feel called upon to prosecute. But, accustomed as the people of Scotland are to fix their attention, with some complacency, on their elementary schools and universities, which they have kept fairly abreast of the growing prosperity of the country, it may not be amiss that we should remind them, somewhat more pointedly than the Commissioners have done, of the national degeneracy, not relative only but absolute, which has taken place in the very important direction of the middle schools. If, in a given community, institutions of a certain class have never existed, we may reconcile ourselves to their absence, on the ground that they are not suited to the genius of the people; and hope that some substitute may be found for them. But if these very institutions were a somewhat special product of the land, in earlier and poorer times, and if the people have begun to neglect them just when they were most wanted, and when their ability to support them had enormously increased, the fact is one which the existing generation may well take to heart. It is bad enough to have fallen behind others, but it is shameful indeed if, in such circumstances, we have fallen behind ourselves.

The Commissioners tell us 'that grammar schools have existed in most of the burghs for several centuries;' and that the 'parochial schools may have originally been formed 'on the model of the old grammar schools of the burghs.'* The statement is true; but it does not convey the whole truth, or even state it very accurately. It is only when we turn to the Special Report, vol. ii., on the state of education in

* Third Report, p. 99.

the Burgh and Middle Class Schools of Scotland, or to the Special Reports on the Burgh and Middle Class Schools by Messrs. Harvey and Sellar, furnished to the Education Commission in 1868, that we get a glimpse of the great antiquity and early importance of many of these schools. Our business, like that of the Commissioners, is with the present and the future, not with the past; and our object in referring to the historical aspect of the question will be served by an enumeration of well-known facts which makes no claim either to research or exhaustiveness.

From the earliest times we can distinguish three classes of schools: 'Sang Schools,' generally attached to the Cathedrals and greater churches, Burgh, or Grammar Schools, and Monastic Schools. A considerable amount of organisation appears in the relations in which these schools stood to each other; and we find traces of the 'graded system,' which Mr. Sellar claims as the latest and brightest invention of the official mind. Previous to the Reformation the whole educational institutions of Scotland were under the superintendence of the clergy, or, more correctly speaking, of the monastic orders, and the prudent regulation prevailed of appointing a single monk to be the director of the schools of a whole burgh or even district, thus avoiding the risk of neglect which must have arisen from divided responsibility. This arrangement for management and inspection, by an external and higher authority, of numerous schools plainly of a middle class character, dates from a period long anterior to the foundation of any of the existing public schools of England. In 1241—almost a century and a half before the foundation of Winchester, and considerably more than that period before the *dulce domum* was first sung—the care of the schools of Roxburgh had been entrusted to the Monks of Kelso, and the 'Rector of the Schools' was an established officer. Nor was he, by any means, the first official who bore the same, or an equivalent title. The 'Master of the Schools' of St. Andrews appears between 1211 and 1216. At Ayr there was a 'Master of the Schools' in 1234, who took rank with the Deans of Carrick and Cunningham in a Commission from the Pope.* In 1256 the statutes of the Church of Aberdeen imposed on the Chancellor of the Chapter the duty of attending to the regimen of the schools, and to seeing that the boys were taught grammar and logic. Earlier still, in 1224, there was a similar officer at Abernethy, in our day a country village, and

* Innes's Scotch Legal Antiquities, p. 214.

even then probably fallen from its earlier grandeur. The schools of Perth and Stirling were attached to the Monastery of Dunfermline, and we read of their existence so early as 1173. These, and others, were all Burgh or Grammar Schools.

But there was another and higher class of schools within the walls of the monasteries, chiefly designed, no doubt, for the education of the clergy. To them, however, it would appear that the sons of the nobility were occasionally sent, and in the cartulary of Kelso an instance occurs in the year 1260, of the grant by a noble-woman of a rent to the abbot and monks, on condition that they should board and educate her son with the best boys entrusted to their care. It was in these latter schools, which perished in the wreck and plunder of the Reformation, leaving no substitutes behind them, that the rudiments of the scholastic philosophy were taught, and that such men as John of Dunse* must have been prepared for the brilliant careers on which they immediately entered at Oxford, and Paris, and Bologna. Nor was this the only direction in which their influence may be traced. Law can scarcely have been taught at the Burgh Schools, and as, in 1496, the Universities of St. Andrews and Glasgow had only been recently founded, it has always seemed probable to us that it was to these monastic schools that the expression 'schules 'of art and jure,' which occurs in the remarkable statute of James IV. with reference to the education of the sons of barons and freeholders, was intended to apply. In this conjecture we have the support of Professor Mackay,† the latest authority on the subject. 'It is probable,' he says, 'that the 'masters of the schools of the monasteries may have given 'some instruction on this subject—and it is certain that the 'art of charter-writing must have been cultivated in them.' Many of the higher ecclesiastics were decorated with legal titles,—and as by the help of the capacious net of the Canon Law they contrived to appropriate a large portion of the whole legal business of the community, nothing seems more natural than that the local schools of law should have served the

* The claim of Scotland to the *Doctor subtilis* is pretty well established by the date. The date of his birth is, indeed, unknown; but he died on Nov. 8, 1308, not six years before the battle of Bannockburn. By that time *Scotus* certainly meant a Scot. John Scotus Erigena on similar grounds, it would seem, must be given up to the Sister Island, as in the ninth century *Scotus* no doubt signified an Irishman.

† History of Roman Law in Scotland, 'Journal of Jurisprudence,' Feb. 1876, p. 60.

double purpose of preparing the youthful aspirants for academical honours abroad, and communicating to the feudal aristocracy such humbler knowledge as might fit them for being 'sheriffs or judges ordinary under the King's Highness.' It may consequently not have been for his own use only that we find Archbishop Scheves commissioning 'books of the Law,' through Andrew Halyburton,* Conservator of the privileges of the Scotch Nation in the Netherlands, 1492–1503. But, be this as it may, the aspect in which these schools are chiefly important for our purpose is that of ultimate schools, to which admission was granted only to those who had already passed through the secondary schools. This characteristic of the 'graded system' is clearly brought out by the first part of the statute, which provides that, previous to the three years which are to be spent in them, the sons of the wealthier classes shall be sent to the grammar schools, 'fra they be sex or 'nine yeirs of age' and shall there remain 'quhill they be 'competentlie founded and have perfite latine.' In so far as the interests of the laity were concerned, the universities, even before the Reformation, must have occupied the ground which had previously belonged to the schools of the monasteries. But on the other hand, it is to their existence we must look for an explanation of the fact that Scotland possessed no universities down to so late a period as the fifteenth century. Whilst the monasteries did their duty, it is easy to imagine that the want of local universities was little felt by men thus furnished with the means of asserting their place in the great schools of European learning.

What is further remarkable with reference to the educational arrangements of these early times is, that even what we are accustomed to call the 'modern side' does not seem to have been wholly absent in the burgh schools. 'We find mer-'chants,' says Mr. Innes, 'writing and keeping accounts, and 'corresponding with foreigners in their own language, who 'must have received their education early in that century.' In corroboration of these assertions we may refer to the curious ledger of Andrew Halyburton, already mentioned. When to these business-accomplishments we add music, we shall pretty well have exhausted the bill of fare of our modern educationists, and got far beyond the aspirations of the 'Code.' From a very early period music was cultivated, and 'sang 'schools' existed in the cathedral towns, and in towns connected with the great abbeys, which gave first a musical education,

* Halyburton's Ledger, Preface, p. lxxv.

which must have included reading, and then a general education, which ultimately included grammar. Previously to the foundation of the parish schools by Knox, these cathedral schools appear to have been the sole organs of the primary instruction, which in singular contrast to the existing state of matters in Scotland must have stood in a very unfavourable position relative to the secondary. In towns like Jedburgh and Dunfermline, Mr. Innes believes these ecclesiastical singing schools to have been the germs of the Burgh grammar schools, and there seems every probability that they were the sources of the national music of Scotland. In 1579, shortly after the Reformation, an Act was passed ordaining that 'sang 'schools' be provided in burghs for the instruction of the youths in music and singing, 'quhilk is like to fall in great 'decay, without timous remeid be provided.' Provosts, baillies, and town councils, and the patrons and provosts of the colleges where 'sang schools are founded (where foundations 'exist), are required to erect and set up ane sang school, with 'ane maister sufficient and abill for instruction of the youth in 'the saide science of musick.'

That the pretty liberal course of instruction thus provided, extending to that of the burgh school at all events, was intended for the benefit of all classes, is a point on which Mr. Innes has no hesitation. Speaking of the 16th century, he says:— 'Andrew Simson taught Latin with success at the grammar 'school at Perth—the same foundation doubtless of which the 'Dunfermline monks were the patrons three centuries earlier '—where he had sometimes 300 boys under his charge; and 'although it is boasted that these included the sons of the prin'cipal nobility and gentry, it is more for our present purpose to 'observe they must have consisted of a large proportion of the 'burgher and peasant class, and a great number who cannot 'have been designed for the Church.'

In the interesting account which he has given of the educational condition of Scotland at and about the period of the Reformation, Mr. Innes has greatly toned down the expressions which lay before him in Row's history and similar works, and it may even be doubted whether he has not toned them down too much. The Andrew Simson to whom he refers was really a man of considerable eminence. He was the author of a well-known Latin grammar, which kept its place in the schools till the days of Ruddiman, and he was one of the four members of the Commission of which Buchanan was president, for rectifying the inconvenience arising from the use of different grammars in the schools. The existence of a multi-

tude of grammars sufficient to call for such a Commission is in itself no insignificant proof of the zeal with which learning was cultivated; and it would be well if a similar Commission were appointed to regulate corresponding manifestations of zeal in our own day.

But it was under Simson's immediate successors that the grammar school of Perth attained its highest celebrity, and for a reason which will be immediately apparent, we shall follow its history a little farther. Simson was rector from 1550 to 1560. In the latter year John Row, the Papal nuncio, who had been converted to the doctrines of the Reformation only two years before, became minister of Perth. His influence in promoting the higher education was very great, and whatever deductions our incredulity may tempt us to make from the accounts of his household which have come down to us, we can scarcely doubt that they contain an element of fact, more instructive than gratifying at the present day.

Many of the sons of persons of distinction who attended the grammar school were boarded in his house, and instructed by him in Greek and Hebrew. 'As nothing but Latin was spoken 'by the boys, in the school and in the fields (?), so nothing was 'spoken in Mr. Row's house but French.* The passages of 'Scripture read in the family, before and after meals, if in the 'Old Testament, were read in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, 'and English; if in the New Testament, they were read in 'Greek.' †

In 1637, Row's grandson became rector of the grammar school, in which he taught Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. Greek had been taught in a private school at Montrose in 1534; and both Greek and Hebrew at Prestonpans in 1606. But the Burgh School of Perth was the first of the public schools of Scotland which became 'trilingual.' This fact produced the following encomiastic verses by the then principal of the University of Edinburgh which his learned successor certainly could not apply to the same subject:—

> 'Perthana quondam Latialis linguæ Schola
> Laude cluebat, fueratque unius labri;

* M. Francisque Michel has demonstrated in his 'Écossais en France' that French must have been generally known as a spoken language in Scotland from the 13th century down to the Union. The extent of the connexion between Scotland and France which that work brought to light, was an astonishing revelation even to those best acquainted with the history of both countries.

† McCree's Life of Knox, p. 385.

Nunc est trilinguis, Latio jungens Græciam,
Et huic Palestinam; omnium linguis loquens.
O ter beatum te nunc Perthanam Scholam!
O ter beatum Rollum Rectorem tuum!'

This thrice-blessed rector—the well-known author of the Hebræ Linguæ Institutiones, and afterwards Principal of King's College, Aberdeen—was blessed with one apt pupil at any rate, for it must have been under his long reign that the Admirable Crichton attended the school.

From these early days till comparatively recent times, though it certainly made no progress, the Grammar School of Perth maintained a respectable character. When Adam Ferguson attended it (about 1733 to 1738), the rector was Mr. James Martin, a distinguished teacher, we are told, justly proud of having instructed the great Lord Mansfield. That he instructed him well was afterwards proved at Westminster and at Oxford; but it does not say much for the condition of the school that when Ferguson entered the University of St. Andrews, at the age of fifteen, he is said to have carried neither Greek nor mathematics along with him.*

With these notanda to guide us to a conception of its former condition, let us now turn to the picture of the present state of this venerable institution, as we find it in the pages of the Report. All that we learn of its recent history is that the school 'was extended and improved, particularly in 1760, when the 'mathematical and scientific departments were annexed; and 'that in 1806, a large and handsome new building was erected 'by subscription for the accommodation of all the classes, at an 'expense of upwards of 6,000*l*.' At this period a really vigorous effort seems to have been made for the revival of the school. The ground on which the still handsome buildings stand was generously presented to the public by the then provost, and in his deed he makes provision for the building in course of time becoming too small for the accommodation of the schools of the burgh. But it was an expiring effort: the good provost Marshall had no successor, and the seventy years which have since intervened exhibit nothing but steady, and latterly rapid, retrogression. As usual in Scotland, the Town Council are the parties most immediately to blame, and justly figure as the chief villains in the piece. Still one can scarcely regard, without feelings of indignation and contempt, a whole community sitting listlessly by and beholding, for so long a time, the destruction of an institution which their ancestors bequeathed

* Edinburgh Review, January, 1867, p. 57.

to them for their intellectual and moral culture. The spectacle, alas, is not a solitary one; and we have selected Perth only because it seems to us a somewhat striking instance of a history which we cannot repeat.

'The Common Good of the city, which at one time amounted to a large sum, was, a considerable number of years ago, mortgaged to meet the liabilities of the Tay Navigation Commission, for which the city of Perth became security; and the city in 1849 obtained an Act of Parliament to compound with their creditors. As a large portion of the Common Good was probably originally acquired, *inter alia*, for educational purposes, the Town Council always paid for repairs on the building, taxes, salaries to the teachers, advertising, prizes, etc., to the extent of above 600*l.* per annum. In 1849, it was 644*l.* 10*s.* 5*d.* But several of the salaries have been withdrawn, on the ground of there not being a legal obligation, and the town has also ceased to advertise the institution or to give anything for prizes or apparatus. The amount expended last year by the town was only 308*l.* 1*s.* 1*d.* The town is to pay annually 200*l.*, being the amount of the existing salaries; but aver that these are personal to the present incumbents only and not exigible further.' *

As there is no other endowment besides this paltry and disputed 200*l.*, the school is dependent almost wholly on fees. Here is a list of the teachers, *minus the assistants in the Academy and Grammar School, who have been nipped off within the last twenty or thirty years*, with their net emoluments:—

	£	s.	d.
Thomas Miller, M.A. (St. And.), LL.D. (St. And. and Aber.), F.R.S., Edinburgh, Rector . .	260	0	0
William D. Steele, Rector of Grammar School .	206	0	0
A. B. Smith, LL.D., English Master, 1868 . .	350	0	0
James G. Greig, Writing and Arithmetic Master, ditto	395	0	0
Wm. Brown, Drawing Master, ditto . . .	205	0	0
Carl Fleckstein, Modern Languages Master, ditto .	260	0	0

These sums considerably exceed those returned to the Special Commissioners in 1868, and do not seem to take account of incidental expenses to which the teachers were, and, unless relieved by the School Board, are still subjected, for apparatus, prizes, assistants, &c. These fell so heavily on the Rector of the Academy, or mathematical department, that his whole emoluments, as stated in the latter report, amounted to 195*l.* 10*s.* The masters not only have no houses of their own, but even the repairs of the building were permitted to fall on them; and the Commissioners found a broken window in one of the class rooms, which had been in that condition for a year.

* Second Report, p. 564.

In what state then, our readers may well ask, did the Special Commissioners find the teaching in such a school as this? They found the mathematical and physical teaching excellent, thanks to the efforts of a rector of unusual ability and still more unusual self-denial. On this subject a higher authority than the Commissioners, Professor Kelland, said in his evidence 'that from no academy have so many earned high 'distinction in the University of Edinburgh as from the Perth 'Academy;' and at the open competition in 1873, for the Indian Civil Service, a student of this academy stood first, and was *facile princeps* in mathematics, having obtained about 200 marks above the second.* But what of classics, for which the school was once so famous? Here we must quote the almost incredible report of the Special Commissioners:—

'Three of the Latin classes, and all the boys learning Greek, were examined *vivâ voce*. None of them were sufficiently advanced to be able to render the simplest piece of English into Latin prose.

'Eighteen boys of the second class were reading the Grammatical exercises. There was a great deal of confusion caused by a number of the boys, who came in late from writing and arithmetic classes that they had been attending out of the school, in the town. There was also much want of method in the teaching. Only the boys at the top of the class could answer intelligently.

'In the third class, composed of fourteen boys reading Cæsar, there was great listlessness and indifference, and the appearance they made was bad. The examination was confined to the lesson of the day.

'There was also a class professing to read the second book of Virgil's Æneid. The passage chosen was one that they had read some time before. The boys did not seem very much at home with it. The Greek classes were not more satisfactory. The juniors made poor work of an easy fable in Bryce's "First Greek Reader;" and the boys reading Homer, three in number, translated the lesson of the day very badly. The parsing was very bad. No composition is done in any of the classes, except an exercise in the class from Arnold's first book.' †

We have said that the 'Fair City' is a strong instance—in classics perhaps it is the strongest instance—which these Reports furnish of the neglect of the secondary instruction.‡ But it is far from a solitary instance; and it is one for which some apology may perhaps be found in the proximity of Glenalmond College, which, since its foundation in 1841, has

* Official Report, 1873. † Official Report, p. 238.

‡ Shameful as this state of matters is, it compares favourably with the condition of many of the Grammar Schools of England. See Dr. Donaldson's 'Lectures on Education' (p. 84 *et seq.*); and we hear that some amendment has taken place since the publication of the Report from which we have quoted.

carried off a good many boys of the higher classes, who formerly were educated at Perth. But Glenalmond, though a splendid and generous, was not a wise, and has not been a successful effort, to introduce an English school into Scotland. Excellent work has, no doubt, been done at it; but its denominational and denationalised character has kept it from taking rank as a Scottish institution; whilst parents who desired an English education for their sons have not been content to seek it in the Highlands of Perthshire. The development of the railway system, by facilitating communication with England, and bringing Edinburgh within the reach of all persons in easy circumstances, has greatly injured its chances of success. The burgh school, on the other hand, has rather gained by improvements in communication, which enable it to draw its pupils from a wider area. Neither Perth nor the other provincial schools —if we except perhaps a slight falling off in the social status of their pupils, and even that we believe to be their own fault —labour under any new disadvantages which ought not to be more than compensated by the prodigious increase in the population and wealth of Scotland within the last half century, during which they have been steadily, and, with few exceptions, rapidly declining.

That the provincial towns should ever compete successfully with the varied educational advantages which Edinburgh offers, more especially when its attractions as a place of residence are taken into account, is of course quite hopeless. That Aberdeen and Glasgow, too, should take precedence of the rest of them in the north and in the west, and St. Andrews, from the higher tone of general culture which the presence of the University communicates, is natural and proper. But what they may effect in competition with the greater centres of population, even with the sadly inadequate means at present at their command, is shown by the favourable contrast which Ayr presents to Glasgow. As Perth is the worst, Ayr is the best, of the provincial grammar schools; and as presenting the attainable limit in the opposite direction, under present circumstances, we shall, before quitting this branch of our subject, note a few of the leading facts regarding it.

Like Perth, Ayr, as we have seen, is one of the historical schools of Scotland. As in other places, it probably grew out of the old '*sang schule*,' which long continued to form part of it. In 1583 the master was required, not only to teach singing, 'but to play upon the spinnet.' He and his spinnet survived to the beginning of the eighteenth century, when he merged in the precentor of the parish church, who, we must

hope, is permitted the consolation of a harmonium. Curiously, too, something like the 'Compulsory Clause' seems to have been in operation in these early days, for an intimation was sent through the town, by 'tuck of drum, for entering of the 'youth to the schule.'

'The Ayr Academy, as it now exists, dates from 1794. In August of that year a committee was formed of persons who wished to improve education in Ayr. Subscriptions were applied for and obtained from residents in the town and country, and an agreement was made with the magistrates, that their burgh school should be either incorporated with, or superseded by, the new institution.

'In 1796 the academy was formally opened within the old buildings, and in 1798 it received a royal charter. In 1810 it was transferred to the new buildings, which had been erected at a cost of 3,000*l.*, and it has continued there up till the present time a flourishing and useful institution.' *

There are two peculiarities in this school which are worthy of remark, as bearing on the general recommendations of the Commissioners. The first is, that organisation, in one important respect at all events, exists, or has survived to a greater extent than elsewhere. There is something approaching to a curriculum, which, beginning even with the elementary department, extends to the whole school, 'and there are not 'quite so many instances, as in Perth, for example, of boys 'coming from country schools merely for one or more special 'branches in which they are deficient.' The second peculiarity is, the union of English with the ancient languages in the rector's department. The chief advantages, pointed out by the rector himself, as resulting from this arrangement, were of a financial kind, which, one can well imagine, touched very nearly. These would of course be compensated in a better way, if an adequate endowment were provided for the rector; and it is probable that they have already been so, to the extent to which the resources of the institution go, by the whole of the fees being thrown into a common fund and divided on some rational principle by the School Board. To enable him to perform his duties efficiently, as a classical teacher, and as head of the school, it is surely very desirable that the rector should be relieved from the burden of elementary instruction, whether in English or in any other branch. But as regards boys who, having commenced their classics, are legitimately in his hands, or in those of his immediate assistants, the case seems different; and we think it well worthy of consideration,

* Report of Special Commissioners, p. 262.

whether in grammar schools generally, more efficient teaching of English would not be secured, and a considerable waste of time and energy spared to the pupils, if their whole education, with the exception of arithmetic, mathematics, and physical science, were communicated by the classical masters. The specialising of subjects in University teaching is indispensable, because the teaching is there expected to be exhaustive, and exhaustive teaching, in our day, can be expected only of specialists. Even in kindred subjects there is always a difficulty in one professor occupying another's chair, even for a time. But any man whose general culture is such as to fit him to be a classical teacher in a grammar school, must possess an acquaintance with the literature of his own country which will more than fit him to teach it to school-boys; nay the chances are, that just in consequence of his being a classical master, his acquaintance with it will be greater, and his taste purer and higher, than that of an English teacher, who does not necessarily come in contact with any other language or literature than his own. English grammar too, we believe, will be more efficiently taught comparatively, and in conjunction with the grammar of the classical languages, than as a separate subject. The distinction between what is general and special, in forms of speech, can only be seen when two or more forms of speech are contrasted; and for this reason, after its first rudiments have been acquired in the elementary school, the study of English grammar ought to be prosecuted in conjunction, if not with an ancient, then with another modern language.

The attempt to supply this defect by teaching Latin roots in one room to boys who are learning Latin itself in another, is a happy thought of recent times, and the habit of shortening their attendance in the classical department in order that they may receive separate instruction of an inferior kind elsewhere, is one, the retention of which, in our opinion, deserves serious reconsideration. The same remarks apply to the teaching of geography and history. Modern geography and history, like English, within the memory of the present writer, were taught, in conjunction with ancient geography and history, by the classical masters in the grammar schools; and if they were not taught well by them, it is scarcely likely that they would have been taught better by separate teachers who, as belonging to a less skilled department, must, as a rule, be men of inferior culture, and are very likely to be men of inferior intelligence. But the chief evil consists in the waste of time and attention occasioned to the boys in running from schoolroom to school-

room, taking places, counting marks, and 'rings,' competing for prizes, and every imaginable occupation except the old-fashioned one of learning their lessons. It is this chopping up of time, and frittering away of energy, more than anything else, we believe, which weakens the mental training of our modern schools, and which threatens to root out the study of antiquity altogether. A modern school, with its 'Time Table,' like a railway station, is a scene of perpetual hurry-scurry, where nobody has time for anything, where masters and pupils and inspectors are constantly losing their wits in fruitless attempts to substitute examination for study, and to count chickens that never were hatched. But even the increase to the fees of the principal teachers, by dispensing with this needless, and we think hurtful, subdivision of labour, is a consideration not unimportant. Chiefly in consequence of the arrangement which we have mentioned, the emoluments of the rector at Ayr amount to 401*l.* 5*s.*, whereas the two rectors at Perth have only 401*l.* 10*s.* between them; and even in the great city of Glasgow, with millionaires on every side of him, the head classical master had till recently to content himself with 450*l.* The regulations of the School Board have raised this scanty pittance to 512*l.*; but when alongside of this we find that the English master is in the enjoyment of 897*l.* 10*s.*, and the mathematical master of 901*l.*, we require no other explanation of the fact that the classical department has been stamped out in Glasgow, scarcely less completely than in Perth. In a great manufacturing and trading city, material must necessarily always preponderate over spiritual interests. Where the present is so engrossing, the past and the future go for very little; and even historical, not to speak of philosophical, studies must give way to those branches of positive knowledge which lie at the root of industrial pursuits. It is perhaps not unreasonable, therefore, that the teachers of mathematics and physics should be more highly paid than the teachers of classics; and nothing could be more in place than the foundation of a great technical school in Glasgow, in which the former subjects should be exclusively cultivated. But that in the school which is devoted to the general instruction of the community, the English master should receive 385*l.* more than the head classical master, and 25*l.* 10*s.* more than his two assistants, is a state of matters which could scarcely have arisen otherwise than by the classical masters abandoning to him a large share of their traditional functions.

The Assistant Commissioners do not speak unfavourably of the work of the classical masters in Glasgow, even under the

very discouraging circumstances in which they are placed, and to a mercantile community it must be satisfactory to reflect, that out of so unremunerative a commodity as classical teaching they still get their money's worth. We have no hesitation in saying, however, that there is not a city in Europe of equal wealth and population that is contented with so little. When viewed in this light, Glasgow contrasts badly with Aberdeen, and not well even with Dundee, the two other leading mercantile towns in Scotland. And yet, strange as it may seem, there is no Scotch University in which the classical department stands higher than in the University of Glasgow. The fact is one which can be accounted for only by the great efficiency of the preliminary classes at the University, and affords the strongest support to the arguments of those who, like Professor Ramsay, contend for the necessity of their retention. Whether or not these classes ought ultimately to be abolished, and the doors of the universities closed against many who now enter them by their means, is a question which, in the present condition of the secondary schools, it is premature to discuss. When access to really efficient school-teaching is provided in provincial towns, the optional examination to which the privilege of a three years' curriculum, in place of a four years' curriculum, for the Arts' degree, is now attached in the University of Edinburgh, will probably be made compulsory. Till then such a measure would simply deprive the youth of Scotland of a form of teaching by means of which, anomalous as it may seem, they very often learn more in six months than ordinary school-boys learn in as many years.

But to return to the present condition of the schools. The result of the whole inquiry seems to be, that as regards classics, at all events, if we except Fettes and Glenalmond, and a few of the private schools in and around Edinburgh, which do not fall within its scope, and which the element of expense alone places beyond the reach of the general community, there are only three good secondary schools in Scotland—the High School of Edinburgh, the Edinburgh Academy, and the Aberdeen Grammar School. In the latter it would seem as if, in vengeance for the neglect with which they have been treated elsewhere, classics had held somewhat more than their own. There are four classical masters besides the rector, each of whom receives somewhat over 200*l.* a year; the rector's income being 340*l.*, whilst the English master has only 70*l.* One cannot but pity him when he tells us that 'English 'is a drug in the Aberdeen market . . . . I am not even an '*article de luxe* in the school.' He says, 'I am simply a *bore*

'to the few boys whose parents wish them to attend.' But his plight is explained, though, as matters stand, it is not justified, when we learn, 'that for the first three years of 'the course, the classical masters teach not only classics, but 'English grammar, modern geography, and history. The 'fourth class master and the rector teach ancient geography 'and history.' Now, much as we sympathise with the English master, and reprobate the carelessness with which English seems to be taught in the classical department, we cannot join in his claim that his class should be made compulsory. Rather let the farce of attendance on it, of which the Commissioners report such meagre results, be given up altogether; and the amount of acquaintance with English, geography, and history, which is considered reasonable, be exacted of the classical masters. It is just as easy to teach English by translation from classical authors as by dictation from the 'newspaper of 'the day,' and we are old-fashioned enough to prefer Cicero, as a model of style, to the 'Aberdeen Herald,' or even to the 'Scotsman.' The power of writing a clear sharp English style is surely one of the most important 'results' which an efficient system of English education ought to yield, and that that accomplishment has not become more general under the influences of modern tuition, is painfully obvious. We speak from pretty wide personal experience when we say, that what may be called literary workmanship, is the one quality in which the essays of students in the University of Edinburgh, at the present day, are inferior to those of thirty or forty years ago.

But the retention, wisely or unwisely, at Aberdeen, of this arrangement—to which Ayr, as we have seen, has reverted—is not the only instructive peculiarity connected with its grammar school. One of the most frequent allegations of school reformers in Scotland is, that the parish schools, by teaching the higher branches, poach on the preserves of the secondary schools on the one side, just as the universities, by means of their preliminary classes, poach on them on the other. The grammar schools, it is said, are crushed out between the parish schools, which are pitched too high, and the universities, which are pitched too low; and nothing will suffice except that the parish schools should be confined to elementary teaching, and that the doors of the universities should be barred by an entrance examination high enough to fit on to the last class of a good secondary school. Now, it so chances that the counties from which the Grammar School of Aberdeen draws its pupils, are the only counties in Scotland in which the parish school system, as originally designed by Knox, has received full

development, and in which the higher branches are universally taught, and yet, if the Grammar School of Aberdeen has a fault, it is that it is too exclusively a secondary school. So far from pulling it down, and injuring its secondary character, by forcing it to compete with them, it would seem, that the parish schools, which have been so excellently managed under the Dick Bequest, feed and support it. Though having reference exclusively to the parish schools, the influence of the Dick Bequest on the secondary education in this portion of Scotland, has been so great and so beneficial, that we make no apology for the following extract in which the Commissioners explain its object:—

'The purpose of the testator, James Dick, Esq., who died in 1828, was "to add to the present very trifling salaries" of the parish schoolmasters in his native county, Moray, and in the neighbouring counties, Banff and Aberdeen.'

But he expressly laid down rules that this should be done so as 'not in any manner to relieve the heritors, or other persons, from 'their legal obligations to support parochial schoolmasters, or 'to diminish the extent of such support;' and 'in such manner 'as shall seem most likely to encourage active schoolmasters 'and gradually to elevate the literary character of the parochial 'schoolmaster and schools.' And more particularly he desired his trustees 'to pay great attention to the qualifications and dili-'gence of the several parochial schoolmasters for and in super-'intending the education of students in King's and Marischal 'Colleges during the intervals between the sessions thereof, 'and for and in preparing youths for the said Colleges.'

'This purpose and these injunctions of the founder, his 'trustees have kept steadily in view with great success. The 'average total remuneration of the parish schoolmasters who 'share in the bequest has increased from 55*l.* 12*s.* 4*d.* in 1833, 'to 134*l.* 4*s.* from local sources, or, including Parliamentary 'grants, to 156*l.*, in 1873.' . . . 'They are all University men, 'and, with few exceptions, graduates in arts.' . . . 'Out of 150 'teachers in Aberdeen, Banff, and Moray,' said Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools for the district, 'at least 130 are Masters 'of Arts. You will find that nowhere else in Scotland. . . . 'Elsewhere in Scotland you will not find one in fifty.' (P. 152.)

The results of the teaching of the higher branches in these schools, and its effect on the grammar school of Aberdeen, may be gathered from the report of the sub-commissioners:—

'After the *viva voce* examination we set the class two papers,'

piece of English for Latin prose, and a chapter of Livy that they had never seen before. The total number of marks in each case was 100. All the boys in the class did both the exercises. The average gained for the Latin prose—a difficult passage—was 59. Six out of 39 had 80 marks and upwards—the highest having 90. Four of them had 20 marks or less, and the two worst, who had been five years at school, had absolutely none. The country boys who had come to the grammar school to "finish," held a very good place.' (P. 284.)

That the existence of parish schools such as have grown up under the Dick Bequest, must, to some extent, diminish the attendance at the junior classes of the burgh schools, is obvious. But as the unmanageable size of the junior classes is one of the worst faults of all the greater schools of Scotland, they must increase their efficiency, and there is no reason to doubt that they supply the place of these classes to many who could not possibly attend them. To the senior classes again, and to the rector's class more especially, such schools contribute an element which otherwise would never have reached them; and by facilitating access to the University, they minister very powerfully to elevate the tone of general intelligence in the 'countryside.' But for them it is scarcely likely that a farmer, addressing a farmers' club, could have stated, as was done recently in Aberdeenshire, that he believed every man who listened to him was a Master of Arts! If we bear in mind that the Arts degree at all the Scotch Universities, Aberdeen included, is superior to a *pass*-degree, either at Oxford or Cambridge, we shall readily admit that a similar boast could not have been made, with truth, in any other part of the United Kingdom. It is in these three counties alone that the parish school has attained the dimensions and occupied the sphere assigned to it in the First Book of Discipline. There only, as yet, is there a school in every parish, for instruction of youth in 'the principles of religion, grammar, 'and the Latin tongue,'—a school which brings within the reach of the humblest classes, at a moderate cost, and if need be gratuitously, the first steps of the ladder of culture and social promotion which reaches to the steps of the throne. To the wealthier classes they occasionally afford the convenience of having their children, in their earlier years, educated at home; and where a competent schoolmaster existed, it has always been a common practice in Scotland for him to eke out his living by giving private tuition to the sons of those who could afford to pay for it, either in the school or in their own houses. It is thus, indeed, that a large amount of the higher kind of teaching has always been done by the parish school-

masters of Scotland, and so far from interfering with the elementary instruction, it does not even come in contact with it. But what is a convenience to the rich, is a necessity to the poor; and we see no ground whatever for sacrificing their higher interests and throwing away one of the grandest elements in Scottish life, in order to gratify the official love of symmetry, by cutting the three classes into which educational institutions naturally divide themselves, apart from each other. The question whether or not the 'payment for results' in primary instruction under the Code be or be not directly injurious to the interests of secondary instruction in the parish schools, is debated with so much acrimony that we shrink from offering an opinion on either side. That the belief that such is its effect, if not its intention, has rendered the Code exceedingly unpopular in Scotland is a matter of certainty. All that we shall say is, that if the system of paying for results in the elementary branches has resulted in raising the incomes of those schoolmasters who confine themselves to primary instruction, above the incomes of those who teach the higher branches, as is alleged, then the belief can scarcely fail to be well founded. If it be true that in Glasgow, the head masters of the larger elementary schools make easily from 400*l.* to 500*l.* a year—as much, that is to say, as the head classical master in the high school, and twice as much as his assistants —it is not wonderful that the secondary instruction should be in the condition in which the Commissioners found it. But the remedy lies, not in the withdrawal of the encouragement given by the Privy Council grants to the primary instruction, but in the extension of corresponding encouragement to the higher instruction, though not in the same form. The most symmetrical mode of effecting this object would, doubtless, be that proposed by Mr. Whitelaw, the member for Glasgow, of adding on standard after standard to the Code, and gradually increasing the payment for passes in these extraordinary standards. But when looked at more closely it is evident that this proposal, with whatever benefits to the primary schools it might be attended, would be utterly destructive of the middle schools, as separate institutions. Whilst the Commissioners quote,* with more entire approval than we are prepared to subscribe to, the words in which the French Commissioners MM. Demogeot and Montucci formulated what seemed to them the leading defect of the system of Scottish education: 'Il n'y a pas en Écosse une ligne de démarcation bien tranchée

* Third Report, p. 102.

'entre l'instruction primaire et l'enseignement secondaire,' and Mr. Sellar, himself one of their number, argues in his able pamphlet keenly in the same direction, Mr. Whitelaw's proposal would have the effect of obliterating this line altogether, and aggravating what, even to the extent to which it now exists, is certainly a grave defect. Even if applied to the secondary schools separately, and on a higher scale, the extension of the Privy School grants to such institutions as the grammar schools are, or ought to become, would be next to impossible. The difficulty of inspection alone would be insuperable. On this subject a writer in the 'Scotsman' newspaper, himself, if we mistake not, one of the leading educationalists of Scotland, has the following judicious remarks: 'To inspect, for example, 'the High School of Edinburgh, or of Glasgow, would require 'not one, but a whole posse of inspectors, as at present their 'annual examination requires a considerable number of Uni-'versity examiners, each pre-eminent in his own subject.' The expense incident to the maintenance of such a staff, even if it were possible to form it, is of itself a *reductio ad absurdum* of the scheme. But this is not all. The head-masters of the larger burgh schools are, or ought to be, men of acquirements at least equal to those of Government inspectors, and could not be expected to accept their dicta as final. Much that is gladly welcomed in the form of advice from a University Professor, 'pre-eminent in his department,' would be vehemently resented if proceeding from an equal; and, if there were no other tribunal of appeal, the newspapers would be filled with controversies between schoolmasters and school inspectors. If it is not by separating the functions of the burgh schools from those of the parish schools altogether—as the experience of the Dick Bequest seems to teach—it is still less by mixing them up, and subjecting the one to arrangements devised for the other, that the improvement of the secondary schools is to be attained. These schools themselves must be developed, not indirectly by protecting them from rivalry, either from above or below, but directly. Let the second stage of Knox's graded system be realised as completely as the first has been in the northern counties, and the secondary instruction need fear no encroachment, either from parish schools, or from universities. After the school in every parish for elementary instruction, and instruction in the principles of religion, grammar, and the Latin tongue, Knox's design was, that there should be 'a college in every notable 'town,' in which logic and rhetoric should be taught along with the learned languages; the edifice being crowned by the

national universities. His parish schools and his colleges, or burgh schools, overlapped each other in the one direction, just as the colleges and the universities did in the other. There was distinction, without separation, in his classification, as in all classification that bears the British stamp; and we cannot but wonder that the Commissioners should have been tempted, as they seem to have been, by the coinage of the French mint, which MM. Demogeot and Montucci offered to their acceptance. 'La ligne bien tranchée' is a French notion which it is as little desirable that we should realise in our schools as in our society; and it is its absence which will make the graded system possible in the one, as it has made it possible in the other. We have seen that this graded system is no novelty. It existed in Scotland centuries before Knox was born; nay, what is now the missing link in it was actually the first that was developed. The institution of what, after the French fashion, Knox called Colleges, was probably suggested to him by the disintegrating effect which he must have foreseen would be exerted on the system as it had hitherto existed by the abolition of the monastic schools.

We cannot follow the Commissioners through all the details of their suggestions, though most of them have our warm approval. For example, the organisation of the schools by the appointment of a responsible rector in each, in place of two co-ordinate rectors, as in some of them, or, as in others, of no rector at all; the formation of a common fund, out of which the teachers should be paid, in proportion to the importance of their respective offices, and the like. We join moreover with them in the hope that the efforts of the School Boards, in relieving the higher schools from elementary work, and organising examinations of a suitable kind, in place of impeding, as has been feared, may aid the development of the higher instruction. But above all, we concur with the Commissioners in indicating as the fundamental and radical evil of the secondary schools, that which the Education Act has done nothing to remedy, nay which it has probably aggravated—their poverty. 'The poverty of these schools is one of the 'most striking, if not the most striking, of the peculiarities of 'the Scottish Educational system.'

The magnitude of this evil is excellently brought out by Mr. Sellar in the pamphlet to which we have already referred.

'The revenues of all the high-class public schools in Scotland—excluding Haddington Burgh School, which, owing to peculiar circumstances, is suspended—are stated in the Report of the Board of Education, just published, to amount to 22,432*l.* 15*s.* 3*d.* Of this amount

the sum derived from endowment, and all other sources except fees, appears to be only 3,980*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.*, or a little more than one-sixth; the remaining five-sixths being derived from fees. To exist at all, these schools must be self-supporting. They must spread their net very wide, and take in every kind of fish that comes in their way. Fees they must get; and if they cannot get sufficient fees from scholars desiring higher education, they must supplement them by the fees of children desiring elementary education. The Education Act has done nothing to meet this difficulty. It has called upon the School Board to drain the elementary instruction out of their schools, and to provide accommodation for it elsewhere. But it has suggested no means whereby the loss attending this process of draining can be supplied.'

'The contributions and endowments of the higher-class public schools,' says the Report of the Board of Education, 'are so small in amount that the School Boards which have the management of them must experience much difficulty in maintaining them in efficiency; while the same lack of funds must put it out of their power to carry out the desire of the Legislature (as expressed in Section 62, Subsection 4), to relieve such schools of the necessity of giving elementary instruction to young children in reading, writing, and arithmetic.' (P. 11.)

It is vain to trust to unpaid, or underpaid, labour in schools; and labour of the higher kind must there be highly paid for. University chairs may, in some instances, be accepted by qualified persons who are in circumstances to support them, in place of being supported by them; though whether it be either dignified or wise on the part of the community to make the possession of private means a qualification *sine quâ non* in the selection of its professors, is another matter. But in schools this expedient cannot be resorted to. The occupations of a schoolmaster are exacting, and his position is not sufficiently attractive to tempt fancy purchasers. If the pay be inadequate, the workman and the work will correspond to it. Here and there you may find an enthusiast whose zeal even poverty will not quench; but the rule will be the other way. Considering the enormous increase in the expense of living, or, what is the same thing, the decrease in the value of money, since the salaries of the burgh schoolmasters—even then inadequate—were fixed, we do not hesitate to say, that, in order to secure the services of the men that are wanted, the incomes of almost all the head masters, and many of the inferior masters, must be tripled or quadrupled. Till there is at least one appointment in each school, the income of which is equal to that of the manager of a bank, or an insurance office, or of the sheriff-substitute, in the town in which the school is situated, no other scheme of reform will be of the least avail. If this were

done, even though the selection of the teachers and the organisation, management, and inspection of the schools were left in the hands of the School Boards, we believe that the problem of the Secondary Instruction in Scotland would be solved. Efficient teachers would spring, Minerva like, from the teeming intelligence of the land; with efficient teachers we should have efficient schools, which, on the *de facto* principle, would not fail to vindicate their own rights. If bursaries were established, as the Commissioners recommend, as stepping stones to them from the parish schools, the better class of pupils of the lower orders would not fail to resort to them; and even the sons of the upper classes, whose withdrawal from them is complained of, would very frequently return. Boys intended for an English career would, of course, continue to be sent to England; and the social prestige supposed to be attached to an English school education would continue to attract the *nouveaux riches*. But there is no lack of families in Scotland that are neither new nor rich, and whose social position is a subject of no anxiety to them. Give them, on easy terms, at an easy distance from home, schools in which they have confidence that their sons will be prepared for the higher competitive examinations at the Universities, or for the Indian Civil Service, and they can quite afford to dispense with any element of fashion which they do not supply. But they cannot afford to dispense with such teaching as will ensure the success of clever and industrious boys; and the faults of the burgh schools of Scotland, as they at present exist, are not conventional but real. The sons of the gentry were sent to them as long as it was possible, and they will be sent back to them the moment that it becomes possible again.

Additional funds then, *to a very considerable extent*, must be provided; and the ultimate and really practical question comes to be, whence are these funds to be derived? That the fees cannot be raised directly, is a point on which all parties are agreed, because that would exclude from them a class which, in Scotland, has always enjoyed the benefits of the secondary instruction, such as it was. But an impression prevails pretty widely in England, and received some countenance from the Commissioners, almost all of whom, and very many of the witnesses whom they examined, had been educated in England, that schoolboy life in Scotland might be prolonged. Now this, as applicable to the country at large, we feel persuaded, is a delusion. Any attempt—by imposing a high entrance examination at the Universities, or otherwise—to convert the traditional five or six years' course at the

grammar school into a seven or eight years' course, and thus to raise the age of admission to the Universities from seventeen or eighteen to nineteen or twenty, as in England and Germany, would be a death-blow to the study of classics in Scotland altogether. The Scotch know that in former times far more Latin, and quite as much Greek and mathematics, as are requisite for entering even the English Universities now, was taught to boys long before they were seventeen. It is scarcely possible to mention a great man, either in this or any other country, previous to the present generation, who did not commence his university career two or three years earlier; and to doubt their familiarity with Latin, at any rate, is impossible, seeing that it was in Latin that the whole business of the Universities was carried on. The secret of what now seems marvellous, there can be no doubt is, that Latin was taught as a spoken tongue, and that, in so far as possible, the same method was adopted with Greek. With our present race of schoolmasters, it is probably impossible to recur to this practice, and we must not ask for impossibilities. But, even for schoolmasters less familiar with the learned languages than those who taught our great-grandfathers, to bring a substantial knowledge of these languages within the limits of a school education which shall terminate at seventeen, is not impossible; and, however difficult it may be, it is a difficulty the conquest of which is a condition of the survival of classics amongst the rival subjects which, on every side, are contending for their place. If to seventeen we add the three years' course for the Arts' degree, three or four years for professional study, and the *Wanderjähre*, which constitute an element in Scottish education we hope will never be abandoned, we reach the age of twenty-four or twenty-five, beyond which it is neither possible nor desirable that the education of Scotchmen, in general, even of the upper middle class, should extend.

But if the emoluments of schoolmasters can neither be increased by increasing the fees nor by extending the period of attendance at the schools, there is but one remaining alternative—they must be increased from external sources. We have already seen reason to dismiss the proposal of applying to them the principle of payment by results. The inquiry consequently limits itself to the examination of the other external sources from which increased salaries may be obtained.

In ordinary circumstances the possible sources would be two—imperial grants, and local rates; and in so far as it may be necessary ultimately to resort to either or both of them, we do not agree with Mr. Sellar, and others, in regarding them as

hopeless. Penurious as are the dealings of the Imperial Government with Scotland on all occasions, we can scarcely think that Parliament would overlook an object of such magnitude and importance for the nation as a whole; whilst an assessment, confined perhaps to persons whose incomes brought them within the class chiefly, though by no means exclusively, interested in the higher instruction would, we are convinced, be cheerfully borne.* But the circumstances are not ordinary. Though the total revenues from endowments of the twelve middle class public schools amount only to the pittance of 3,980*l.* 19*s.* 10*d.*, the total revenues from endowment for educational purposes, exclusive of University endowments, reach the prodigious sum of 174,532*l.* per annum — very nearly forty-four times the total revenues of the schools. About one half of this whole sum is devoted to hospitals; Edinburgh and its vicinity alone carrying off about 60,000*l.* per annum, whilst 42,000*l.* a year is doled out over the country for the support of elementary education.

To discuss the 'hospital question' with any approach to completeness would demand a separate article, but its general bearings may be stated in a few words.

By far the larger part of the whole funds of these institutions being devoted to elementary instruction have, by the operation of the Education Act, become simply a gift to the ratepayers of the districts in which they are situated. That such, at any rate, was not the design of the donors in one single instance is a fact admitted on all hands. They were intended for educational purposes—sometimes, as in the case of Heriot's Hospital, of a secondary kind, but always of a kind not within the reach of the beneficiaries by the action of the public law of the country. The Commissioners hold, that the only means of fulfilling this benevolent intention, in the altered

* If the analogy of the Education (Scotland) Act of 1872 (35 & 36 Vic. c. 62) were to be maintained, all that seems requisite for the endowment of the higher class schools would be, that to the enumeration of sources of emolument contained in § 62 (3) should be added:—

'Such rate as the School Board (or the Court of the University 'of the District, or, better still perhaps the Education Board, if it should 'be made a permanent Scottish institution) may from time to time 'declare to be necessary for the purposes of the higher instruction, to 'be raised by the Parochial Boards (§ 44) on all lands and heritages 'exceeding the value of (say) 50*l.* annually.' Or the requisite sums might be raised, along with the income-tax, on all incomes exceeding 500*l.* a year.

circumstances which have arisen, is to apply these endowments to the support of the higher education for which no public provision has been made; and no application of them that had this object in view could possibly be more efficacious than making better provision for the teachers in the burgh schools. Against this most rational and, as it seems to us, inevitable suggestion, a furious outcry has arisen, and political capital has been attempted to be made out of the plea that it is a scheme to rob the poor for the benefit of the rich. In so far as the poor—meaning thereby those who are mainly interested in the primary instruction are concerned—the plea is worse than insincere, it is deceptive; because the only interest which they have in the endowments now is to see that a door to the higher instruction shall be opened to them by their means. And this is precisely what the Commissioners propose to effect by endowing the secondary schools in provincial towns, and supplying stepping stones to them from the parish schools, and from them to the universities, by means of bursaries. To offer gratuitous in place of cheap education, as to some extent the old endowments no doubt do, to the non-pauper class, is simply to degrade and pauperise them; and to the pauper class gratuitous education is not only supplied, but if need be is forced on them by the Compulsory Clause. The interest of the poor, on the other hand, whether paupers or not, in the endowment of local secondary schools is positively greater than that of the classes above them, because, at whatever inconvenience, the wealthier classes always can, and in Scotland always have, procured secondary education for their children. The poor, on the other hand, have been cut off from it altogether, except in the imperfect manner in which it was brought within their reach by the parish schools, and the preliminary classes at the universities.

But the ratepayer cry, which Mr. Maclaren, the Member for Edinburgh, has raised, and which Mr. Maitland, the Member for Kirkcudbright, has taken up, is not quite so easily disposed of, as that of those for whom the rates are paid. An endowment for the support of primary education in a district, Mr. Maitland contends, is a legacy to the ratepayers—a succession which has opened to them by the operation of the Education Act—to which they are just as much entitled as any other legatee is entitled to any other windfall. The answer is, we presume, that the ratepayers were not in the contemplation of the testators; nay, that they were expressly excluded by destinations which were essentially educational. If the fulfilment of the intentions of the founders had become

impossible, their own heirs at law, and failing them the Crown, both of whom every testator contemplates in the background, not the ratepayers, would be entitled to take the place of the original beneficiaries. But it has not become impossible. The wills of the founders still admit of being fulfilled, though not under the conditions which they contemplated, by the means pointed out by the Commissioners. But this, though sufficient, is not all. The Legislature did not intend that the Education Act should press unequally upon the ratepayers in different districts; * and if it had contemplated such a contingency as the payment of the rates out of old educational endowments, that contingency would have been provided against. If need be, the ratepayers may rest assured that they will yet be protected against the pauperising effects of paying their lawful debts out of funds which were destined for other uses. To this extent a paternal legislature will not fail to care even for them.

These considerations seem fully to justify the recommendation of the Commissioners, that wherever there are 'wasted endow-'ments' for educational purposes, they should be applied to the development of the existing secondary schools, to the foundation of new ones, and to bringing the parish schools in Scotland generally up to the condition of those in the enjoyment of the Dick Bequest. That this latter object, at least, admits of realisation without raising the Hospital question in its wider aspects at all, is obvious when we learn that there are endowments in Scotland under 100*l.* a year for primary educational purposes which amount in the aggregate to 42,000*l.* a year.

But the Commissioners have gone further than we have yet indicated in adapting their recommendations to the wants of the lower middle class. With reference to George Heriot's, the greatest of all the Edinburgh hospitals, of which the net revenue in 1873 was 18,950*l.*, after suggesting that the

* In the 'Summary of the Work of the First Edinburgh School 'Board (1876),' we read: 'No other large Board in Scotland has been 'able to keep its rate for the third year as low as 1½*d.* in the pound. 'The low rate in Edinburgh is largely due to the number of children 'educated by the various Educational Trusts in the city, which thus 'render a great service to the community' (p. 19); and farther on: 'They,' the Board, 'have been advised that under the Statute they 'are not entitled to expend any portion of the School Fund upon the 'High School beyond meeting the expense of the Annual Examina-'tion' (Ib.). An arrangement which permits such a community as that of Edinburgh to starve its High School in order that it may enjoy an exceptionally low rate, can scarcely be long maintained.

foundationers should be restricted to sixty, that the boarding-out system should be more extensively adopted, and that the University bursaries, open to candidates from all parts of Scotland, should be increased; they add: 'There remains for 'consideration the question whether the new public secondary 'school,' into which they propose that Heriot's should be converted, 'should have any distinctive character. Looking to 'the ample supply of education in Edinburgh of the usual type, 'we are disposed to recommend that the school should be so 'organised as to be specially adapted to the wants of the 'industrial and commercial classes.' After quoting from the evidence of Dr. Lyon Playfair, Professor Fleeming Jenkin, Sir Bartle Frere, the replies to Lord Stanley's circular to H.M.'s representatives abroad, in 1868, &c., the facts with which we are all so familiar, as to the inferiority of industrial training in this country, they conclude:

'We are of opinion that Heriot's Foundation offers an opportunity for establishing a school, somewhat after the model of the *Real Schulen* —one in which the basis of education shall be mathematical and practical to the same degree that in our ordinary secondary schools the basis is classical. Indeed, we should be disposed to recommend the exclusion of classics, believing that where a classical education is given, it is apt, as being the more fashionable, to oust or starve the modern instruction that may be given alongside of it.' *

When we reflect on the fact, to which Mr. Sellar has called attention,† that the income of Heriot's Hospital is just about the same as that of Eton, excluding the ecclesiastical benefices in the gift of the latter; and that the annual revenue of Donaldson's Hospital, which is over 10,000*l.* a year, is nearly twice that of Rugby, even those of us who cannot altogether join in the panegyrics which he bestows on the English public schools ‡

* Third Report, p. 52. † Higher Education of Scotland, p. 17.

‡ The Commissioners exhibit an occasional tendency to go off into raptures about the 'great English public schools;' a circumstance which probably provoked the cruel contrast which Dr. Donaldson has drawn, in his 'Lectures on Education,' between them and the schools of Prussia. The imitations of English schools which have been produced at Glenalmond and Fettes, as attempts to revive for the higher classes the monastic system which has been so emphatically condemned in the Edinburgh Hospitals, are very unlikely ever to be accepted as models for Scottish schools. But the organisation of some system of boarding for the children of parents who do not reside in the town in which the school is situated is surely very desirable, and, one would hope, not unattainable. The irrational opposition which has all along been offered to the establishment of places of residence under Academic

will hesitate as to whether Scotland would have equal value for her money, even if the recommendations of the Commissioners were adopted, and Heriot's converted into a technical, and Donaldson's into a deaf and dumb school. But the recommendations are in full accordance with the liberal and philanthropic spirit of the age, and ought to acquit the Commissioners of the charge of cherishing aspirations beyond the sympathies of the class which George Heriot desired to favour. There were mechanics in his day as well as in ours: he himself was one of them: and it is significant of the fact that he did not conceive their interests to be bounded by technology, and consequently would not have objected to the bursaries to which the Commissioners propose to apply a portion of his funds, that he himself provided that his beneficiaries should be sent to the High School, the instruction at which was far more exclusively classical then than now.

Whatever is done in other respects, however, we trust that the better endowment of the head-masterships of the old provincial grammar schools will not be overlooked. This we regard as altogether the primary object to which the surplus funds of the educational endowments of Scotland ought to be applied; and failing them, for which public money should be given without grudging. We urge this, not only on behalf of the schools, but because we consider it likely to prove far more important than the creation of bursaries, scholarships, or any other form of assistance to youth, as an incentive to learned industry, more especially among the poorer classes. It is want of inducements to learn, far more than want of the means of learning, that depresses the higher instruction in Scotland in every department. Prudent and farseeing as Scotchmen are, the inducements which our educational reformers have hitherto presented to them will never tempt them to devote their lives to a career, however attractive, by which they cannot earn a decent subsistence.

The scholarships, and even the so-called fellowships, which private generosity has recently instituted at the Scotch Universities, are tenable for the most part only for three, never for more than four years; the professorships, even if

---

superintendence, for students attending the Scottish Universities, forms the only possible justification for Lord Salisbury's proposal to confine the training of candidates for the Indian Civil Service to Oxford and Cambridge. Otherwise it must be regarded merely as an expression of the jealousy of the success of the Scotch in India which has always been felt by Englishmen.

they were better endowed, can fall only to a few, and are attainable only after a position has been gained which, in most cases, must cost the labour of more than half a lifetime. During the intermediate period, when the battle of life is hardest with him, and his own powers of work are at their height, the 'hapless pedagogue is sent,' as Professor Blackie once happily said, 'to break stones in the valley of poverty,' and it is not surprising that he should so often bid a sorrowful farewell to the Muses who have brought him to such a plight, and stretch forth his hand to the golden fruit which hangs on every tree except those which hedge in 'the despised and 'neglected nook of the dominie.' 'All parade of normal schools,' cried this veteran reformer, thirty years ago, 'and local boards, 'and inspectors, and ministers of public instruction, will be in 'vain, unless the people in this country repent of their past 'depreciation of the most valuable of public services, and 'determine seriously that the schoolmaster shall be treated 'like a gentleman.'* The paramount importance of this object is one as to which there never has been the least difference of opinion amongst those whose knowledge entitled them to express an opinion at all. Listen to Professor Sellar in his address to the graduates in Arts in the University of Edinburgh last April.

'If asked why Germany can realise this ideal,' of a learned class, 'and Scotland cannot, I should answer that the explanation is not to be found in any natural superiority of the German over our Scottish youth. There is as true a capacity for study, love of study, energetic application to study, among our own students as among any students in the world. Nor is the sole or chief explanation to be found in the defective state of our secondary schools, which is itself rather a consequence and symptom of the same original cause. If our secondary schools sent us up students as well prepared as those who pass the "Abiturienten Examen" of the German schools, the essential condition of training a learned class of thinkers or discoverers would still be wanting. The country provides no career for them. We cannot hold out to any considerable number of our studious youth the hope of professorships and sub-professorships which animates German industry. We have scarcely anything corresponding to the fellowships, tutorships, and other offices connected with the great English Colleges. We have never had anything like those coveted posts of learned leisure, canonries and deaneries, by the prospect of which, through their long and intimate connexion with a rich and powerful Church, the English Universities could tempt in past times their sons into the ways of learning. We have

* An Appeal to the Scottish People on the Improvement of their Scholastic and Academical Institutions, p. 6.

nothing even like the well-paid and well-esteemed masterships in schools, the hope of which now animates the competition for the triposes of Cambridge and the class-lists of Oxford. If we of the Arts Faculty aimed at training, and were fully competent to train, a class of men solely to read, think, and investigate, we should have first to apply to our brethren of the Medical Faculty to discover some means by which they could live on air.'

These words have our unqualified assent, and we draw attention to them the more anxiously, on this occasion, because we feel that they may prevent disappointments which might not impossibly befall educational reformers who occupied themselves exclusively with the improvement of the schools as teaching institutions, and the construction of 'ladders' from one grade of them to another. No canny Scot will put his foot on a ladder unless he can see something substantial at the top of it. It is their failure to appreciate this national characteristic that has set our well-intentioned University reformers on what we cannot but regard as a false scent; and it is far from impossible that the same fate may be in store for those, in many cases the same public-spirited individuals, who are now striving for the improvement of our secondary schools. One single well-endowed head-mastership, like that of Fettes, known to be open to Scotch schoolmasters, provided an eligible candidate can be found amongst them, will do more to stimulate scholarship in Scotland than fifty fellowships or a hundred bursaries. Clever, ambitious, and spirited young men will laugh at the privations from which bursaries or fellowships can relieve them; but they will not risk their prospects in life, and it is an ignoble country that can ask them to do so.

Whilst these pages are passing through the press, the last of the publications which we enumerate has come into our hands. It is a vigorous pleading for the retention of the Scotch Education Board as a permanent institution, and for the extension of its powers; and as it is not only based on resolutions adopted by the Glasgow branch of the Educational Institute, but expresses what we believe to be the prevailing opinion in Scotland, we call attention to it gladly. By many the intrusion of English educational ideas into Scotland is regarded as little better than a covert attempt to avenge Bannockburn.

'We in Scotland,' says the writer, 'feel, and are to be excused if we feel, that we would have more confidence in having our education controlled by men who live among ourselves, and are influenced by the causes which so strongly influence us in respect of what is particular in kind and needful in arrangement for the proper development of our own national system of education. We think we have something particular in our educational system, and that this should be continued and preserved; and hence we think it inevitable that if you have lords

and gentlemen and officials who have a special care of English education, the mere naming of them "the Scottish Education Department," when they come to deal with Scottish education, will not prevent the influence of the greater country from dominating in deciding what they shall require and pay for as proper instruction in an ordinary Scottish school.' (P. 5–6.)

And he urges his plea mainly in behalf of the secondary education.

'But, further, is secondary education ever again to have that encouragement which it once had, and so much requires to-day in Scotland? Then how is this to be attained, and its quality, and its results tested and paid for as elementary education now is? Is it to be left, as the Act now leaves it, to the discretion of the School Boards in each burgh to do as they please? I believe it cannot be so left, and that if it could, it ought not. What, then, is to be done? The Education Department will not undertake its supervision. Mr. Sellar, in his Manual of the Act (p. 11), says that in Committee on the Bill, June 13, 1872, the Education Department, through the Vice-President of the Council on Education, repudiated all responsibility with regard to higher education. But we in Scotland have always connected elementary and secondary education, and have found it to our advantage to do so, and we cannot see how in one part of its work, and that the lower education, a School Board should be supervised, and so strictly too, while in the other part, and that relating to the higher education, it should be in effect free from control. We think a Scottish Board could very well have both committed to it, and be trusted to manage both to the satisfaction and advantage of the country, and we would hope, also, to the admiration of the world. But, lastly, here, I look at what the Board has done during the three years of its existence—and while not saying that it has committed no errors, which would be to say its members and officials are not human, I point to the general satisfaction given to the country by their services, notwithstanding the unexpected amount, variety, difficulty, and novelty of the work required of them.'

We cannot join in the distrust, which this writer expresses, of the School Boards. Even as regards secondary education we believe they have left little undone that the Act placed within their power. But the School Boards cannot be left entirely to themselves; and the opinion that their supervision by the Education Department in London has been, and is likely to be, injurious to the interests of secondary instruction is so universal in Scotland as to form a serious objection to its continuance. 'The grand objection to the present arrangement,' exclaims the author of this pamphlet, 'is that the 'whole tendency of it is to lower Scottish education' (p. 6). Whilst it is held in so little honour, we counsel the Department, for its own sake, to put a Scottish Board between it and the people of Scotland.

ART. IX.—*The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay.* By GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN, Esq., M.P. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1876.

IN the early years of this century two men were born in England, destined to exercise no common influence on the literature of their country and the opinions of their own age, and possibly of all future time. Both of them were devoted by natural gifts, by education, and by taste to the cultivation and the love of letters, and as men of letters they will be judged by posterity. The power they wielded, and sought to wield, was that most enduring of all dominions, the dominion of the pen. Statesmen, warriors, orators, judges, inventors cross the stage of life, but the great writers remain upon it. The influence of a Homer, a Thucydides, or a Bacon is not only untouched, but it is extended, by time. Countless generations will feel it, as past generations have felt it, as we feel it now. These are the fixed stars of human history; they shine with the pure lustre of thought; their constellation never sets; whatever is most abiding in the fitful destiny of man, abides in them.

To attain to some share in this influence was the object to which the two lives we have now in view were directed. From infancy they followed it with unconscious passion, for at an age when children are commonly engrossed by their toys or their grammars, these boys revelled in the works of great thinkers, poets, and historians. Their amazing powers of memory retained all these impressions with a vivacity and reality seldom acquired by the most laborious study. Like beings endowed with another sense, they only perceived by later observation that their fellow creatures achieved by infinite drudgery what came to them by nature and intuition. The infancy and boyhood of John Stuart Mill and Thomas Babington Macaulay were marvellous, and, what is not less amazing, they both fulfilled the promise of their earliest years.

But here the parallel must cease, or rather the parallel becomes a contrast. We shall not again retrace the effects on Mill of the dogmatism of unbelief, of the excessive strain on the reasoning faculties, of a sensitive nature bound in an iron philosophical creed, of the absence of all tender domestic influences, of a passion rebellious to the laws of the world if not of morals, and of a morbid dislike to society, which soured his views of life and left him in doubt of all things. Invert every one of these propositions, and you have a Macaulay. He was, we

readily concede it, inferior to Mill as a powerful and original thinker—less as a logician, less as an abstract philosopher. But he carried with him through life the most intense enjoyment of it; he was blest with affections for those nearly allied to him as warm and tender as ever touched the heart of man; he was harassed by no bitter or lawless passions; his sense of his own powers never swelled into vanity or affectation; everything amused and delighted him which set in motion the aerial shapes of his imagination; his conversation was the most brilliant and varied that had been heard for a century—if indeed anything like it was ever heard at all; and he held fast to manly, liberal, and enlightened principles, with a passionate earnestness which left no room for scepticism or despondency. These qualities may be traced in his writings, and they contributed largely to the charm with which he grouped the personages of history in the most picturesque and dramatic forms, giving to everything he touched the freshness of life. He has been accused of heightening the colours and exaggerating the attitudes he threw upon the canvas; but this was no more than the result of his own exuberant nature. He saw all things in strong light and shade, because there was sunshine on them all. Nothing was hazy or indistinct; nothing overcast with doubt or gloom.

This, however, is not the time or the place to expatiate in needless criticism or panegyric on Lord Macaulay's writings. They enjoy a popularity beyond the range of fiction, and they have merits which will fascinate the world when the most popular fictions of the day have ceased to please. Our business to-day is to trace, what his nephew well calls 'the joyous and shining 'pilgrimage' of their author through the world, and we rejoice that these volumes record in the familiar language of common life the warmth of heart, the enthusiasm, and the simplicity of character which were united in Lord Macaulay to the most marvellous attainments. No man was ever less anxious to obtrude his personal claims to distinction on the world. He cultivated literature as an art, but the artist was kept out of sight. His work was purely objective. Even in his speeches and in his conversation, and still more in his writings, the nature of his discourse, the subject of his descriptions, absorbed him altogether. His biographer justly remarks that it would be almost as hard to compose a picture of the author from his History, his Essays, and his Lays, as to evolve an idea of Shakspeare from 'Henry the Fifth' and 'Measure for Measure.' His manner of life, his habits of thought, his lively affections were really known to those only who enjoyed his intimacy. With a vast acquaintance his bosom friends were few in number,

and of these by far the nearest and dearest were the members of his own family. By them, or by their descendants, the veil of privacy which it pleased him to retain over his inner life is now removed, and this publication presents to his admirers a living picture of himself, traced to a considerable extent by his own hand.

Scotland may claim both John Mill and Macaulay as her descendants, but not as her children—or, if children, they were, in some respects, undutiful sons. Yet Macaulay paid his debt to the land of his forefathers by his splendid contributions to a Journal which is identified with Scotland by its best and dearest traditions; and the most brilliant of his Parliamentary speeches were delivered by him as the representative of our Scottish capital. Something, no doubt, he owed to the fervour and daring of the old Highland spirit, shown in former generations by the ministers of the Kirk, his ancestors, whom Dr. Johnson met in the Hebrides; and Zachary Macaulay, his father, retained the type of his descent unaltered. Never lived there a man of a sterner or more undoubting faith, of a higher sense of duty, of more indomitable industry in the great cause to which he devoted his existence —but he was absolutely devoid of those genial, imaginative, and humorous sympathies which, in despite of himself, shed such light and gaiety over his Cameronian household. Macaulay used to say that he derived his 'joviality' from his mother, on the principle, we suppose, that it certainly did not come to him from his father. But his mother was a Quakeress, of Bristol extraction; his early education was conducted under the prim but benevolent eyes of Mrs. Hannah More. We must leave the champions of the rival influence of hereditary gifts and of educational authority to explain as best they may, the existence of a man who owed so little to his parents or to the position in which he was born.

We shall pass summarily over the period of baby hymns and juvenile epics, which streamed from the brain of this young prodigy almost as soon as he could speak or write. Mr. Trevelyan has wisely contented himself with a brief account of these performances, and has not given them to the public—a thing Macaulay himself would especially have abhorred, for he held that nothing ought to be brought to table but the ripe fruit of care and thought, and he held very cheap the crude efforts of his early life. Be it enough to say that when he went to Cambridge at eighteen, we already find him writing a vigorous and picturesque style, treating all subjects, himself included, with clear good sense, conversant with an astonishing amount of literature of all ages and languages, and thirsting for

distinction in the liberal arts. He had not been sent to a public school, a circumstance which had perhaps allowed him a greater latitude and freedom in his studies, and when he entered Trinity College he entered upon the world. His first appearance in public life seems to have been at a Cambridge election, when the mob were hustling the successful candidates. His ardour was cooled by receiving a dead cat full in the face. The man who had thrown the missile assured him that it was by mistake, and that the cat was meant for Mr. Adeane. 'I 'wish,' said Macaulay, 'that you had meant it for me and hit 'Mr. Adeane'—a joke worthy of an older politician.

Mr. Trevelyan has described with a tinge of hereditary sympathy the strong attachment of Macaulay for Cambridge, and above all for Trinity. That was indeed the starting place and the goal, the very Mecca of his life; and it was there he received the impressions which formed and moulded his character and his intellect.

'Of all his places of sojourn during his joyous and shining pilgrimage through the world, Trinity, and Trinity alone, had any share with his home in Macaulay's affection and loyalty. To the last he regarded it as an ancient Greek or a mediæval Italian felt towards his native city. As long as he had place and standing there, he never left it willingly or returned to it without delight. The only step in his course about the wisdom of which he sometimes expressed misgiving was his preference of a London to a Cambridge life. The only dignity that in his later days he was known to covet was an honorary fellowship which would have allowed him again to look through his window upon the college grass-plots, and to sleep within sound of the splashing of the fountain; again to breakfast on commons, and dine beneath the portraits of Newton and Bacon on the daïs of the hall; again to ramble by moonlight round Neville's cloister discoursing the picturesque but somewhat exoteric philosophy which it pleased him to call by the name of metaphysics. From the door of his rooms, along the wall of the Chapel, there runs a flagged pathway which affords an acceptable relief from the rugged pebbles that surround it. Here as a Bachelor of Arts he would walk, book in hand, morning after morning throughout the long vacation, reading with the same eagerness and the same rapidity whether the volume was the most abstruse of treatises, the loftiest of poems, or the flimsiest of novels. That was the spot where in his failing years he specially loved to renew the feelings of the past, and some there are who can never revisit it without the fancy that there, if anywhere, his dear shade must linger.'

The group of men he met there was remarkable—the present Lord Grey, Lord Belper and Lord Romilly, the three brothers Villiers, Praed, Moultrie, Sidney Walker, and above all, Charles Austin,

'whose fame would now be more in proportion to his extraordinary

abilities had not his unparalleled success as an advocate tempted him before his day to retire from the toils of a career of whose rewards he had already enough. With his vigour and fervour, his depth of knowledge and breadth of humour, his close reasoning illustrated by an expansive imagination, set off, as these gifts were, by the advantage, at that period of life so irresistible, of some experience of the world at home and abroad,—Austin was indeed a king among his fellows.

> "Grave, sedate,
> And, (if the looks may indicate the age,)
> Our senior some few years:—no keener wit,
> No intellect more subtle, none more bold,
> Was found in all our host."

So writes Moultrie, and the testimony of his verse is borne out by John Stuart Mill's prose. "The impression he gave was that of boundless "strength, together with talents which, combined with such apparent "force of will and character, seemed capable of dominating the world." He certainly was the only man who ever succeeded in dominating Macaulay. Brimming over with ideas that were soon to be known by the name of Utilitarian, a panegyrist of American institutions, and an unsparing assailant of ecclesiastical endowments and hereditary privileges, he effectually cured the young undergraduate of his Tory opinions, which were never more than skin deep, and brought him nearer to Radicalism than he ever was before or since. The report of this conversion, of which the most was made by ill-natured talebearers who met with more encouragement than they deserved, created some consternation in the family circle: while the reading set at Cambridge was duly scandalised at the influence which one whose classical attainments were rather discursive than exact had gained over a Craven scholar. To this hour men may be found in remote parsonages who mildly resent the fascination which Austin of Jesus exercised over Macaulay of Trinity.'

No doubt a life of Lord Macaulay would be incomplete without some allusion to Charles Austin, and we thank Mr. Trevelyan for this courteous allusion to one who may in aftertimes be chiefly remembered as Macaulay's rival and friend. Austin surpassed Macaulay himself in powers of argumentative conversation. He was less discursive, more logical, and he launched shafts barbed with 'the scorn of scorn' with a more unsparing hand. But he had infinitely less of poetic fire and human sympathy; less imagination, less of heart, and less of persistent ambition. His Radical opinions subsided at last into a mild form of Conservatism, and either from indolence or indifference to the world, he never took a pen in hand to leave behind him any trace of his great intellect. Hence he is remembered more for what he might have been than for what he was.

'The day and the night together were too short for one who was

entering on the journey of life amidst such a band of travellers. So long as a door was open or a light burning in any of the courts Macaulay was always in the mood for conversation and companionship. Unfailing in his attendance at lecture and chapel, blameless with regard to college laws and college discipline, it was well for his virtue that no curfew was in force within the precincts of Trinity. He never tired of recalling the days when he supped at midnight on milk-punch and roast turkey, drank tea in floods at an hour when older men are intent upon anything rather than on the means of keeping themselves awake, and made little of sitting over the fire till the bell rang for morning chapel in order to see a friend off by the early coach. In the license of the summer vacation, after some prolonged and festive gathering, the whole party would pour out into the moonlight and ramble for mile after mile through the country till the noise of their wideflowing talk mingled with the twittering of the birds in the hedges which bordered the Coton pathway or the Madingley road. On such occasions it must have been well worth the loss of sleep to hear Macaulay plying Austin with sarcasms upon the doctrine of the Greatest Happiness, which then had still some gloss of novelty; putting into an ever-fresh shape the time-honoured jokes against the Johnians for the benefit of the Villierses; and urging an interminable debate on Wordsworth's merits as a poet, in which the Coleridges, as in duty bound, were ever ready to engage. In this particular field he acquired a skill of fence which rendered him the most redoubtable of antagonists. Many years afterwards, at the time when the Prelude was fresh from the press, he was maintaining against the opinion of a large and mixed society that the poem was unreadable. At last, overborne by the united indignation of so many of Wordsworth's admirers, he agreed that the question should be referred to the test of personal experience: and on inquiry it was discovered that the only individual present who had got through the Prelude was Macaulay himself.

'It is not only that the witnesses of these scenes unanimously declare that they have never since heard such conversation in the most renowned of social circles. The partiality of a generous young man for trusted and admired companions may well colour his judgment over the space of even half a century. But the estimate of university contemporaries was abundantly confirmed by the outer world. While on a visit to Lord Lansdowne at Bowood, Austin and Macaulay happened to get upon college topics one morning at breakfast. When the meal was finished they drew their chairs to either end of the chimney-piece, and talked at each other across the hearth-rug as if they were in a first-floor room in the Old Court of Trinity. The whole company, ladies, artists, politicians, and diners-out formed a silent circle round the two Cantabs, and, with a short break for lunch, never stirred till the bell warned them that it was time to dress for dinner.

'It has all irrevocably perished. With life before them, and each intent on his own future, none among that troop of friends had the mind to play Boswell to the others.'

Neither of these friendly disputants, certainly, wanted either

τόλμα or φωνή, which were regarded as the two first conditions of Attic oratory; but let posterity be consoled. We are old enough to have heard in our time a great deal of Austin's argumentative conversation, and opportunities were not wanting to us; but brilliant as it undoubtedly was, something of the reputation of these eminent talkers was due to the disposition of their audience. It is true, however, that conversation pitched in so high a key—so animated, so instructive, and so amusing—is not to be heard in modern society.

These literary conversations, followed by the animated debates of the Cambridge Union, in which Austin, Macaulay, Romilly, and Praed took the lead, probably contributed as much to the future success of these men as the lessons of their tutors. Macaulay's definition of a scholar was a man who could read Plato with his feet on the fender. He had himself no great share of that critical scholarship, then much in fashion, which raised a man to the bench of Bishops by editing a Greek tragedy. But he had through life what is far better, a vast and lively acquaintance with Greek literature. Homer was as familiar to him as 'Paradise Lost.' During his retirement in India the Greek poets and orators were his constant companions. But at Cambridge his classical attainments earned for him no distinction except a Craven scholarship, to which he added on two occasions the Chancellor's medal for English verse. He was not chosen a fellow of his college until his third trial, nominally for the strange reason that his translations from Greek and Latin into English were too bald and unadorned. When the Tripos of 1822 appeared his name was not in it; in short, Macaulay was 'gulfed' (as his nephew expresses it), and he was disabled from contending for the Chancellor's classical medals. This failure, for such it was, was mainly due to his hatred of mathematics. Thus he exclaims to his mother in a letter written in 1818:—

'I can scarcely bear to write on Mathematics or Mathematicians. Oh for words to express my abomination of that science, if a name sacred to the useful and embellishing arts may be applied to the perception and recollection of certain properties in numbers and figures! Oh that I had to learn astrology, or demonology, or school divinity! Oh that I were to pore over Thomas Aquinas, and to adjust the relation of Entity with the two Predicaments, so that I were exempted from this miserable study! "Discipline" of the mind! Say rather starvation, confinement, torture, annihilation! But it must be. I feel myself becoming a personification of Algebra, a living trigonometrical canon, a walking table of Logarithms. All my perceptions of elegance and beauty gone, or at least going. By the end of the term my brain will be "as

"dry as the remainder biscuit after a voyage." Oh to change Cam for Isis!'

Perhaps the recollection of these disappointments tended to give him a low estimate of University honours, much as he loved his University. In his later years he wrote 'after all, 'what a man does at Cambridge is, in itself, nothing. If he 'makes a poor figure in life, his having been Senior Wrangler, 'or University scholar, is never mentioned but with derision. 'If he makes a distinguished figure, his early honours merge 'in those of later date.' This opinion is, however, inconsistent with the arguments of his celebrated speech (delivered in 1855), in favour of competitive examination, when he entertained and amazed the House of Commons by a rapid enumeration of the performances of a score of Senior Wranglers. It was said of Macaulay by his most intimate and dearest friend that he never really applied himself to any pursuit that was against the grain. Had he set his mind on taking high honours, he probably could have accomplished it. But his mind wanted those habits of severe application, governed by a strong will, without which no man can conquer the 'reluctantes dracones' of life. For this same reason it was not in his destiny to become a great lawyer or a great statesman. He wanted for his growth the liberty of the broad fields of literature. There without an effort he could roam and rule. At this very time, in 1822, he competed with success for a prize of ten pounds, bequeathed by Mr. Greaves of Fulbourn for the best essay on the conduct and character of William III. There was struck the keynote of his life. The essay is still in existence, and it shows that the Junior Bachelor of two and twenty thought and wrote with the same spirit as the grave historian of forty-eight.

'In a passage that occurs towards the close of the essay may be traced something more than an outline of the peroration in which, a quarter of a century later on, he summed up the character and results of the Revolution of 1688. "To have been a sovereign, yet the champion of liberty; "a revolutionary leader, yet the supporter of social order, is the peculiar "glory of William. He knew where to pause. He outraged no national "prejudice. He abolished no ancient form. *He altered no venerable* "*name.* He saw that the existing institutions possessed the greatest "capabilities of excellence, and that stronger sanctions and clearer "definitions were alone required to make the practice of the British "constitution as admirable as the theory. Thus he imparted to inno- "vation the dignity and stability of antiquity. He transferred to a hap- "pier order of things the associations which had attached the people to "their former government. As the Roman warrior, before he assaulted "Veii, invoked its guardian gods to leave its walls, and to accept the

" worship and patronise the cause of the besiegers, this great prince, in " attacking a system of oppression, summoned to his aid the venerable " principles and deeply seated feelings to which that system was indebt- " ed for protection."'

There was in truth in Macaulay, though to judge by the results of his life no one would suppose it, a vast amount of indolence. His reading was universal, but he wandered like a bee over every blossom in the garden, and the wonder is that any honey was made. The following passage from a journal kept by his sister Margaret is extremely curious:—

'*March* 30, 1831.—Tom has just left me, after a very interesting conversation. He spoke of his extreme idleness. He said: "I never knew such an idle man as I am. When I go in to Empson or Ellis their tables are always covered with books and papers. I cannot stick at anything for above a day or two. I mustered industry enough to teach myself Italian. I wish to speak Spanish. I know I could master the difficulties in a week, and read any book in the language at the end of a month, but I have not the courage to attempt it. If there had not been really something in me, idleness would have ruined me."

'I said that I was surprised at the great accuracy of his information, considering how desultory his reading had been. "My accuracy as to facts," he said, "I owe to a cause which many men would not confess. It is due to my love of castle-building. The past is in my mind soon constructed into a romance." He then went on to describe the way in which from his childhood his imagination had been filled by the study of history. "With a person of my turn," he said, "the minute touches are of as great interest, and perhaps greater, than the most important events. Spending so much time as I do in solitude, my mind would have rusted by gazing vacantly at the shop windows. As it is, I am no sooner in the streets than I am in Greece, in Rome, in the midst of the French Revolution. Precision in dates, the day or hour in which a man was born or died, becomes absolutely necessary. A slight fact, a sentence, a word, are of importance in my romance. Pepys's Diary formed almost inexhaustible food for my fancy. I seem to know every inch of Whitehall. I go in at Hans Holbein's gate, and come out through the matted gallery. The conversations which I compose between great people of the time are long, and sufficiently animated: in the style, if not with the merits, of Sir Walter Scott's. The old parts of London, which you are sometimes surprised at my knowing so well, those old gates and houses down by the river, have all played their part in my stories." He spoke, too, of the manner in which he used to wander about Paris, weaving tales of the Revolution, and he thought that he owed his command of language greatly to this habit.'

On October 1, 1824, Macaulay was elected Fellow of Trinity, which gave him a temporary independence, of essential value to him in the next seven years, and in 1826 he was called to the Bar, and joined the Northern Circuit at Leeds. But his study of law had been as perfunctory as his study of

mathematics, and his legal career seems to have been confined to writing Aristophanic jests for the bar mess. Fortunately in 1828 Lord Lyndhurst, just at the close of the Goderich Ministry, gave him a Commissionership of Bankruptcy, which raised his income to about a thousand a year.

Nothing in Macaulay's literary career excites in us more astonishment than his contributions to 'Knight's Magazine,' written when he was only three and four and twenty, whilst he was reading for this fellowship, which, with some little difficulty, he at last obtained. The 'Fragment of a Roman Tale' (June 1823) breathes all the fire and tenderness of passionate love—a theme the writer never touched upon again; and perhaps it suggested to Bulwer the most graceful of the scenes in the 'Last Days of Pompeii.' The scenes from 'Athenian 'Revels' reflect, as in a glass, the dramatic style of Plato and the daring wit of Aristophanes. The Essays on the Italian writers show that Macaulay had already sounded the ocean depths of Dante and traced to their source the brighter streams of Petrarch's song. The review of Mitford's 'Greece' (November 1824) displays the same marvellous acquaintance with Hellenic politics and literature, and it winds up with a passage of splendid eloquence on the immortal influence of Athens. No doubt, it may be said, that these pages are overcrowded with allusions and images, which a more mature age would have restrained. But what clearness of thought! what abundance and what rhythm of language! That young author might have been addressed in the prophetic words applied by Socrates to Isocrates at about the same age. 'He 'seems to me to have a genius above the oratory of Lysias 'and altogether to be tempered of nobler elements. And so 'it would not surprise me if, as years go on, he should make 'all his predecessors seem like children in the kind of oratory 'to which he is now addressing himself; or if—supposing this 'should not content him—some diviner impulse should lead 'him to greater things. My dear Phædros, a certain philo-'sophy is inborn in him.'* Already, at four and twenty, Macaulay was incontestibly the first rhetorician of an age fertile in literary genius. Well might Jeffrey exclaim, as he did on the receipt of the first article written for this Journal, 'The more I think the less I can conceive where you picked 'up that style.' Of the contributions with which Macaulay continued for many years to honour these pages, it would be unbecoming and superfluous for us to speak. Though he

* Plato, Phædros, sup. fin.

regarded them as fugitive productions, they have taken a prominent place in literature, and we know not how many millions of copies have been circulated in Britain and America, throughout the English-speaking world.

The Macaulay family migrated in 1823 to a large rambling house in Great Ormond Street, at the corner of Powis Place, a quarter of London which, though not fashionable, was still in those days inhabited by judges, barristers, and merchants. These were Tom Macaulay's London quarters until 1829 (when he went to live in chambers in Gray's Inn), and here the great critic and future orator and statesman passed, in the bosom of his family, the gayest years of his life. His spirits and his drollery were inexhaustible.

'The fun that went on in Great Ormond Street was of a jovial, and sometimes uproarious, description. Even when the family was by itself, the school-room and the drawing-room were full of young people; and friends and cousins flocked in numbers to a resort where so much merriment was perpetually on foot. There were seasons during the school holidays when the house overflowed with noise and frolic from morning to night; and Macaulay, who at any period of his life could literally spend whole days in playing with children, was master of the innocent revels. Games of hide and seek, that lasted for hours, with shouting and the blowing of horns up and down the stairs and through every room, were varied by ballads, which, like the Scalds of old, he composed during the act of recitation, while the others struck in with the chorus. He had no notion whatever of music, but an infallible ear for rhythm. His knack of improvisation he at all times exercised freely. The verses which he thus produced, and which he invariably attributed to an anonymous author whom he styled "the Judicious Poet," were exclusively for home consumption. Some of these effusions illustrate a sentiment in his disposition which was among the most decided, and the most frequently and loudly expressed. Macaulay was only too easily bored, and those whom he considered fools he by no means suffered gladly. He once amused his sisters by pouring out whole Iliads of extempore doggerel upon the head of an unfortunate country squire of their acquaintance who had a habit of detaining people by the button, and who was especially addicted to the society of the higher order of clergy.

"His Grace Archbishop Manners Sutton
Could not keep on a single button.
As for Right Reverend John of Chester,
His waistcoats open at the breast are.
Our friend has filled a mighty trunk
With trophies torn from Doctor Monk,
And he has really tattered foully
The vestments of Archbishop Howley.
No button could I late discern on
The garments of Archbishop Vernon,

And never had his fingers mercy
Upon the garb of Bishop Percy.
The buttons fly from Bishop Ryder
Like corks that spring from bottled cyder,"

' and so on throughout the entire bench, until, after a good half-hour of hearty and spontaneous nonsense, the girls would go laughing back to their Italian and their drawing-boards.'

Mr. Trevelyan, who has himself the family taste for this quaint sort of humour, has not scrupled to mix a good many specimens of this amusing doggerel with the graver matters of his book. We see no reason to blame him. They are as characteristic of his uncle as the highest flights of his rhetoric or his eloquence. They are the natural outburst of his amazing spirits, which could extract as much amusement from a street ballad or a bad novel as from the wit of Boiardo and Aristophanes. And, after all, if many of the jokes are bad jokes, they are not worse than the puns and gibes on which the name of Swift has conferred a lasting interest, and they are scrupulously free from Swift's vulgarity and coarseness. There never was a purer mind or more sensitive taste, in these respects, than that of Macaulay; and no doubt he owed this refinement partly to temperament, but far more to the circumstance that he had been brought up, and spent his whole life, in the closest intimacy of friendship and sympathy with his sisters. Zachary Macaulay had five daughters and four sons; of whom Lord Macaulay was the eldest. Of the other sons it is unnecessary to speak. The daughters nearest to the age of their illustrious brother were, as far as we know, ladies educated in the strict opinions of the Clapham sect; but their brother always spoke of them with tender affection, and when Jane died he declared his heart was broken. Hannah More Macaulay, afterwards Lady Trevelyan, and Margaret, married to Mr. Edward Cropper, who died in 1834, though respectively ten and twelve years younger than their eldest brother, were his dearest playmates and associates. Lady Trevelyan was, of all the family, the member most congenial to himself. She shared his enthusiastic curiosity; she ranged like him through whole galleries of fiction, until it was said that she and her brother between them could have re-written ' Sir Charles Grandison,' and probably Miss Austen's novels to boot; she accompanied him to India; she returned with him to share the glory of his later years; and she bequeathed to her son the filial task of compiling this biography. We remember no other instance of so complete and unbroken a union of two persons in that charming relation of life. And the cause of this singularity is this, that

Macaulay never, as far as we know, or as this book reveals to us, transferred his affections to any other woman. He seems never to have been in love; there is nowhere the slightest propensity to marriage; he does not appear even to have corresponded, or lived on terms of intimate friendship with any woman, outside his family circle. He liked the society of women

> 'When, in gilded drawing rooms, thy breast
> Swells to the sweeter sound of woman's praise.'

He was warmly attached to those who, high in heart and intellect, shed a lustre alike on society and on domestic life, as the late Lady Stanhope and the present Duchess of Argyll; he was grateful to Lady Holland for her kindness, even when she wept and raved at his going to India. But no woman appears ever to have exercised over him that irresistible charm, from which no other man of genius and feeling was ever, we believe, exempt. His heart, as it is termed, was given to his sisters alone; when Margaret died during his residence at Calcutta, he pours forth all the passionate grief of a lover, and declares he had almost lost his reason; henceforth Hannah and her children became and remained the sole objects of his affection.

The following passage describes his own intense feeling on this subject:—

'The attachment between brothers and sisters,' he writes in November 1832, 'blameless, amiable, and delightful as it is, is so liable to be superseded by other attachments that no wise man ought to suffer it to become indispensable to him. That women shall leave the home of their birth, and contract ties dearer than those of consanguinity, is a law as ancient as the first records of the history of our race, and as unchangeable as the constitution of the human body and mind. To repine against the nature of things, and against the great fundamental law of all society, because, in consequence of my own want of foresight, it happens to bear heavily on me, would be the basest and most absurd selfishness.

'I have still one more stake to lose. There remains one event for which, when it arrives, I shall, I hope, be prepared. From that moment, with a heart formed, if ever any man's heart was formed, for domestic happiness, I shall have nothing left in this world but ambition. There is no wound, however, which time and necessity will not render endurable: and, after all, what am I more than my fathers,—than the millions and tens of millions who have been weak enough to pay double price for some favourite number in the lottery of life, and who have suffered double disappointment when their ticket came up a blank?'

And he wrote in this strain at thirty-two!

These years, then, spent in Great Ormond Street, were chiefly employed in the duties of the Bankruptcy Court or on the Northern Circuit, where he held no brief, in writing a series of articles for this Journal, some purely literary, and some directed with great force against the Utilitarians of Queen Square, and in the keenest enjoyment of domestic life. The society of the Macaulay family was restricted to a few friends of the old Clapham set; their means were small; and genius had not yet broken through the wall which early habits had built round it. He had been obliged to sell the gold medals he won at Trinity, and even later he would sup on a bit of cheese sent him by a Wiltshire constituent, with a glass of audit ale from the old College. But at one of the most critical moments of his life, and, as it turned out, of English history, all this changed. The Marquis of Lansdowne, quick above all men to discern indications of ability in literature or in art beyond the circle in which his rank and age placed him, and not less kind than prompt in raising young aspirants from obscurity to fame, discerned the genius of Macaulay in his writings, even before he knew the man.

'Public affairs,' writes Lady Trevelyan, 'were become intensely interesting to him. Canning's accession to power, then his death, the repeal of the Test Act, the Emancipation of the Catholics, all in their turn filled his heart and soul. He himself longed to be taking his part in Parliament, but with a very hopeless longing.

'In February 1830 I was staying at Mr. Wilberforce's at Highwood Hill when I got a letter from your uncle, enclosing one from Lord Lansdowne, who told him that he had been much struck by the articles on Mill, and that he wished to be the means of first introducing their author to public life, by proposing to him to stand for the vacant seat at Calne. Lord Lansdowne expressly added that it was your uncle's high moral and private character which had determined him to make the offer, and that he wished in no respect to influence his votes, but to leave him quite at liberty to act according to his conscience. I remember flying into Mr. Wilberforce's study, and, absolutely speechless, putting the letter into his hands. He read it with much emotion, and returned it to me, saying: "Your father has had great trials, obloquy, bad health, many anxieties. One must feel as if Tom were given him for a recompense." He was silent for a moment, and then his mobile face lighted up, and he clapped his hand to his ear, and cried: "Ah! I hear that shout again. Hear! Hear! What a life it was."

'And so on the eve of the most momentous conflict that ever was fought out by speech and vote within the walls of a senate-house, the young recruit went gaily to his post in the ranks of that party whose coming fortunes he was prepared loyally to follow, and the history of whose past he was destined eloquently, and perhaps imperishably, to record.'

We know no second argument for borough influence so practical as this, that Calne, under the guidance of Lord Lansdowne, sent to the House of Commons within thirty years two such men as Thomas Macaulay and Robert Lowe, who might, and probably would, otherwise, have sought for seats in vain, or not ventured to seek for them at all.

On entering Parliament, in April 1830, Macaulay addressed the House on a Bill for the removal of Jewish disabilities, and once again on some other occasion; but he spoke no more; 'doing more,' as Mr. Trevelyan observes, 'for future success 'in Parliament by silence, than he could have effected by half 'a dozen brilliant perorations.' The time was at hand which was to give far greater occasions for his eloquence; and we do not know that any circumstance in Macaulay's career was more fortunate, than the accident which placed him in Parliament on the eve of the Reform agitation, but before it had begun. The Reform Bill was brought into the House by Lord John Russell on March 1, 1831. On the following day Macaulay delivered the first of his great speeches. It placed him at once in the first rank of Parliamentary orators. The excitement of the House knew no bounds. Men compared him to Fox, Burke, Canning, and Plunket—to the greatest masters of language and the noblest champions of liberty. And in the heat and fury of that great conflict, which was destined to regenerate by Reform the constitution and the monarchy of England, none bore a more vigorous part than the young member for Calne. But we have here to speak less of his political achievements than of their personal results to himself.

We can assure Mr. Trevelyan, though he expresses an opposite opinion, that there was a vast deal more of the 'exclusiveness 'of fashion' in 1831 than there is in 1876, for the sway of Lady Jersey, Lady Cowper, and Princess Lieven was an absolute despotism compared with the anarchy of the post-reform period. Macaulay never aspired to be a man of fashion; he had too much pride and not enough vanity to be gratified by the flattery of people whom he despised. But it is curious to learn how far apart he had lived, even till he had past his thirtieth year, from what is called the best society of London. Hence it was that whilst he remained singularly free from the levity and indifference of a man of the world, he never acquired the ease of manner, the lightness of touch, or the graces which accompany high breeding.

'Macaulay had been well received in the character of an Edinburgh Reviewer, and his first great speech in the House of Commons at once opened to him all the doors in London that were best worth entering.

Brought up, as he had been, in a household which was perhaps the strictest and the homeliest among a set of families whose creed it was to live outside the world, it put his strength of mind to the test when he found himself courted and observed by the most distinguished and the most formidable personages of the day. Lady Holland listened to him with unwonted deference, and scolded him with a circumspection that was in itself a compliment. Rogers spoke *of* him with friendliness and *to* him with positive affection, and gave him the last proof of his esteem and admiration by asking him to name the morning for a breakfast-party. He was treated with almost fatherly kindness by the able and worthy man who is still remembered by the name of Conversation Sharp. Indeed, his deference for the feelings of all whom he liked and respected, which an experienced observer could detect beneath the eagerness of his manner and the volubility of his talk, made him a favourite among those of a generation above his own. He bore his honours quietly, and enjoyed them with the natural and hearty pleasure of a man who has a taste for society, but whose ambitions lie elsewhere. For the space of three seasons he dined out almost nightly, and spent many of his Sundays in those suburban residences which, as regards the company and the way of living, are little else than sections of London removed into a purer air.'

The descriptions of his new social relations, written for the amusement of his sisters, are entertaining enough, and will be read with the interest which always clings to such reminiscences. But, inasmuch as the writer could paint every portrait but his own, even the conversation of Holland House loses much of its brilliancy when Macaulay's voice takes no part in it. Yet we must borrow one or two sketches.

'London: July 11, 1831.

'My dear Sister,—Since I wrote to you I have been out to dine and sleep at Holland House. We had a very agreeable and splendid party; among others the Duke and Duchess of Richmond, and the Marchioness of Clanricarde, who, you know, is the daughter of Canning. She is very beautiful, and very like her father, with eyes full of fire, and great expression in all her features. She and I had a great deal of talk. She showed much cleverness and information, but, I thought, a little more of political animosity than is quite becoming in a pretty woman. However, she has been placed in peculiar circumstances. The daughter of a statesman who was a martyr to the rage of faction may be pardoned for speaking sharply of the enemies of her parent: and she did speak sharply. With knitted brows, and flashing eyes, and a look of feminine vengeance about her beautiful mouth, she gave me such a character of Peel as he would certainly have had no pleasure in hearing.

'In the evening Lord John Russell came; and, soon after, old Talleyrand. I had seen Talleyrand in very large parties, but had never been near enough to hear a word that he said. I now had the pleasure of listening for an hour and a half to his conversation. He is certainly the greatest curiosity that I ever fell in with. His head is sunk down between two high shoulders. One of his feet is hideously distorted.

His face is as pale as that of a corpse, and wrinkled to a frightful degree. His eyes have an odd glassy stare quite peculiar to them. His hair, thickly powdered and pomatumed, hangs down his shoulders on each side as straight as a pound of tallow-candles. His conversation, however, soon makes you forget his ugliness and infirmities. There is a poignancy without effort in all he says, which reminded me a little of the character which the wits of Johnson's circle give of Beauclerk. For example, we talked about Metternich and Cardinal Mazarin. "J'y trouve beaucoup à redire. Le Cardinal trompait; mais il ne mentait pas. Or, M. de Metternich ment toujours, et ne trompe jamais."'

The same compliment, if it be one, that Talleyrand paid to the Cardinal might fairly be addressed to the most powerful and successful of living Ministers.

The portraits of the host and hostess are uncommonly like.

'London: July 25, 1831.

'My dear Sister,—On Saturday evening I went to Holland House. There I found the Dutch Ambassador, M. de Wessemburg, Mr. and Mrs. Vernon Smith, and Admiral Adam, a son of old Adam who fought the duel with Fox. We dined like Emperors, and jabbered in several languages. Her Ladyship, for an esprit fort, is the greatest coward that I ever saw. The last time that I was there she was frightened out of her wits by the thunder. She closed all the shutters, drew all the curtains, and ordered candles in broad day to keep out the lightning, or rather the appearance of the lightning. On Saturday she was in a terrible taking about the cholera; talked of nothing else; refused to eat any ice because somebody said that ice was bad for the cholera; was sure that the cholera was at Glasgow; and asked me why a cordon of troops was not instantly placed around that town to prevent all intercourse between the infected and the healthy spots. Lord Holland made light of her fears. He is a thoroughly good-natured, open, sensible man; very lively; very intellectual; well read in politics, and in the lighter literature both of ancient and modern times. He sets me more at ease than almost any person that I know, by a certain good-humoured way of contradicting that he has. He always begins by drawing down his shaggy eyebrows, making a face extremely like his uncle, wagging his head and saying: "Now do you know, Mr. Macaulay, I do not quite see that. How do you make it out?" He tells a story delightfully, and bears the pain of his gout and the confinement and privations to which it subjects him, with admirable fortitude and cheerfulness. Her Ladyship is all courtesy and kindness to me: but her demeanour to some others, particularly to poor Allen, is such as it quite pains me to witness. He is really treated like a negro slave. "Mr. Allen, go into my drawing-room and bring my reticule." "Mr. Allen, go and see what can be the matter that they do not bring up dinner." "Mr. Allen, there is not enough turtle-soup for you. You must take gravy soup or none." Yet I can scarcely pity the man. He has an independent income, and, if he can stoop to be ordered about like a footman, I cannot so much blame her for the contempt with which she treats him.'

Lord Grey was not very prompt to recognise the services which had been rendered to his government by the zeal and eloquence of this youthful ally. Office was notoriously of importance to Macaulay, and the sooner he was engaged in the active service of the government the better. Yet he was only offered at first a Commissionership at the Board of Control, and it was not till the autumn of 1832 that he succeeded his friend Hyde Villiers in the Secretaryship of that Office. No doubt it was fortunate, as it turned out, that an official connexion with the government of India was his first step in the public service. The following session, moreover, witnessed the passing of a most important India Bill, which threw open the China Trade; extinguished slavery in the British territories in the East; and made a considerable step towards the transfer of the sovereignty of India from the Company to the Crown. This measure was introduced by Mr. Charles Grant, as President of the Board of Control. But it had been in a great part prepared by Macaulay, and it was defended by him in the House with the most brilliant eloquence. The session of 1833, however, did not pass without many anxieties. Macaulay, himself, who sat for Leeds in the first Reform Parliament, was desponding. He saw 'nothing before him but a frantic 'conflict of extreme opinions; then a short period of oppression; 'then a convulsive reaction; and then a tremendous crash of 'the Funds, the Church, the Peerage and the Throne.' Mr. Stanley's Bill for the emancipation of the West Indian Negroes, based on a long period of apprenticeship, was strongly condemned by the zealous abolitionists, by Zachary Macaulay, and by Macaulay himself. At this moment, with all his hopes of political power and influence bursting into life, whilst pecuniary embarrassments were gathering round his family to such an extent that for several years every penny Macaulay earned, beyond what the necessities of life demanded, was devoted to paying off his father's creditors, with no professional income, and no means of subsistence but his pen, rather than support a measure which he conscientiously disapproved, Macaulay twice tendered his resignation. To the honour of the government it was not accepted, and he was allowed to stand aloof from the West India Bill.

In the touching verses he wrote after his defeat at Edinburgh in 1847, the Queen of Gain, the Queen of Fashion, and the Queen of Power pass scornfully by his cradle, and leave the nursling to pursue a nobler and a happier aim,—

'The sense of beauty and the thirst for truth.'

Nothing could be more sincere. His indifference to gain was only modified by the desire to be generous to others, and he did not reckon the honours or amusements of the world amongst its real enjoyments. But it is singular that in 1833, after the extraordinary success of his earliest literary productions, it should not have occurred to him that he held between his fingers a power which might instantly create and command wealth, if not 'beyond the dreams of avarice,' yet certainly beyond his own wants. Had he devoted himself at once, and continuously, in 1833 to literary work—had he then commenced his History, and brought out a volume a year, he might have realised as large a fortune as Sir Walter Scott, and probably far more than he brought back from India. But such was the simplicity of his character that this thought never struck him. It was with difficulty that he was persuaded to consent to the republication of his Essays and Articles—in themselves a fortune; and he seems to have thought there was something humiliating in degrading literature into a craft or profession.

Literary history is full of the miseries of authors. Macaulay knew every anecdote in existence of their privations and struggles. The affronts Dryden had endured from Tonson, the exigencies Mackintosh submitted to from Lardner. But he only discovered by long and late experience that in these times an author of genius, who manages his affairs with prudence, may realise gains quite equal to the returns of any other profession. It would probably have been to his own advantage, and certainly to the advantage of the world, if he had never been tempted to wander from the paths of literature into the beaten tracks of parliamentary and official life.

The India Bill of 1833, which Macaulay had largely contributed to frame and to pass, contained a provision that one of the members of the Supreme Council at Calcutta should be appointed by the Crown from among persons not being servants of the Company. This office was called the legislative membership of Council, and it was to be filled by a lawyer, chiefly with a view to improving and drafting the Acts of the Government of India. The salary was ten thousand a year, and to Macaulay himself, then in the thirty-fourth year of his life, this splendid post was offered. In an interesting letter to his sisters, which is too long to quote, he weighs the favourable and the adverse reasons. Money and office had in themselves no attraction for him; the most brilliant employment abroad was to him an almost intolerable exile. But he felt that the political prospects of his party were gloomy; he knew that the state of his father's affairs was disastrous; and he desired

above all things to lay by a modest competency before he again embarked in public life. On these grounds he resolved to leave England, and he persuaded his sister Hannah to accompany him to Calcutta. Macaulay, to say the truth, knew but little of law and less of India—he had been a few times on the Northern Circuit, and he had sat for a few months at the Board of Control. This appointment gave a new direction to his powers, and studies, before repulsive, acquired a new interest. It is probable that we owe to Macaulay's Indian experience two of the most brilliant essays in the English language, which have brought the marvellous fabric of the British Empire in the East visibly before millions of minds that had never thought of it before. But to Macaulay's dramatic genius the career of Clive and Warren Hastings—the triumph and the toil of the great Englishmen in India—was infinitely more captivating and attractive than the prodigious spectacle of India itself, with its laws, its religions, its castes, its customs, its languages, dating from times when the British Isles were a swamp and a forest, inhabited by a barbarous race. It is extremely characteristic, that the chosen companions of his voyage to India were Richardson, Voltaire, Gibbon, Sismondi, Hallam, Don Quixote, Homer, and Horace, with a few books on jurisprudence and a couple of Persian and Hindostanee grammars. On the voyage he says, 'I devoured Greek, Latin, 'Spanish, Italian, French, and English, folios, quartos, octavos, 'and duodecimos.' We have no doubt of it; but we question whether Colebrooke's Institutes or the land-tenures of India had a very large share of his attention. Indeed, what must strike every reader with astonishment, is the vast amount of classical reading and research, to which, judging from these letters, Macaulay's time was habitually devoted at Calcutta.

'"During the last thirteen months I have read Æschylus twice; Sophocles twice; Euripides once; Pindar twice; Callimachus; Apollonius Rhodius; Quintus Calaber; Theocritus twice; Herodotus; Thucydides; almost all Xenophon's works; almost all Plato; Aristotle's Politics, and a good deal of his Organon, besides dipping elsewhere in him; the whole of Plutarch's Lives; about half of Lucian; two or three books of Athenæus; Plautus twice; Terence twice; Lucretius twice; Catullus; Tibullus; Propertius; Lucan; Statius; Silius Italicus; Livy; Velleius Paterculus; Sallust; Cæsar; and, lastly, Cicero. I have, indeed, still a little of Cicero left; but I shall finish him in a few days. I am now deep in Aristophanes and Lucian."

'That the enormous list of classical works recorded in the foregoing letter was not only read through, but read with care, is proved by the pencil marks, single, double, and treble, which meander down the margin of such passages as excited the admiration of the student; and

by the remarks, literary, historical, and grammatical, with which the critic has interspersed every volume, and sometimes every page. In the case of a favourite writer, Macaulay frequently corrects the errors of the press, and even the punctuation, as minutely as if he were preparing the book for another edition. He read Plautus, Terence, and Aristophanes four times through at Calcutta; and Euripides thrice. In his copy of Quintus Calaber, (a versifier who is less unknown by the title of Quintus Smyrnæus,) appear the entries

"September 22, 1835.
Turned over, July 13, 1837."

It may be doubted whether the Pandects would have attained the celebrity which they enjoy, if, in the course of the three years during which Justinian's Law Commission was at work, the president Tribonian had read Quintus Smyrnæus twice.'

The Indian Empire is a subject so vast and so profound, even to those whose lives have been spent in its service, that it is not too much to ask of the most gifted members of the Indian Government that they should give it all their attention. But though Macaulay's knowledge of India was superficial, it would be unjust to suppose that his presence in the Council was not of great value. He brought to Indian Administration an intelligence, admirably stored by study and experience, with the most enlightened views of government; and his minutes are models of good judgment and practical sagacity. The part he took in India was essentially the application of sound liberal principles to a government which had till then been singularly jealous, close, and repressive. Thus he vindicated with the greatest energy the liberty of the Indian Press, he maintained the equality of Europeans and natives before the law, and he gave an impulse to the work of education, to which the prodigious progress of the native races in the last thirty years, through the study of the English language, is mainly attributable. His greatest legislative work, in his own judgment, was the Draft of a Penal Code—a subject which required less special technical knowledge of India than many others—for the rules of evidence and the definitions of offences might be common to all mankind. But twenty-two years elapsed before this code was promulgated. It was revised with great care and labour by experienced lawyers, and it owes a good deal to other hands, more especially to Sir Barnes Peacock, by whom it was at last brought into operation. Mr. Trevelyan quotes the high authority of Mr. Fitzjames Stephen in support of the fact that Macaulay had, somehow or other, acquired a very considerable knowledge of English criminal law, however little he had practised it. All these enlightened measures and

reforms drew down on him a torrent of abuse, especially from the English society in Calcutta and the Mofussil, to which he seems to have been entirely indifferent. And as he strolled up and down his garden at early dawn or in the full splendour of Indian moonlight, his mind became gradually more and more indifferent to politics. What, he said, is the fame of Townshend to that of Hume, of Lord North to that of Gibbon, of Lord Chatham to that of Johnson?

'I am more than half determined to abandon politics, and to give myself wholly to letters; to undertake some great historical work which may be at once the business and the amusement of my life; and to leave the pleasures of pestiferous rooms, sleepless nights, aching heads, and diseased stomachs to Roebuck and to Praed.'

At the close of 1837 Macaulay embarked with his sister and her husband in the 'Lord Hungerford' East Indiaman to return to England. The voyage was long and stormy. Zachary Macaulay died in May 1838, before his children reached their native shore. The first business which awaited the returning legislator was a literary quarrel, that threatened to end in a duel. Lord Brougham had assumed towards Macaulay an attitude which boded no good. And, above all, the prospects of the political party with which Macaulay was so closely connected by principle and by regard were extremely depressing. We have read with curiosity and interest the remarks of Mr. Trevelyan on the causes which led to the fall of Lord Melbourne's government, differing as they do very widely from the impressions we ourselves retain of that event. But whatever those causes were, the fact is certain that a reaction had quickly succeeded to the violent emotions of the Reform agitation; that the party and the Parliament which had carried so many great measures, was soon broken up, partly by the secession of its more conservative members, but much more by the imprudent pressure of its radical adherents. At the moment of King William's death the Cabinet was on the verge of defeat. It was rescued for a time by the popularity and Whig proclivities of the young Queen. But we regard it as a misfortune to the Whig party that the existence of the Ministry was prolonged after it had lost its power; and certainly there never was a moment less calculated to encourage a Whig statesman to resume his connexion with public affairs.

Macaulay proceeded to make a tour in Italy in the autumn following his return. He visited that country, as his nephew justly remarks, with the eyes of an historian, but he had a faint appreciation of the beauties of natural scenery and still less of the great works of mediæval art. The charm of those

portions of his Italian journals which are given to the reader consists in the vast array of historical associations which those spots, consecrated by the heroism of ages, awakened in his memory. And it is probable that he here first conceived the idea of those Roman ballads which he afterwards executed with such singular felicity.* A proposal from Lord Melbourne to take the office of Judge Advocate followed him to Florence in November 1838, but the offer 'did not strike him as even 'tempting,' and was declined.

In Rome Macaulay had met Mr. Gladstone, then the rising hope of the Tory party. Oddly enough his first task on returning to London was to read and review Mr. Gladstone's Essay on Church and State, which he did with the exclamation, 'The 'Lord hath delivered him into our hand;' and certainly never was a crude theory more mercilessly demolished. Mr. Gladstone acted on the principle that a soft answer turneth away wrath, for he addressed his critic in the following terms:—

'"I have been favoured with a copy of the forthcoming number of the 'Edinburgh Review'; and I perhaps too much presume upon the bare acquaintance with you, of which alone I can boast, in thus unceremoniously assuming you to be the author of the article entitled 'Church and State,' and in offering you my very warm and cordial thanks for the manner in which you have treated both the work, and the author on whom you deigned to bestow your attention. In whatever you write, you can hardly hope for the privilege of most anonymous productions, a real concealment; but, if it had been possible not to recognise you, I should have questioned your authorship in this particular case, because the candour and singlemindedness which it exhibits are, in one who has long been connected in the most distinguished manner with political party, so rare as to be almost incredible. . . . In these lacerating times one clings to everything of personal kindness in the past, to husband it for the future; and, if you will allow me, I shall earnestly desire to carry with me such a recollection of your mode of dealing with a subject upon which the attainment of truth, we shall agree, so

* Some of these Lays must already have been composed in his mind, for he says: 'I then went towards the river, to the spot where the old 'Pons Sublicius stood and looked about to see *how my Horatius* agreed 'with the topography. Pretty well; but his house must be on Mount 'Palatinus, for he never could see Mount Cælius from the spot where 'he fought.' This evidently refers to the passage:

'But he saw on Palatinus
The white porch of his home,
And he spake to the noble river
That rolls by the walls of Rome.'

Yet his brother Charles seems to have supposed that the 'Lays' were composed after his return to England.

materially depends upon the temper in which the search for it is instituted and conducted."

'How much this letter pleased Macaulay is indicated by the fact of his having kept it unburned; a compliment which, except in this single instance, he never paid to any of his correspondents.'

The elevation of Mr. Abercromby, the Speaker, to the Peerage, in May 1838, left a seat for Edinburgh vacant, and the Liberal constituency of our ancient city willingly accepted Macaulay as their candidate. He conciliated the Radicals by adopting the Ballot, but in all other respects his political creed consisted in an emphatic renewal of his devoted attachment to Whig principles. The passage, in these days, it may be well to quote.

'"I look with pride," said Macaulay, "on all that the Whigs have done for the cause of human freedom and of human happiness. I see them now hard pressed, struggling with difficulties, but still fighting the good fight. At their head I see men who have inherited the spirit and the virtues, as well as the blood, of old champions and martyrs of freedom. To those men I propose to attach myself. While one shred of the old banner is flying, by that banner will I, at least, be found. Whether in or out of Parliament—whether speaking with that authority which must always belong to the representative of this great and enlightened community, or expressing the humble sentiments of a private citizen—I will to the last maintain inviolate my fidelity to principles which, though they may be borne down for a time by senseless clamour, are yet strong with the strength, and immortal with the immortality, of truth; and which, however they may be misunderstood or misrepresented by contemporaries, will assuredly find justice from a better age."'

The day came, even in Edinburgh, when the enthusiasm excited by this patriotic language was forgotten; but the day never came when Macaulay flinched from those principles; and the day will never come when those who follow, at however great a distance, in his footsteps, will forsake them.

It was not long before Macaulay was called upon to make a considerable sacrifice to his sense of public duty. The most cherished desire of his heart had been to devote himself, on his return to England, to some great literary work, for in his eyes all that he had hitherto achieved was desultory and ephemeral. He applied himself, indeed, with fresh energy to the Review, and it was at this time that the splendid articles on Clive and Warren Hastings were written, to be followed by many others. But the *magnum opus* he had in view—the work which was to hand down his name to posterity, and perhaps be read and admired at the distance of a thousand years, was his English History. The plan was already framed in his mind, though

in proportions very different from those which it afterwards assumed; and on March 9, 1839, it appears from his journal that he wrote a portion of the introduction. 'Pretty well,' was his own note upon it, 'but a little too stately and 'rhetorical.' But before the close of September he received a letter from Lord Melbourne, with an offer of the Secretaryship at War and a seat in the Cabinet. No doubt to attain to a place in the executive Government of England before a man is forty, by sheer force of intellect, is a triumph and a temptation which few men of strong political feelings and ambition could resist. But in accepting office Macaulay added nothing to his own fame. He had no inducement to accept it but the consciousness that it was his duty to support what he knew to be a falling government. His powers of debate were wasted in violent and fruitless altercations, and his duties as Secretary at War might have been as well performed by a chief clerk of the department. In one respect his short ministerial career was remarkable. He gave a strenuous support to Lord Palmerston in the transactions of 1840 which nearly led to war with France; and he did not side with the dissentient voices in the Cabinet, though amongst them were several names dearest to the Whig party and to himself. The struggle of the Cabinet was not of long duration. In less than two years the Melbourne Ministry fell, and Macaulay was liberated from office.

He wrote at this time to Macvey Napier:—

'I am not at all disappointed by the elections. They have, indeed, gone very nearly as I expected. Perhaps I counted on seven or eight votes more; and even these we may get on petition. I can truly say that I have not, for many years, been so happy as I am at present. Before I went to India, I had no prospect in the event of a change of Government, except that of living by my pen, and seeing my sisters governesses. In India I was an exile. When I came back, I was for a time at liberty; but I had before me the prospect of parting in a few months, probably for ever, with my dearest sister and her children. That misery was removed; but I found myself in office, a member of a Government wretchedly weak, and struggling for existence. Now I am free. I am independent. I am in Parliament, as honourably seated as man can be. My family is comfortably off. I have leisure for literature; yet I am not reduced to the necessity of writing for money. If I had to choose a lot from all that there are in human life, I am not sure that I should prefer any to that which has fallen to me. I am sincerely and thoroughly contented.'

These agreeable prognostications were to a great extent realised. Eighteen years of life still remained to him, and he spent them in full and unbroken enjoyment. His influence

in Parliament was considerable, and on more than one occasion he turned the opinion of the House, by the incomparable ingenuity of his arguments. He lost his seat for Edinburgh indeed, but that was the result of a proud and manly adherence to principle and to his determination never to degrade the character of a representative. Although he gradually withdrew from general society, and was bored by the vacuity of country houses and big dinners, he clung more closely to the intercourse of his relations and intimate friends; and meanwhile the History steadily, though slowly, advanced.

It is this period of Macaulay's life which offers the greatest interest to those of the present generation who enjoyed his society, and Mr. Trevelyan has fortunately preserved to us considerable portions of his daily journal at this time. The events recorded are indeed slight and few, but the picture of that animated and accomplished company of kindred minds is full of brilliancy and truth. It was an age of social breakfasts. Macaulay himself preferred a party of friends, assembled at a breakfast table to eat muffins and broiled salmon, to any other mode of entertainment; and if he did not set the fashion, he certainly adopted it with great cordiality and gave it an unusual charm. Hallam, Sydney Smith, Lord Carlisle, Lord Stanhope, M. Van de Weyer, Senior, and Bishop Wilberforce shared this taste, and the breakfasts were incessant at their respective houses. Bright as those mornings always were, the brightest were the days on which Macaulay appeared, or on which he assembled the same party at the Albany or on Campden Hill. Rogers' breakfasts were a thing apart, for at them the chief object of the host seemed to be to exhibit himself and tell his own stories over again, with the well-known fall of the lip or the anticipated tear. But Macaulay's parties were perfectly natural and unaffected, the conversation was spontaneous and unprepared; yet involuntarily the circle found itself drawing closer round the magician's chair:

> 'So charming left his voice that they awhile
> Thought him still speaking, still stood fixed to hear.'

Not less congenial to Macaulay were the dinners of 'The Club'—that remarkable society founded in 1764 by Sir Joshua Reynolds and Dr. Johnson, which has numbered amongst its members the best talkers of a century, but certainly none more brilliant than him who was elected on March 19, 1839. For twenty years Macaulay constantly attended these dinners, which are held on alternate Tuesdays during the Session. He was there completely in his element. Each of the guests was

ear and voice to the others. Lord Carlisle's Journal has preserved a few shadowy records of these delightful meetings, but, whatever else the Club may have retained, the spirit of Boswell has ceased to haunt it. Mr. Trevelyan speaks of 'The Club' in the past tense, as if he supposed that after the dissolution of so brilliant a company, nothing survived. We beg to assure him that he is mistaken. 'Esto perpetua' is the motto of the Club, and we hope that the time will never arrive when English gentlemen are wanting to support its literary and social traditions.

'Whatever fault might be found with Macaulay's gestures as an orator, his appearance and bearing in conversation were singularly effective. Sitting bolt upright, his hands resting on the arms of his chair or folded over the handle of his walking-stick;—knitting his great eyebrows if the subject was one which had to be thought out as he went along, or brightening from the forehead downwards when a burst of humour was coming;—his massive features and honest glance suited well with the manly sagacious sentiments which he set forth in his pleasant sonorous voice, and in his racy and admirably intelligible language. To get at his meaning people had never the need to think twice, and they certainly had seldom the time. And with all his ardour, and with all his strength and energy of conviction, he was so truly considerate towards others, so delicately courteous with the courtesy which is of the essence and not only in the manner! However eager had been the debate, and however prolonged the sitting, no one in the company ever had personal reasons for wishing a word of his unsaid, or a look or a tone recalled. His good things were never long in the making. During the Caffre war, at a time when we were getting rather the worst of it, he opened the street door for a walk down Westbourne Terrace. "The blacks are flying," said his companion. "I wish they were in South Africa," was the instant reply. His quotations were always ready, and never off the mark. He was always willing to accept a friendly challenge to a feat of memory. One day, in the Board-room of the British Museum, Sir David Dundas saw him hand to Lord Aberdeen a sheet of foolscap covered with writing arranged in three parallel columns down each of the four pages. This document, of which the ink was still wet, proved to be a full list of the Senior Wranglers at Cambridge with their dates and colleges, for the hundred years during which the names of Senior Wranglers had been recorded in the University Calendar. On another occasion Sir David asked: "Macaulay, do you know your Popes?" "No," was the answer; "I always get wrong among the Innocents." "But can you say your Archbishops of Canterbury?" "Any fool," said Macaulay, "could say his Archbishops of Canterbury backwards:" and he went off at score, drawing breath only once in order to remark on the oddity of there having been an Archbishop Sancroft and an Archbishop Bancroft, until Sir David stopped him at Cranmer.

'Macaulay was proud of his good memory, and had little sympathy

with people who affected to have a bad one. In a note on the margin of one of his books he reflects upon this not uncommon form of self-depreciation: "They appear to reason thus: The more memory, the less invention." '

Yet he had himself remarked on another occasion that it was dangerous for a man of strong memory to read too much, because in acquiring an amazing command over the thoughts of others, he might dilute the power of original thought in himself. That was undoubtedly to some extent the case with Macaulay. Every incident he heard of, every page he read, assumed in his mind a concrete, objective, spectral form. He *saw* them before him: but his genius was less conversant with abstract truths or their relations. These qualities made his writings and conversation eminently graphic, clear, and attractive, rather than profound studies of human nature or of the causes of events. To this distinction between the most brilliant modern writer of history and the great models of antiquity, especially Thucydides and Tacitus, Macaulay was by no means insensible: it originates in a different order of mind and in far other powers of original thought. The historian of antiquity to whom his writings bear the nearest resemblance is Livy.

Macaulay never worked at anything so hard as he laboured at his History. His method of composition was slow and toilsome; his care and corrections, both as to matter and style, endless. His researches to ascertain facts, even of trifling importance, were extraordinary. Yet the bulk of the materials he used were derived from printed sources—memoirs, pamphlets, sermons, ballads, broadsheets, parliamentary journals, and the statute book. He seldom attempted to dive into that ocean of manuscript records, which threatens to bury the sources of history under strata of rubbish; but he made considerable use of the Dutch and Spanish despatches, and of Narcissus Luttrell's Diary, then unpublished. He was also aided by the previous researches of Mackintosh. The work of preparing the materials of history, and that of writing actual history, must be performed by two distinct classes of men. All experience shows how impossible it is to attain to complete and indisputable accuracy even in the narrative of an ordinary contemporary event. With every fresh witness, with every fresh piece of evidence, the difficulty increases. We speak with confidence of the history of the ancients, because the witnesses are few in number: but the more we know, the more we doubt. Macaulay laboured with an honest and intense desire to be truthful and just, though he wrote under the influence of strong predilections; and his slips of memory are exceedingly

rare. One of these is curious. We had occasion in reviewing the first volumes of his History to point out that he was mistaken in conferring on Schomberg, who was killed at the battle of the Boyne, a grave in Westminster Abbey. It now turns out from a journal of a tour in Ireland, made for the express purpose of visiting the scenes memorable in the history of those times, that Macaulay actually saw the tomb of Schomberg in St. Patrick's, Dublin, and noted Swift's savage inscription on it. This must have escaped his recollection.

Early in 1849, in the midst of events which convulsed Europe with new revolutions, this great history of an old and triumphant revolution was given to the world. It is needless to say how it was received—the sale of edition after edition was rapid and enormous. It was read with enthusiasm by all classes; for if it contained some of the noblest passages of historical composition to instruct the statesman and delight the scholar, it was amusing enough to divert the frivolous, and clear enough to give pleasure and knowledge to the uneducated. Whatever Macaulay's hopes of success or consciousness of desert may have been, the results exceeded all expectation. In one instance alone was a serious attempt made to depreciate the merit and detract from the influence of the greatest historical work of our time. A contemporary reviewer, writing with the deliberation and judgment required on such an occasion, declared that

'Mr. Macaulay was a grand proficient in the picturesque, but a very poor professor of the historic. These volumes have been, and the future volumes as they may appear will be, devoured with the same eagerness that "Oliver Twist," or "Vanity Fair" excite, with the same quality of zest, though perhaps with a higher degree of it: but his pages will *seldom*, we think, *receive a second perusal*; and the work, we apprehend, will *hardly find a permanent place* on the historical shelf, nor ever, assuredly, be quoted as authority on any question or point of the History of England.' *

Such criticism could do Macaulay no harm, and as was said at the time, the writer of the article in attempting murder had committed suicide. But in his private journal, the historian made the following remark.

'*April* 13.—To the British Museum. I looked over the Travels of the Duke of Tuscany, and found the passage the existence of which Croker denies. His blunders are really incredible. The article has been received with general contempt. Really Croker has done me a great service. I apprehended a strong reaction, the natural effect of such a success; and, if hatred had left him free to use his very slender

* Quarterly Review, March, 1849.

faculties to the best advantage, he might have injured me much. He should have been large in acknowledgment; should have taken a mild and expostulatory tone; and should have looked out for real blemishes, which, as I too well know, he might easily have found. Instead of that, he has written with such rancour as to make everybody sick. I could almost pity him. But he is a bad, a very bad, man: a scandal to politics and to letters.'

From that day to this, the same Journal has never lost an opportunity of launching shafts against the literary reputation of Lord Macaulay. Mr. Croker is dead, but the race of Crokers is not extinct, nor is it likely to expire as long as the principal organ of the Tory party sedulously keeps it alive.

It is certainly not a matter of regret that Macaulay was relieved for some years from the fatigue of Parliament. In 1852, when the Whigs returned to office, he refused a seat in the Cabinet; but when it was proposed in June of the same year to put him in nomination for Edinburgh, the compliment of a voluntary *amende* paid by so great a constituency was not unwelcome to him. His own bearing was high and rigid. He had made no advance and no concession. But Edinburgh, to her honour, was glad to take him back on his own terms. Unhappily the time was already past for Macaulay to render to his constituents or his country any important political services. Within two days of the election and before he could go down to Scotland, on July 15, 1852, he felt suddenly oppressed with an exceeding weakness and languor. Dr. Bright was called in and pronounced that he was suffering from seriously deranged action of the heart. From that moment the exertions of public life became extremely painful and onerous to him, and at times he was scarcely able to write—as he himself expressed it, he had aged twenty years in a single week. The case was a singular one: a man of fifty-two, scarcely past the prime of life, of temperate habits, given to daily exercise and regular hours, who had never been ill, suddenly found his powers of life impaired, and felt that, although he might linger for some years, the 'strict arrest of the fell 'serjeant, death' was on him.

'"*December* 31, 1853.—Another day of work and solitude. I enjoy this invalid life extremely. In spite of my gradually sinking health, this has been a happy year. My strength is failing. My life will not, I think, be long. But I have clear faculties, warm affections, abundant sources of pleasure."

'At very distant intervals, he gives expression, in two or three pathetic sentences, to the dejection which is the inevitable attendant upon the most depressing of all ailments. "I am not what I was, and every month my heart tells it me more and more clearly. I am a little

low; not from apprehension; for I look forward to the inevitable close with perfect serenity: but from regret for what I love. I sometimes hardly command my tears when I think how soon I must leave them. I feel that the fund of life is nearly spent."'

His temper was unruffled by the thought that the great work he had commenced, and which he once hoped to bring down 'to a period of living memory,' must remain incomplete. Nothing but expressions of gratitude ever passed his lips, for the happiness of the life he had enjoyed. Enough for him to work on whilst it was yet day; and to persevere with unbroken industry, good humour, and benevolence to the end. Once he spoke in Parliament in favour of retaining the Master of the Rolls in the House of Commons, and again in defence of the competitive system of appointments to India; but he felt all the time that it was grievous waste of strength, with the reign of Anne still unwritten, for him to consume his scanty stock of vigour in the tedious and exhausting effort of political debate.

The desire of literary fame was certainly one of Macaulay's strongest passions. To be ranked with those great writers who had shed a glory and a joy over his own existence—to be read by future ages and distant countries—to be incorporated

'With that dear language which I spake like thee,'—

were results intensely gratifying to his imagination. He lived to enjoy these as fully as a man can enjoy, or taste, the pleasures of posthumous fame, by anticipated distinction. Yet he was not prone to exaggerate his own importance, and he looked at it, willingly enough, from the comical side. Thus he writes in March 1850:—

'At last I have attained true glory. As I walked through Fleet Street the day before yesterday, I saw a copy of Hume at a bookseller's window with the following label: "Only 2*l.* 2*s.* Hume's History of "England in eight volumes, highly valuable as an introduction to "Macaulay." I laughed so convulsively that the other people who were staring at the books took me for a poor demented gentleman. Alas for poor David! As for me, only one height of renown yet remains to be attained. I am not yet in Madame Tussaud's waxwork.'

. . . . . .

'I have seen the hippopotamus, both asleep and awake; and I can assure you that, awake or asleep, he is the ugliest of the works of God. But you must hear of my triumphs. Thackeray swears that he was eye-witness and ear-witness of the proudest event of my life. Two damsels were just about to pass that doorway which we, on Monday, in vain attempted to enter, when I was pointed out to them. "Mr. Macaulay!" cried the lovely pair. "Is that Mr. Macaulay? Never

mind the hippopotamus." And, having paid a shilling to see Behemoth, they left him in the very moment at which he was about to display himself to them, in order to see—but spare my modesty. I can wish for nothing more on earth, now that Madame Tussaud, in whose Pantheon I once hoped for a place, is dead.'

Or, to quote another form of honour paid to his memory—that perhaps which he would himself most highly have appreciated—amongst the national relics in the British Museum a few lines traced by his hand have been deemed worthy to find a place, as one of the choicest of our treasures.

'A manuscript page of his History, thickly scored with dashes and erasures,—it is the passage in the twenty-fifth chapter where Sir Hans Sloane is mentioned as "the founder of the magnificent museum which "is one of the glories of our country,"—is preserved at that museum in a cabinet, which may truly be called the place of honour; within whose narrow limits are gathered together a rare collection of objects such as Englishmen of all classes and parties regard with a common reverence and pride. There may be seen Nelson's hasty sketch of the line of battle at the Nile; and the sheet of paper on which Wellington computed the strength of the cavalry regiments that were to fight at Waterloo; and the note-book of Locke; and the autographs of Samuel Johnson's Irene, and Ben Jonson's Masque of Queens; and the rough copy of the translation of the Iliad, written, as Pope loved to write, on the margin of frayed letters and the backs of tattered envelopes. It is pleasant to think what Macaulay's feelings would have been, if, when he was rhyming and castle-building among the summer-houses at Barley Wood, or the laurel-walks at Aspenden, or under the limes and horse-chestnuts in the Cambridge Gardens, he could have been assured that the day would come when he should be invited to take his place in such a noble company.'

But indeed no form of human honour and reward was wanting to his success. The Institute of France conferred on him the rank of an Associate. Oxford made him a Doctor of Laws. The Town Council of Cambridge elected him in 1857 to the High Stewardship of the Borough—an honorary office which had been held by the Protector Somerset, by Bacon, by Oliver Cromwell, and by Clarendon. The members of the Prussian Order of Merit elected him a Knight. And soon after his health compelled him to retire from the representation of Edinburgh, the Queen raised him to the rank of a Peer of England—the first example of a peerage bestowed on literary genius, for at the time it was granted Macaulay had ceased to be a politician. It was, however, not unwelcome to him that this mark of the Queen's favour was conferred by the hand of Lord Palmerston. Though Lord Palmerston was certainly not a representative of Whig opinions, but rather of the liberal

side of Toryism, his high-spirit, his pluck, and vigour in action had always exercised a powerful attraction over the mind of Macaulay. In 1852, when he was dismissed from the Foreign Office, Macaulay wrote in his Journal:—

'*December* 24.—Palmerston is out. It was high time; but I cannot help being sorry. A daring, indefatigable, high-spirited man; but too fond of conflict, and too ready to sacrifice everything to victory when once he was in the ring.'

In fact Macaulay liked Lord Palmerston, not only in spite of his defects, but in some degree *for* his defects, which warmed his imagination. It was therefore with peculiar pleasure that he received his peerage from so friendly a hand. He took his seat with modest pride beside the representatives of the historic families of England, whose forefathers were to him better known than his own contemporaries. But his elevation to the peerage produced no other results. He never spoke in the House of Lords, for though he had once prepared an answer to Lord Ellenborough on some Indian question, the opportunity passed and the speech was not delivered.

Scarcely any portion of these volumes will be read with greater interest than the record of the years (chiefly under Macaulay's own hand), which were spent in the steady prosecution of his historical labours. Yet there are no events to record—nothing but the play of his own mind and fancy, the pursuit of a noble object, and numberless touches of humour, tenderness, and generosity, which endear him more and more to us. These we must rapidly pass by: but the success of the second instalment of his great work must be commemorated, for it was the most extraordinary occurrence of the kind not only in his own life, but in all literary history.

'On the 21st of November 1855, he writes: "I looked over and "sent off the last twenty pages. My work is done, thank God; and now "for the result. On the whole, I think that it cannot be very unfavour-"able. At dinner I finished Melpomene." The first effect upon Macaulay of having completed an instalment of his own History was now, as in 1848, to set him reading Herodotus.

'*November* 23.—Longman came. All the twenty-five thousand copies are ordered. Monday, the 27th of December, is to be the day; but on the evening of the preceding Saturday those booksellers who take more than a thousand are to have their books. The stock lying at the bookbinders' is insured for ten thousand pounds. The whole weight is fifty-six tons. It seems that no such edition was ever published of any work of the same bulk. I earnestly hope that neither age nor riches will narrow my heart.'

'*November* 29.—I was again confined to my room all day, and again dawdled over my book. I wish that the next month were over. I am

more anxious than I was about the first part, for then I had no highly raised expectations to satisfy, and now people expect so much that the Seventh Book of Thucydides would hardly content them. On the other hand, the general sterility, the miserably enervated state of literature, is all in my favour. We shall see. It is odd that I should care so very little about the money, though it is full as much as I made by banishing myself for four and a half of the best years of my life to India.'

'On the last day of February 1856, Macaulay writes in his Journal: "Longman called. It is necessary to re-print. This is wonderful. "Twenty-six thousand five hundred copies sold in ten weeks! I "should not wonder if I made twenty thousand pounds clear this year "by literature. Pretty well, considering that, twenty years ago, I had "just nothing when my debts were paid; and all that I have, with the "exception of a small part left me by my uncle the General, has been "made by myself, and made easily and honestly, by pursuits which "were a pleasure to me, and without one insinuation from any slanderer "that I was not even liberal in all my pecuniary dealings."'

'"*March* 7.—Longman came, with a very pleasant announcement. He and his partners find that they are overflowing with money, and think that they cannot invest it better than by advancing to me, on the usual terms of course, part of what will be due to me in December. We agreed that they shall pay twenty thousand pounds into Williams's Bank next week. What a sum to be gained by one edition of a book! I may say, gained in one day. But that was harvest-day. The work had been near seven years in hand. I went to Westbourne Terrace by a Paddington omnibus, and passed an hour there, laughing and laughed at. They are all much pleased. They have, indeed, as much reason to be pleased as I, who am pleased on their account rather than on my own, though I am glad that my last years will be comfortable. Comfortable, however, I could have been on a sixth part of the income which I shall now have."

'The cheque is still preserved as a curiosity among the archives of Messrs. Longman's firm.'

To this statement Mr. Trevelyan adds the following details, which are an appropriate answer to the predictions of the 'Quarterly Review:'

'Messrs. Longman's books show that, in an ordinary year, when nothing is done to stimulate the public appetite by novelty of form or reduction of price, their stock of the History goes out of their hands at the rate of seventy complete copies a week. But a computation founded on this basis would give a very inadequate notion of the extent to which Macaulay's most important work is bought and read; for no account would have been taken of the years in which large masses of new and cheap editions were sold off in the course of a few months. 12,024 copies of a single volume of the History were put into circulation in 1858, and 22,925 copies of a single volume in 1864. During the nine years ending with the 25th of June 1857, Messrs. Longman disposed of 30,478 copies of the first volume of the History; 50,783 copies during

the nine years ending with June 1866; and 52,892 copies during the nine years ending with June 1875. Within a generation of its first appearance, upwards of a hundred and forty thousand copies of the History will have been printed and sold in the United Kingdom alone.'

Caring little for money, except in so far as he was able to make a liberal and generous use of it, Macaulay enjoyed the power his new opulence had conferred on him. Until he was fifty-two years of age, he had never had a carriage of his own, except when in office; indeed he had never even had a house. He now removed from the Albany to an agreeable villa on Campden Hill, with a gallery to the south and a garden—an abode perfectly suited to him: and he continued, with increasing liberality, to assist those who had any claims on him, and a great many of those who had not. The appeals to him from distressed literary men were numberless, but he never turned a deaf ear to them. One morning a gentleman calls on him and relates his embarrassments; he was a Cambridge man and his name was known in philology; Macaulay is moved, and without even ascertaining his identity, gives him a cheque for a hundred pounds. His generosity, when his heart was touched, and his heart was easily touched, was really unbounded.

Macaulay lived exactly four years after the publication of the second portion of his History, and had his health and energy not been greatly impaired, that time would have sufficed to carry him to the close of the reign of Anne. But the truth is that although he had only then completed his fifty-fifth year he was prematurely old—as old, physically, as most men are at seventy. In intellectual power and in the gift of memory he suffered no decline. It is a subject of eternal regret that he should not so far have husbanded or applied his time and strength as to include the reign of Anne in his History—that reign which has been so often attempted, and as yet so inadequately described.

'Gradually and unwillingly Macaulay acquiesced in the conviction that he must submit to leave untold that very portion of English history which he was competent to treat as no man again will treat it. Others may study the reign of Anne with a more minute and exclusive diligence,—the discovery of materials hitherto concealed cannot fail from time to time to throw fresh light upon transactions so extensive and complicated as those which took place between the rupture of the Peace of Ryswick and the accession of the House of Brunswick; but it may safely be affirmed that few or none of Macaulay's successors will be imbued like him with the enthusiasm of the period. There are phases of literary taste which pass away, never to recur; and the early associations of future men of letters will seldom be connected

with the Rape of the Lock, and the Essay on Criticism,—with the Spectator, the Guardian, the Freeholder, the Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus, and the History of John Bull. But Macaulay's youth was nourished upon Pope, and Bolingbroke, and Atterbury, and Defoe. Everything which has been written by them, or about them, was as familiar to him as the Lady of the Lake, and the Bride of Abydos, were to the generation which was growing up when Lockhart's Life of Scott and Moore's Life of Byron were making their first appearance in the circulating libraries. He had Prior's burlesque verses, and Arbuthnot's pasquinades, as completely at his fingers'-ends as a clever public-school boy of fifty years ago had the Rejected Addresses, or the poetry of the Anti-Jacobin. He knew every pamphlet which had been put forth by Swift, or Steele, or Addison as well as Tories of 1790 knew their Burke, or Radicals of 1820 knew their Cobbett. There were times when he amused himself with the hope that he might even yet be permitted to utilise these vast stores of information, on each separate fragment of which he could so easily lay his hand. His diary shows him to have spent more than one summer afternoon "walking in the portico, and reading pamphlets of Queen "Anne's time." But he had no real expectation that the knowledge which he thus acquired would ever be turned to account.'

In truth he was conscious that, with no acute disease, and with little actual suffering, the sand of life was well nigh spent in the hour-glass. He turned with deeper affection to those he loved. His tears flowed more readily at any passage of his favourite authors that touched his sensibility, or at any kind and generous action which kindled his admiration. To use Mr. Trevelyan's touching language:—

'Of the feelings which he entertained towards the great minds of bygone ages it is not for anyone except himself to speak. He has told us how his debt to them was incalculable; how they guided him to truth; how they filled his mind with noble and graceful images; how they stood by him in all vicissitudes,—comforters in sorrow, nurses in sickness, companions in solitude, "the old friends who are "never seen with new faces; who are the same in wealth and in "poverty, in glory and in obscurity." Great as were the honours and possessions which Macaulay acquired by his pen, all who knew him were well aware that the titles and rewards, which he gained by his own works, were as nothing in the balance as compared with the pleasure which he derived from the works of others. That knowledge has largely contributed to the tenderness with which he has been treated by writers whose views on books, and events, and politics past and present differ widely from his own. It has been well said that even the most hostile of his critics cannot help being "awed and touched by his wonder-"ful devotion to literature." And, while his ardent and sincere passion for letters has thus served as a protection to his memory, it was likewise the source of much which calls for admiration in his character and conduct. The confidence with which he could rely upon intellectual

pursuits for occupation and amusement assisted him not a little to preserve that dignified composure, with which he met all the changes and chances of his public career; and that spirit of cheerful and patient endurance, which sustained him through years of broken health and enforced seclusion.'

There are people who conceive themselves to be fond of reading and conversant with literature, because they devour the nerveless publications of the day, and exhaust the circulating libraries. They forget, or they do not know, that the broadest and richest fields of literature lie in more remote regions. Macaulay, with his boundless appetite for books, had but scant indulgence for the writers of his own time. Measured by his standard they appeared to him paradoxical, fantastical, and even contemptible. He rushed past these ephemeral productions, to dwell more constantly and more frequently with the imperishable remains of former ages. That which really charmed him in letters was not their novelty but their antiquity, their vitality, their duration. His biographer admits, apparently with regret, that writers of the stamp of Mr. Buckle, Mr. Carlyle, and Mr. Ruskin had not the power to command his attention. Perhaps if they could have come down to him with the authority of a thousand years, and a dead language, he would have appreciated them more highly.

The gloom of the winter of 1859 was heightened to him by the dread of an approaching separation from his beloved sister and one of his nieces, who were to join Sir Charles Trevelyan at Madras in February: but from the terrible pang of that departure he was mercifully spared. On Christmas-day his family once more gathered round his hearth—but he talked little and continually fell asleep. On the morning of December 28, he dictated a letter to a poor curate, enclosing a cheque for twenty-five pounds. That was the last time he signed his name. That same evening, sitting in his library, with a book before him, still open at the last-read page, he ceased to breathe. 'He died as he had always 'wished to die;—without pain; without any formal fare-'well; preceding to the grave all whom he loved; and 'leaving behind him a great and honourable name, and 'the memory of a life every action of which was as clear and 'transparent as one of his own sentences.' On January 9, 1860, they laid him in Westminster Abbey, at the foot of the statue of Addison, and he was joined to that illustrious company of scholars and statesmen whom it had been the study and the glory of his life to emulate.

What Lord Macaulay was his own writings and these volumes sufficiently attest. We shall not attempt to retrace the outlines of his genius and his character, for we have already recorded in these pages our own sense of his greatness.* His extraordinary powers of intellect and memory were already known to the world. But the world had yet to learn with how fine a poetic temperament and with what warmth of heart these gifts were combined.

In conclusion, it only remains to us to acknowledge the skill and candour with which Mr. Trevelyan has executed a very delicate and difficult task. So much of the life of his illustrious uncle was spent within the sanctuary of domestic life, that it was impossible to make it entirely known to posterity without lifting those veils of privacy which are commonly drawn closer by the ties of kindred and personal affection. But it was his good fortune to have nothing to conceal, and nothing to relate that was not amiable, honourable, and true. Details, sometimes trivial in themselves, add to the reality of the picture, and we do not doubt that these volumes will be read throughout the world with a curiosity and an interest, only to be surpassed by the success of Lord Macaulay's own writings.

* See 'Ed. Review,' vol. cxi. p. 273.

Nos. CCXCIII. and CCXCIV., containing the General Index from Vols. CXI. to CXL. inclusive, Jan. 1860 *to Oct.* 1874, *will be published on the* 27*th inst.*
No. CCXCV. will be published in July.

INDEX.

A

Albemarle, Lord, his 'Fifty Years of my Life,' review of, 455—its amusing and interesting contents, 455—the author's ancestors, 456—the Battle of Fontenoy, 457—Capture of Havannah, in 1762, by Lord Albemarle, 458—the present Lord Albemarle's reminiscences of Mr. Charles James Fox, 460—Lady De Clifford, 462—the Princess Charlotte, 462—her Letter to William Lord Albemarle, 464—the author's share in the Battle of Waterloo, 467—great loss of life from transports being unseaworthy, 469—the author's subsequent travels, 469—political dinner to celebrate the birthday of Mr. Fox, 470—violence of party feeling, 470—Mrs. Fitzherbert and King George IV., 472—account of a miniature of Mrs. Fitzherbert found on the King after his decease, 473.

Ampères, the Two, review of books treating of, 74—André-Marie Ampère, the father; his birth, education, and early manhood, 75—his marriage, 78—death of his wife, 80—visits Paris, 80—unfortunate in his second marriage, 81—Birth of his son, Jean-Jacques, 82—his school-days, 83—turns author, 85—is introduced to Madame Récamier, 86—her *salon*, 88—Châteaubriand and Ballanche, 92—visits Bonn, 94—his friendship for Alexis de Tocqueville, 94—M. Mohl, 96—failing health of the elder Ampère, 96—his death, 97—his character, 97—literary labours of his son, 98—visits Egypt, 98—touching friendship of Madame Récamier, Châteaubriand, Ballanche, and Jean-Jacques Ampère, 99—Madame Cheuvreux, 101.

Army Recruitment, review of works treating of, 36—many elements comprehended in the Army, 36—the officers habitually conservative, 38—Lord Elcho, 41—Mr. Hardy, 43—state of the army in the year 1835, 43—in 1847, 45—in 1852, 46—increase to the Army and Militia by the Volunteer Association, 47—War estimates for the years 1875–76, 48—three points essential to the safety and welfare of the country:—(1) the means of making ourselves respected on the Continent, 50—(2) the necessity of maintaining a system of reserves, 51—(3) the recruitment of the Army, 51—what has been done by the Legislature to ensure the realisation of these objects, 52—boy-recruits, 53—bad characters, 55—deserters, 57 *note*—expense of taking recruits too young, 59—discharges, 59—progress of the young recruit, 63—unsatisfactory results of the voluntary system, 63—the remedies available to the War Office, 64—distinctions between the Army proper and the Militia, 65—right principles of recruitment, 67—the soldier's emoluments, 71—the Reserves, 71.

B

Black, Mr. W., 349. See *Scotch Novels.*

Burton, Captain, 222. See *Iceland.*

C

Capponi, Gino, 474. See *Florence.*

Casaubon, Isaac, review of Mr. Mark Pattison's Life, of 189—the bio-

graphy more literary than personal, 189—interesting contents of Casaubon's Diary, 190—his birth, parentage, and early studies, 192—his marriage, 193—death of his father, 193—his second wife, 194—his library, 196—becomes security for Sir Henry Wotton, 197—removes to Montpellier, 199—his daily life there, 200—commences his Commentary on Athenæus, 201—is summoned to Paris by Henry IV., 203—takes part in the Conference of Fontainebleau, 204—is appointed under-librarian to the Royal Library at Paris, 208—friendship between him and Scaliger, 210—rumours of his 'wavering' in the matter of religion, 211—he is invited to England by Archbishop Bancroft, 212—his favourable opinion of James I., 213—undertakes the 'Exercitationes in Baronium,' 214—which he rapidly completes and presents to the King, 215—his failing health and death, 216—general character of his literary labours, 218—his mastery of the Greek language, 219—summary review of his dogmatic position, 220.

D

Dalrymples. See *Stair.*

F

Florence, the Republic of, review of the Marquis Gino Capponi's History of, 474—the author's popularity, 474—his family both ancient and noble, 475—origin of his History, 477—his account of Dante and Petrarch, 479—the government of Florence ultra-democratic, 480—the Florentine burgher, 481—the four stages of Florentine History:—(1) the heroic era, 484—(2) the levelling era, 490—(3) the reactionary or aristocratic era, 497—(4) the Medicean or servile era, 503—the title of 'Father of his Country' applied to Cosmo de' Medici, 504—Savonarola, 505—the Grand Council, 506—the siege of Florence, 507—Machiavelli, 508—conclusion, 509.

G

Gardiner, Mr. S. R., 101. See *James I.*

I

Iceland, and its explorers, review of works treating of, 222—Sir Henry Holland and Ebenezer Henderson, 222—Iceland interesting to the natural philosopher, the philologer, and the student of literature, 223—the vernacular literature of Iceland earlier, fresher, and more interesting than that of any Western race, 224—the Njala, the real epic of the Icelandic race, 224—large Scandinavian infusion in the English language, 224—the Vatna Jokull, 225—Captain Burton and his adventures:—his voyage, 226—coast scenery, 227—Reykjavik, 228—expenses of living reasonable, 229—increase of drunkenness, 230—bad sport compared with that found by visitors fifteen years before, 232—takes ship to Hamneſjorð, 233—the Great Geysir, 235—Krisuvik and its sulphur deposits, 236—ascent of Hekla, 236—the Thingvellir and the Thingvalla Lake, 237—unsuccessful attempt to ascend the Vatna Jokull, 238—Big Peter, 240—Mr. Lock, the concessionist of the Myvatn sulphur mines, 241—the Vatna Jokull vainly assailed again, 242—Captain Burton's second visit to Iceland, 246.

J

James I., Reign of, review of Mr. S. R. Gardiner's work on, 101—new light thrown upon various incidents during the reigns of James I. and his son Charles I., 102—the author's 'England under Charles I. and the Duke of Buckingham,' 102—his 'Prince Charles and the Spanish Marriage,' 102—his character of James I., 103—high opinion formed of him by a writer in the 'Quarterly Review,' 104—refuted by Mr. Gardiner's history, 105—his impartiality, 109—Selden, Coke, and Cotton, 110—Sandys, Pym, and Eliot, 111—the Divine Right of Bishops and the Divine Right of Kings, 113—Lord Bacon's views on the matter, 115—the Judges' firm resistance to the Court of High Commission, 116—Selden's 'History of Tithes,' 117—Montague's answer thereto, 119—Charles I's. arbitrary proceedings, 120—his Declaration of 1629, 121—the High Church Party and the Calvinists, 122—the religious question the chief cause of quarrel between Charles and the Commons, 125—the Petition of Right, in 1628, and the line of argument assumed thereon by the author, 126—meanings of the words Customs, Subsidies, Imposts, Tax, 126—arguments *pro* and *contra* on the right of the King to levy impositions, 130—true intent of the Petition of Right, 137.

L

Lindsay, Mr. W. S., review of his 'Merchant Shipping and Ancient Commerce' and other works, 420—qualifications of the author, 421—his researches, and strange neglect of good authorities, 421—the 'Black Book of the Admiralty,' 421—the navy of Pontifical Rome in the Middle Ages, 422—'The Laws of Oleron,' 423—the ancient and mediæval galley, 426—configurations of ships on ancient seals, 429—mode of ancient naval warfare, 431—Greek fire, 432—the battle off Dover in 1217, 434—the battle of Sluys in 1340, 434—meaning of the expression 'dominion of the sea,' 435—the Navigation Act of 1651, 436—rival claims of the Portuguese and Spaniards as to the right to the Moluccas or 'Islands of Spicery,' 437—difficulties of early navigation, 438—the invention of the compass, 440—the origin of technical naval expressions, 442—superiority of English sailors compared with French and Spanish, 444—Hawkins and Drake, 446—stringent edicts against wrecking, 450—the Hanseatic League, 452.

M

Macaulay, Lord, the Life and Letters of, reviewed, 544—parallel and contrast in the early lives of Lord Macaulay and Mr. John Stewart Mill, 544—parentage and early connexions of Lord Macaulay, 546—his strong attachment for Cambridge, 547—his friend and fellow-student, Charles Austin, 548—Macaulay's hatred of mathematics, 550—his low estimate of University honours, 551—his universal reading, 552—is elected Fellow of Trinity, and called to the Bar, 552—his contributions to 'Knight's Magazine,' 553—Lord Jeffrey's admiration of his literary style in his articles for this Journal, 553—his sisters and brothers, 555—complete and unbroken union between

him and his sister Hannah More (Lady Trevelyan, mother of his biographer), 555—he is noticed by the Marquis of Lansdowne, who offers him the borough of Calne, 557—excitement of the House at his speech on the Reform Bill on March 2nd, 1831, 558—his new social relations, especially with Holland House, where he meets Talleyrand, 559—his description of the host and hostess, 560—sits for Leeds, and is appointed to the Supreme Council at Calcutta as its legislative member, 562—his return to England, 565—makes a tour in Italy, 565—letter from Mr. Gladstone, 566—sits for Edinburgh, 567—begins his History of England, 568—supports Lord Palmerston, 568—participates in social breakfasts, and regularly attends the dinners at 'The Club,' 569—his strong memory, 570—unfriendly review of his History in the 'Quarterly Review,' 572—his sudden illness, 573—immense sale of his History, 577—his gradual decline and death, 580.

Mac Donald, Mr. G., 336. See *Scotch Novels.*

Mayo, Earl of, review of Mr. Hunter's Life of, 387—his character as an Indian administrator, 388 *et seqq.*—his experience in the Irish Secretariat, 388—previous Viceroys of India, 389—proper position and functions of an Indian Viceroy, 393—Lord Lawrence's view thereon, 395—his exertions to maintain due authority, 396—imposing appearance of Lord Mayo, 397—he adopts the policy and foreign administration of his predecessor, 399—his reply to the chiefs of Rajpootana, 403—the subject of Indian Finance, 404—the income-tax and the salt duties, 409—his reductions in the military expenditure, 410—his interest in agricultural improvements, 412—his plans for irrigation and railway extensions, 414—his method of finding ways and means to meet local requirements, 416.

O

Oliphant, Mrs., 323. See *Scotch Novels.*

R

Railways—their profits and losses, review of works treating of, 352—results of Watt's discovery of the mechanical uses and appliances of steam, 352—more especially as regards railways, 355—speedy travelling, 356—Captain Tyler's General Report, 358—passenger and merchandise traffic on our railways, 358—canal and coasting traffic, 361—carriage of minerals on railways, 361—total receipts from the working of railways of the United Kingdom, 362—statistical returns as to passenger traffic, 362—weights of carriages, 365—is the mineral traffic a loss or a gain? 367—relative cost of fast and slow traffic, 371—M. de Franqueville's report on the system of public works in England, 374—relative cost of locomotive and stationary power, 376—Stephenson and Brunel, 377—the rapid increase in weight and stoutness of engines, carriages, and rails, 378—considerations offered for promoting economy and ensuring increased profits, 380—the French railways, 383—conclusion, 384.

S

Scotch Novels, recent, review of, 317—the Scotch character, 317—the Waverley Novels, 320—Sir Walter Scott, 320—Lockhart, Wilson, and Galt, 321—Mrs. Oliphant and her novels, 323 *et seqq.*—her

'Mrs. Margaret Maitland,' 323—her 'Merkland,' and 'Harry Muir,' 327—her 'Katie Stewart,' 330—her 'Minister's Wife,' 331—her 'Valentine: and his Brother,' 334—Mr. George Mac Donald's works, 336 *et seqq.*—his 'David Elginbrod,' 336—his 'Alec Forbes of How-'glen,' 339—his 'Robert Falconer,' 344—his 'Malcolm,' 347—Mr. W. Black's novels, 349 *et seqq.*—his 'Princess of Thule,' 350—his 'Daughter of Heth,' 350.

Scotland, secondary education in, review of books treating of, 511—Reports of the Royal Commissioners, 512—'sang schools,' 514—burgh or grammar schools, 514—schools attached to monasteries, 515—educational condition of Scotland at the Reformation, 517—the Grammar School of Perth, 518—classics not sufficiently studied thereat, 521—the Ayr Academy, 523—the University of Glasgow, 525—the Aberdeen Grammar School, 526—the Dick Bequest, 528—poverty of the secondary schools, 532—mode of obtaining increased salaries for their masters, 535—'wasted endowments' might be so applied, 538—income of Heriot's Hospital, 539—Professor Sellar's Address, 541—suggestions by the Rev. John Stark, 542.

Stair, Earls of, review of Mr. Mackay's work on, and other works, 1—Mr. Graham's work, 3—Mr. Story's, 3—education and early career of the first Earl of Stair, 4—signs the Declaration in 1662, but refuses to sign the Test in 1681, 7—his dismissal by James II. and retirement to Holland, 8—accompanies the Prince of Orange to England in 1688, 8—and is re-appointed President of the Court of Session, 9—his son, Sir John Dalrymple, 10—is imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh, 11—is made Lord Advocate, 12—disgust of the Presbyterians at his accession to office, 14—important services rendered by him to William III. in establishing Presbyterianism in Scotland, 16—the massacre of Glencoe, 20—how far Sir John Dalrymple was implicated in it, 21—dismissed from office by the King, 24—special letters of remission, 24—Lord Macaulay's view of his guilt, 25—assists in the Treaty of Union of England and Scotland in the reign of Queen Anne, 27—Mr. Mackay's strictures on parts of Lord Macaulay's history, 28—the Earl of Stair as an author, 32—superior to his son in legal acquirements, but not so great or so remarkable a man, 33.

Suez Canal, the, review of books treating of, 250—probable motives leading to the purchase of the Khedive's shares therein, 251—mode of the purchase, 251—its precipitancy, 253—Parliament should have been called together, 253—impolicy of Government holding shares in any joint-stock company or commercial enterprise, especially a foreign one, 254—signal service rendered to the French shareholders by the purchase, 256—how the shares therein were distributed on July 1st, 1875, 257—leading features in the original Act of Concession of the Suez Canal, 258—cost of its construction down to the end of 1874, 259—the 'consolidation of interest,' 259 *note*—ruinous terms enforced on the Khedive, 260—annual charges on the Company for 1874, 261—the statutes of the Company, 262—as to the division of profits, 263—as to the management, 264—amount of shipping using the Canal, and the flags under which they sailed, 265 *note*—enormous expense of keeping the Canal in a working state,

265—the system of measuring a ship's tonnage, 266—high hand with which M. de Lesseps carried out his views, 268—our newly-purchased shares give us very small voice in the management, 269—and an uncertain hold on the Khedive, 270—the political advantages gained by the purchase of small account, 272—what use could we make of the Canal in time of war? 277.

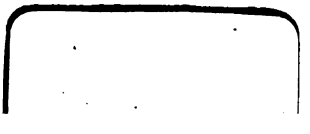
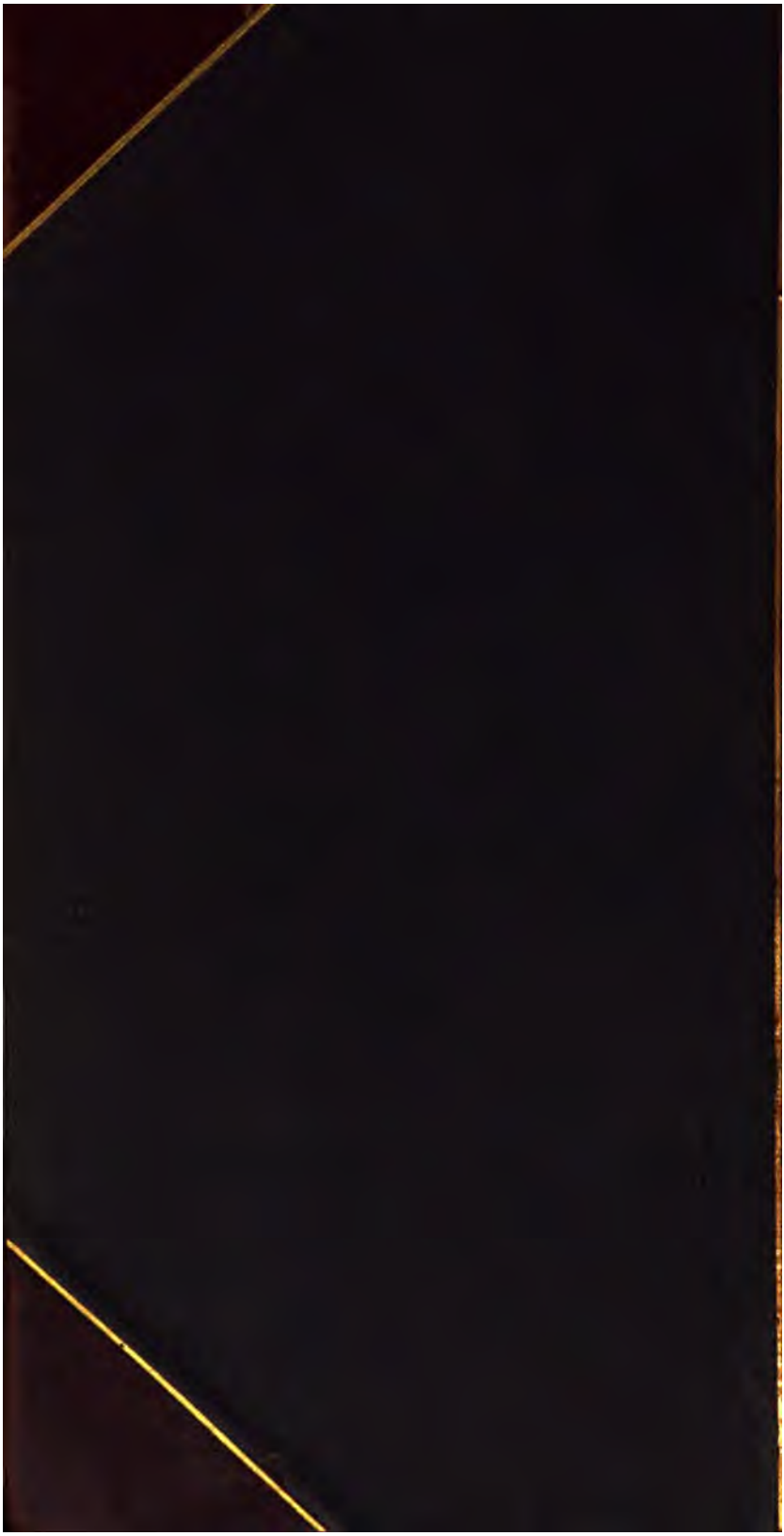
T

Telegraphs, Post-Office, review of Reports treating of, 177—necessity of inquiry into the Government system of purchasing and working the telegraphs, 177—the Act of 1868, 178—recklessness in the conduct of the negotiations for purchase of Telegraphs by Government, 180—untrustworthy estimates of working expenses and profits, 181—the Post-Office scandal of 1873, 182—inaccuracy of the Telegraph accounts, 183—suggestions of the Committee of Inquiry, 185—unfair concession made to the Newspaper Press, 186—Mr. Weaver and his propositions, 187.

Thirlwall, Connop, D.D., Bishop of St. David's, review of his 'Charges,' 1842 to 1872, 281—his early life, 283—his career at Cambridge, 286—his translation of the 'Introduction to Schleiermacher's St. Luke,' 287—his views on Inspiration of the Scriptures, 290—his connexion with Mr. John Stuart Mill, 291—his translation of Niebuhr's 'History of Rome,' 292—his 'History of Greece,' 294—his theological labours, 298—his preferment to the Bishopric of St. David's, 300—his Episcopal Charges, 301—his views respecting the Tractarian party, 305—on the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, 306—the Public Worship Bill, 307—Ritualism, 307—the Gorham controversy, 309—the Athanasian Creed, 310—his action with regard to 'Essays and Reviews,' Dr. Williams, and Bishop Colenso, 311—'Supernatural Religion' wrongly attributed to his pen, 315—his views on the Broad Church, the High Church, and the Low Church, 315.

W

Wagner Richard, Herr, and the modern theory of music, review of books treating of, 141—music now almost more a science than an art, 143—Herr Wagner formerly depreciated, 143—Ritter's lectures on the 'History of Music,' 146—Gluck the direct precursor of Wagner, 147—what Wagner essays to represent, 149—his ideal theory as worked out in his 'Tannhäuser,' 'Lohengrin,' and 'Tristan und Isolde,' 154—his contempt for rhythm, 158—sketch of his 'Tristan und 'Isolde,' 160—his *libretto* mere doggerel, 163—his projected opera 'Der Ring des Nibelungen,' 165—his mannerism and trick, 166—Beethoven and his detractors, 169—his symphonies, 171—his superiority as a composer to Wagner, 175.

END OF VOL. CXLIII.

Spottiswoode & Co., Printers, New-street Square, London.